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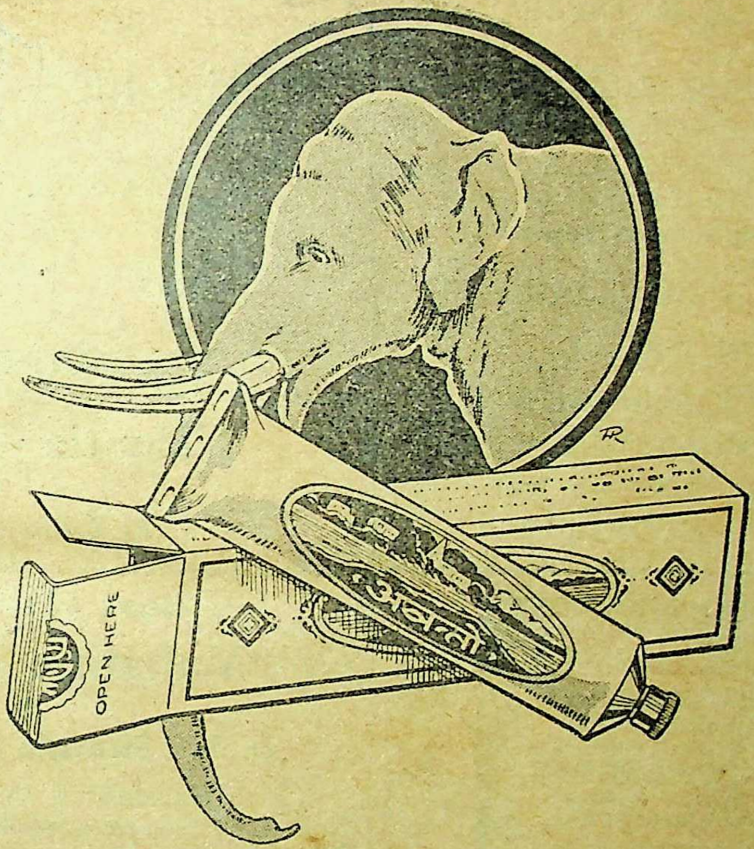

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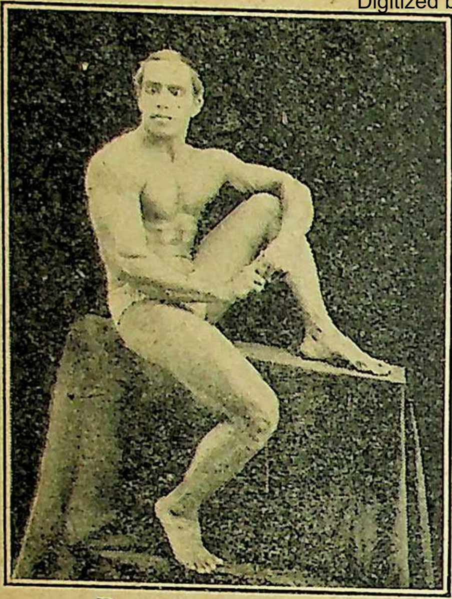

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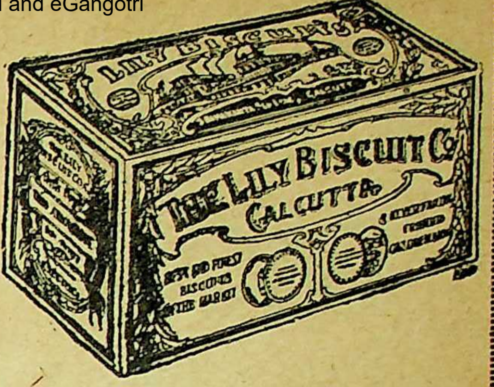

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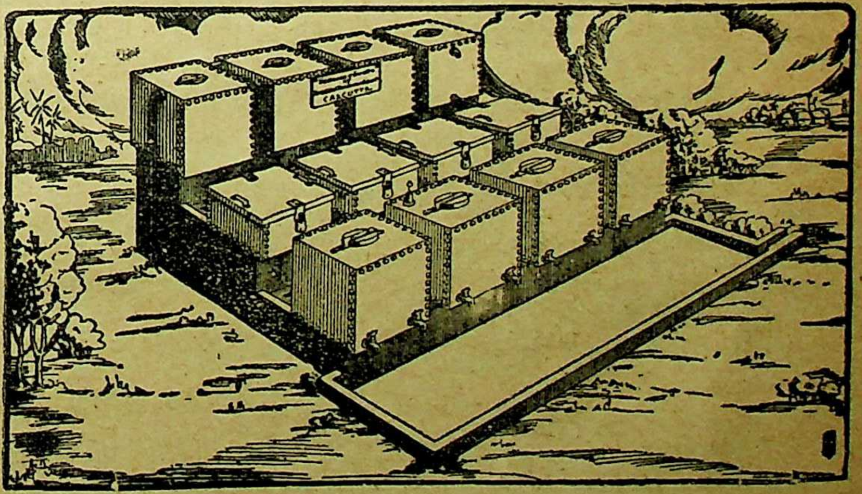

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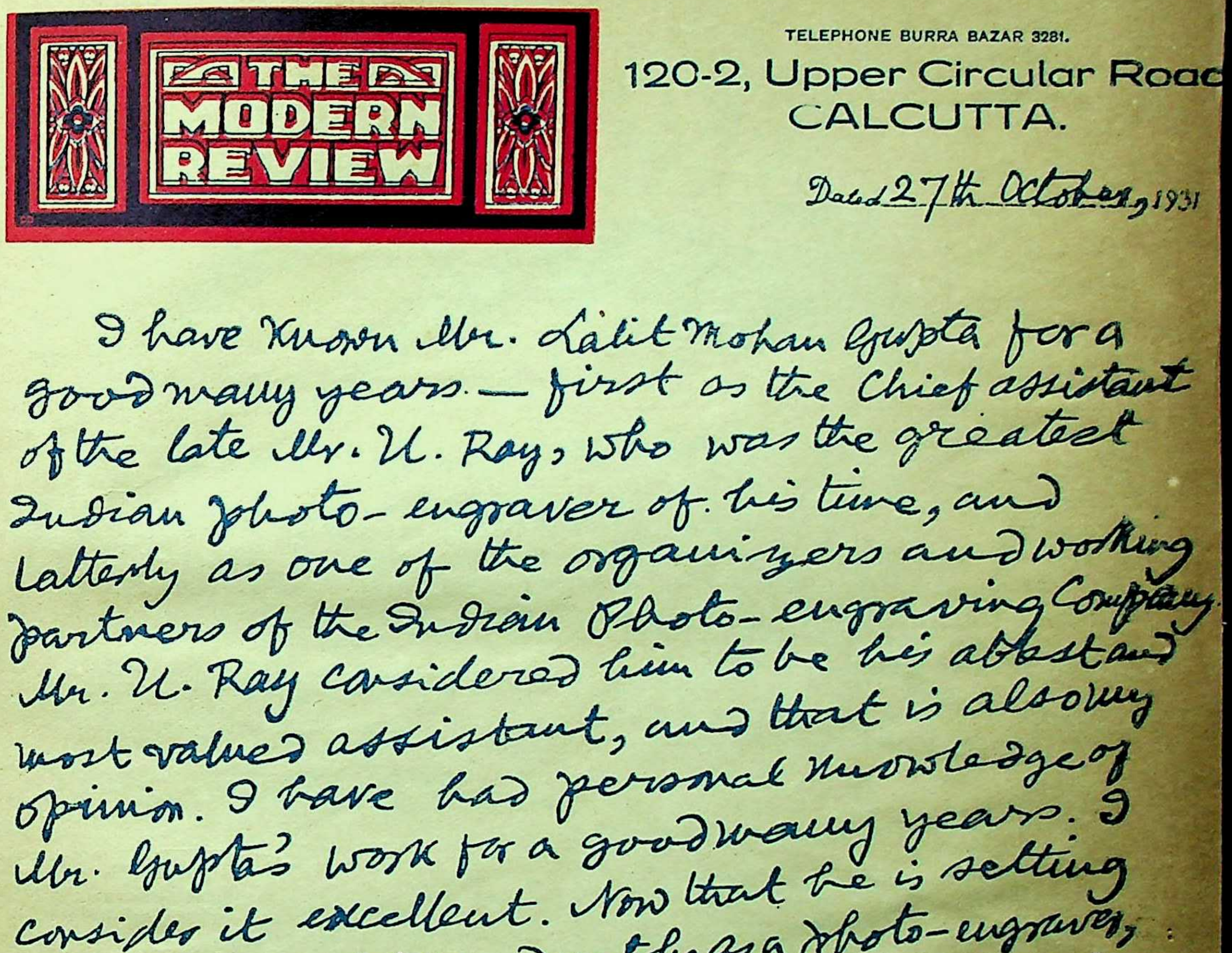

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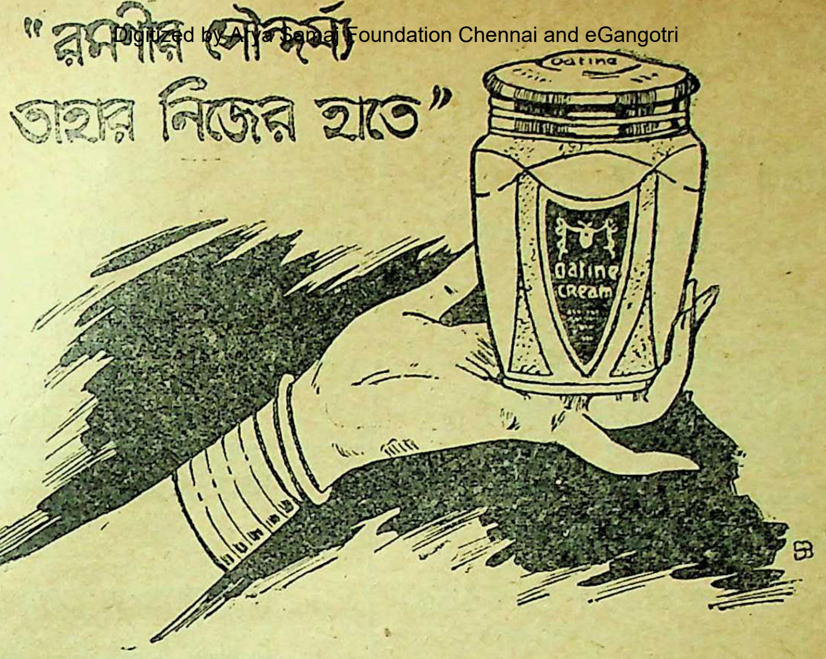

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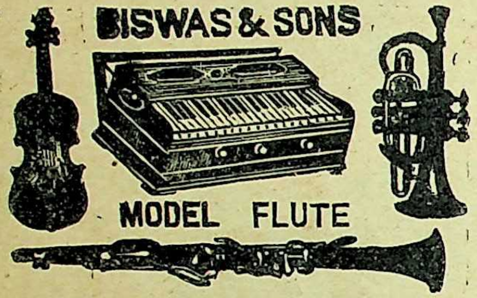

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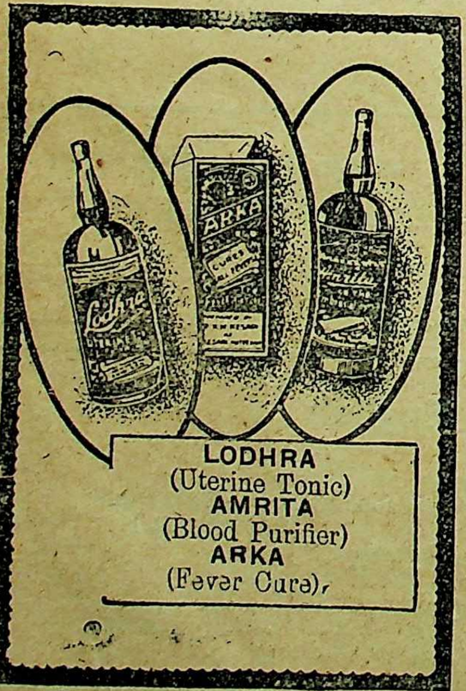

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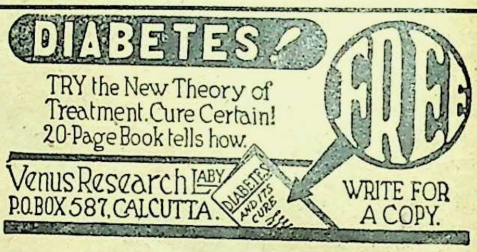
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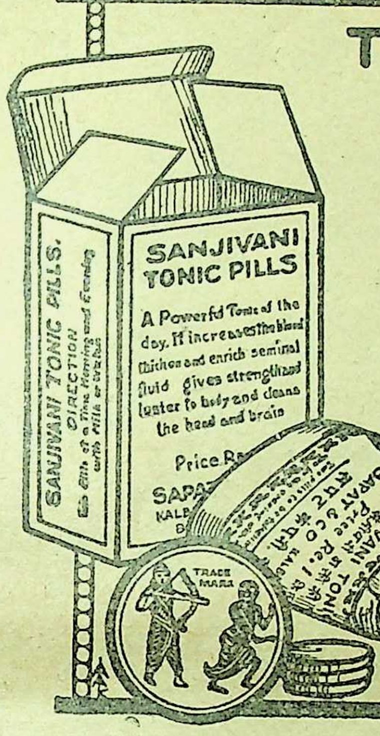
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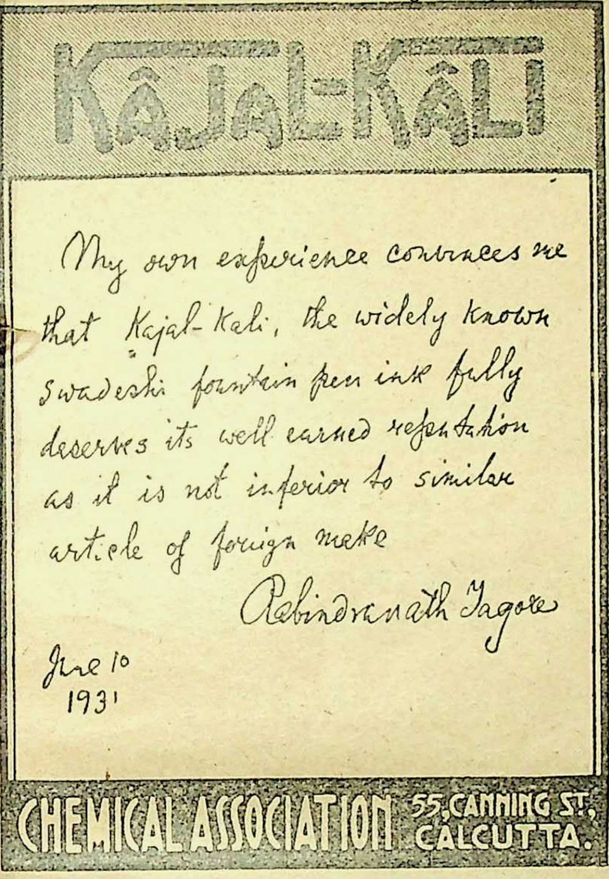

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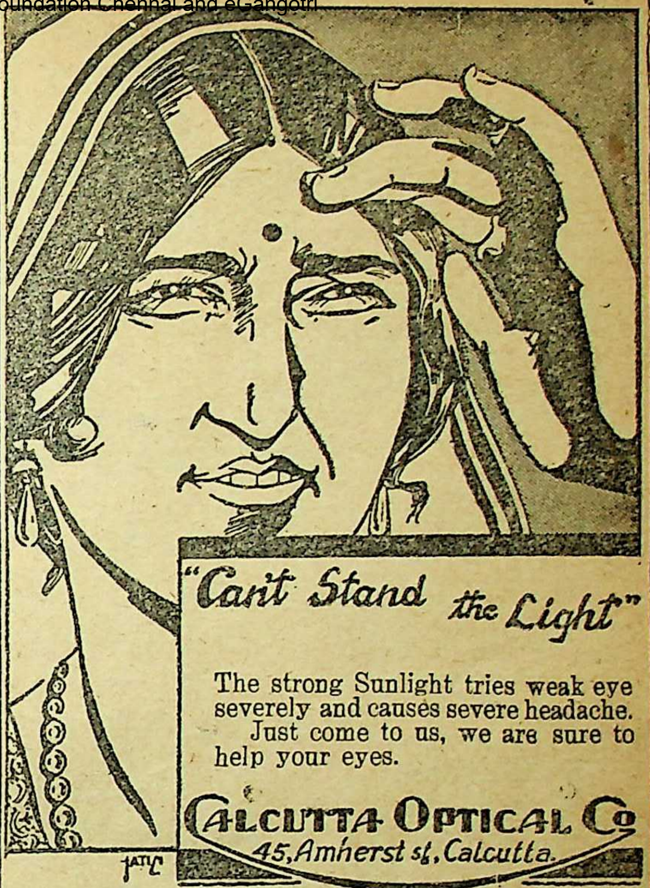

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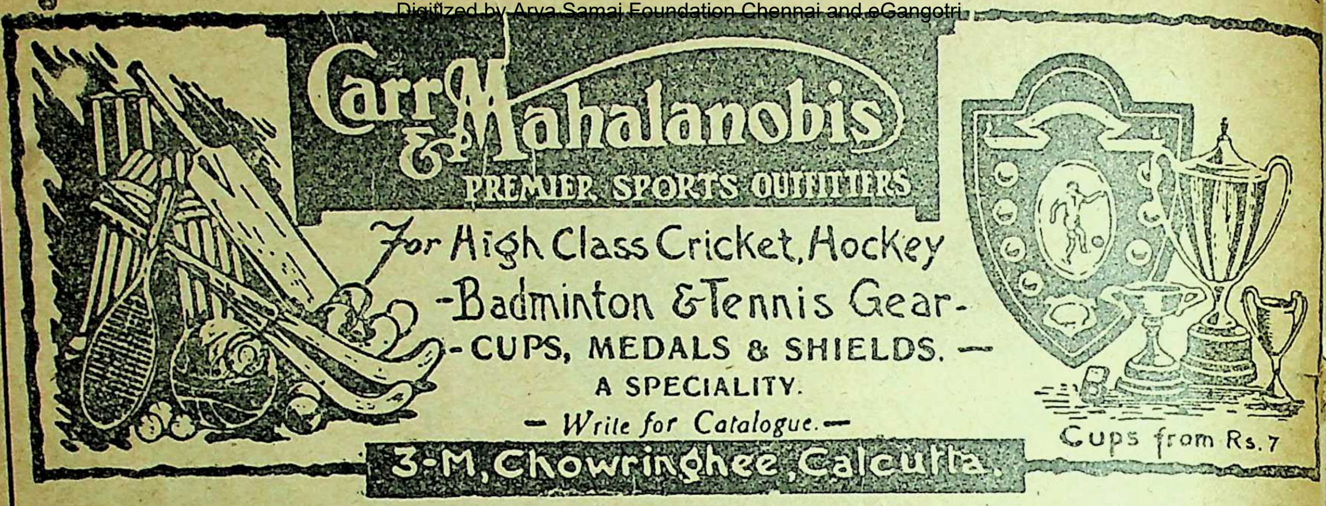

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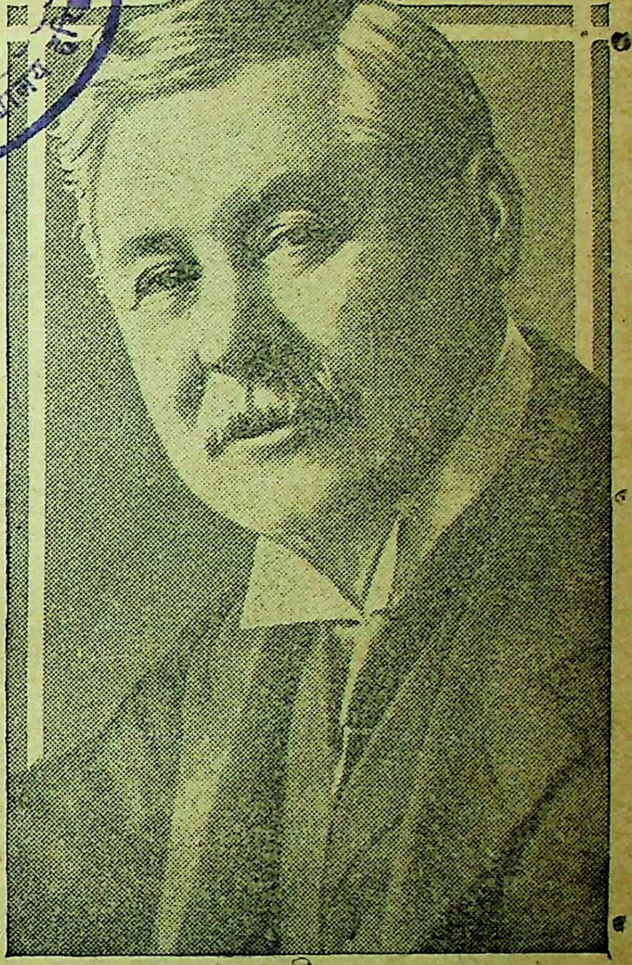

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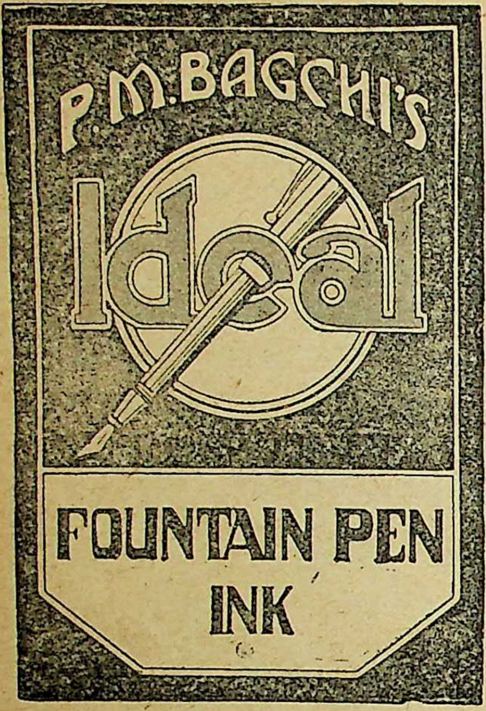

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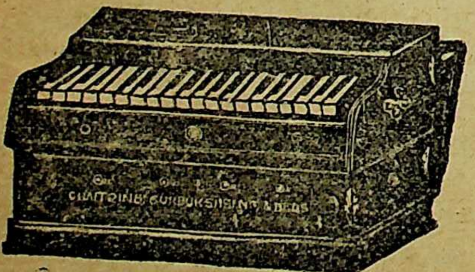

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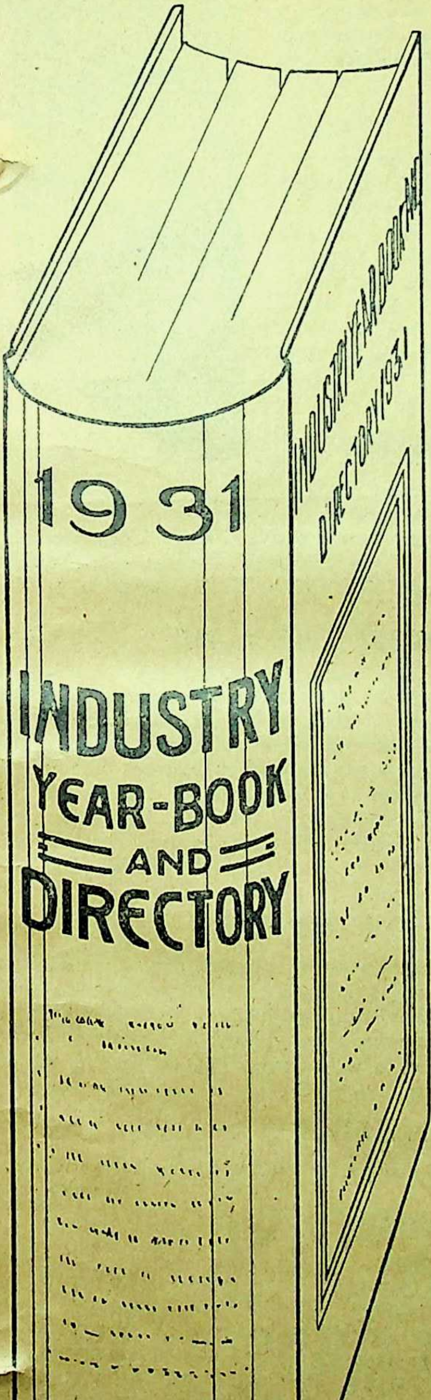

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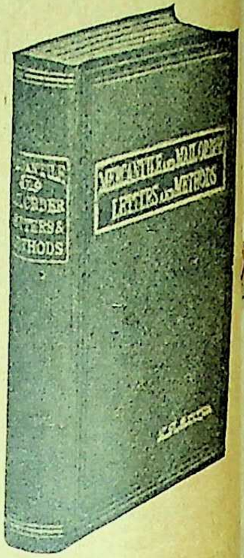

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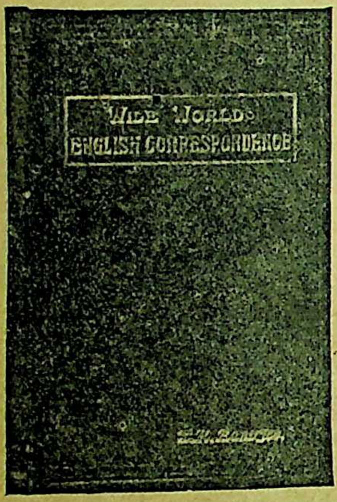

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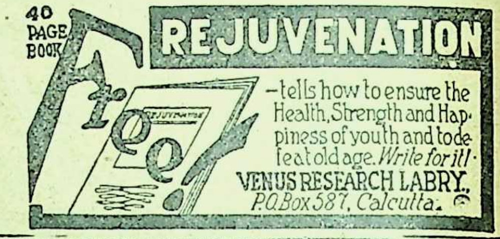

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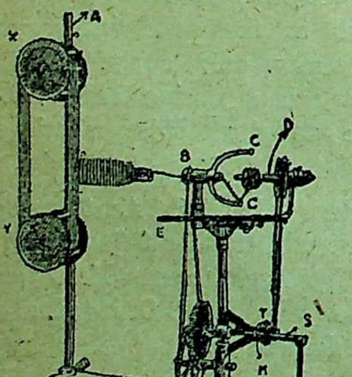

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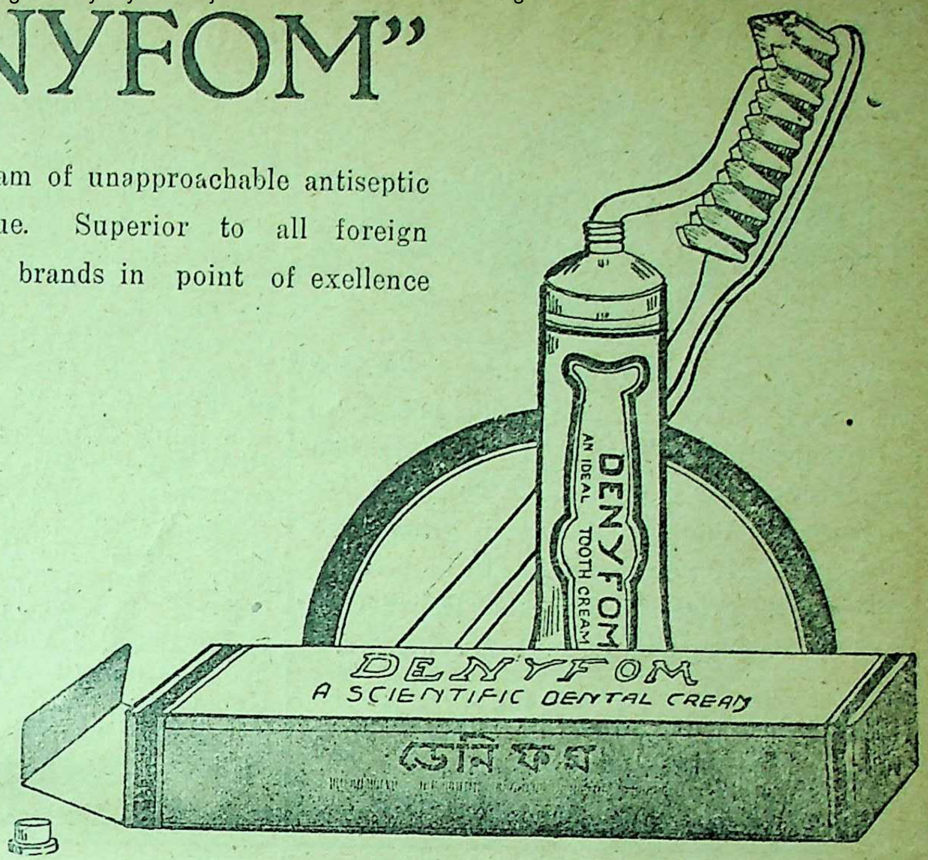

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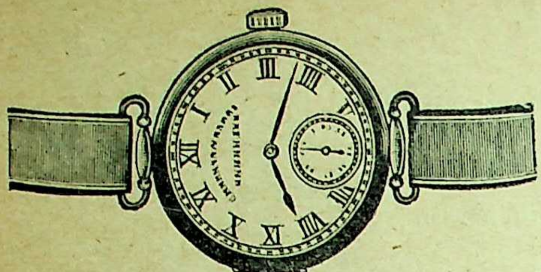

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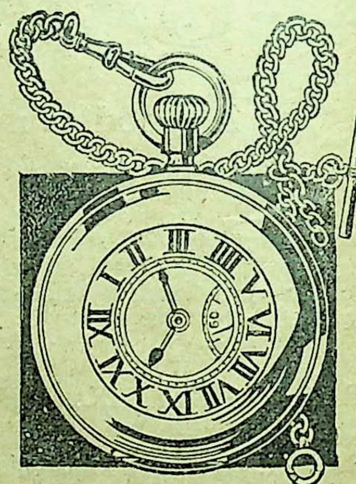

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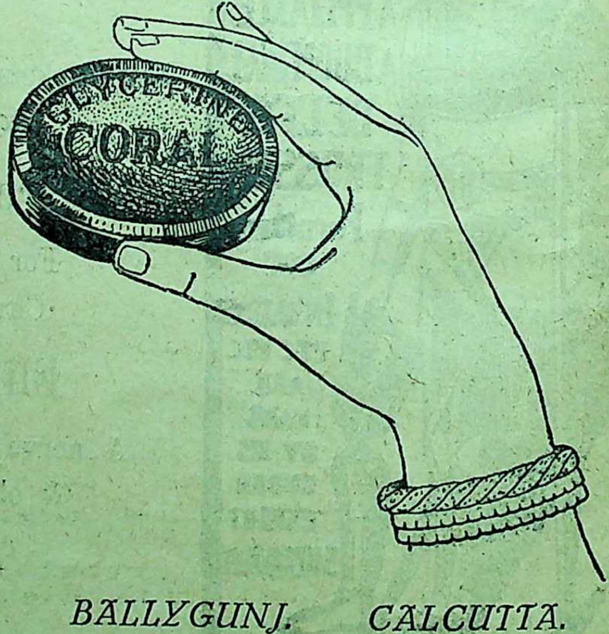

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GOPAL HALDAR, M. A., Professor of English in Feni College, Bengal; Former Managing Editor, *Welfare.*

M. KRISHAN NAMBYAR, Journalist; lives in London and works for the Indian cause there.

MANMOHAN GHOSH, poet and author, formerly Professor of English, Presidency College, Calcutta. Of all Indians who have written in English, the late Professor Ghosh was one of the most successful. The poem published in this issue is a striking example of his lyrical inspiration and was written after the death of his wife. He died on January 5, 1924. Two volumes of his verses were published in England during his lifetime. His work was introduced to the English speaking public by Mr. Laurence Binyon, the distinguished art historian and poet, and a friend of his.

BIJANRAJ CHATTERJEE, M.A, D. LITT. (PARIS), Professor of History, Meerut College. Dr. Chatterjee is a specialist on the cultural relations of India and Insulindia. His book on Java and India, which is in the press, will be published shortly.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M.A., Premchand Roychand Research Scholar, Calcutta University. Student of ancient Indian fine arts.

B. C. CHATTERJEE, M.SC. (CAL.), PH.D. (MANCHESTER), carried out research in Chemistry under Professor R. L. Datta in Calcutta and under Professor R. Robertson F. R. S. in Manchester; Analyst in the Chemical Department, Calcutta Corporation. Former Lecturer in Chemistry, Serampore College; former Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholar, Calcutta University.

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**H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, ex-Governor of Bengal, says :** "I visited the Sakti Oushadhalaya (Dacca) on July the 17th, and was shown everything by the proprietor Babu Mathura Mohan Chakravarty, B. A. I was very much interested in all that I saw, and was astonished to find a factory at which the production of medicines was carried out on as great a scale ... ... Babu Mathu Mohan Chakravarty seems to have brought the production of medicine in accordance with the prescriptions of the ancient Shastras to high pitch of efficiency." 17-7-20.

**H. E. Sir Henry Wheeler, the Governor of Behar and Orissa, says :** ..... "I had no idea that the manufacture of indigenous drugs was carried on upon so large a scale. The whole thing bears marks of enterprise and success." 29-7-20.

**Deshabandhu Sj. C. R. Das says :** "I desire to place on record my high appreciation of the work of this factory. The business is carried on in an orderly and organized manner. *Supervision leaves nothing to be desired.* I congratulate the Proprietor on the success which this business has already attained." 24-10-22.

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

*FEBRUARY* 1932

Vol. LI., No. 2

Whole No. 302

## QUESTIONS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Age after age, time and again, hast Thou, O Lord,
sent Thy messengers
to this pitiless world.
They have left their word : "Forgive all, love all—
cleanse your hearts from blood-red stains of hatred."—
Adorable they are, ever to be remembered ;
yet from the outer door
did I turn them away today, this evil day,
with unmeaning salutation.

Have I not seen secret malignance
strike down the helpless
under the cover of hypocritical night ?—
Have I not seen, at might's defiant outrages
the silenced voice of Justice weeping in solitude ?—
Did I not see in what agony reckless youth,
running mad,
vainly shattered their lives against insensitive rocks ?

Choked is my voice today, mute my songs,
darkly my world lies imprisoned in a dismal dream,—
and I ask Thee, O Lord, in tears :
"Hast Thou thyself forgiven, hast even Thou loved
those that are poisoning Thy air, and blotting out Thy light ?"

# THE WORLD'S SEVEN GREAT HISTORIC RELIGIONS

## A Comparison and an Appreciation

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

IT is an interesting fact, and to the people of Europe and America perhaps somewhat startling, that all the great historic religions of mankind, as well as every one of the important sacred books of the world, have originated in Asia.

From China comes Confucianism and Taoism, with their sacred writings. From India comes that great religion known in the various stages of its development as Vedism, Brahmanism and Hinduism, with its Vedas, Upanishads and other sacred books many. Also from India comes the widespread and ethically noble religion of Buddha, with its sacred volumes, the Tripitaka or Three Baskets. From Persia comes Zoroastrianism, with its Zend-Avesta. From Arabia, Mohammedanism (Islam) and the Koran. From Palestine, Judaism and Christianity, with their sacred books, the Old and New Testaments.

Thus we see that the world's highest and best religious life, not only in Asia, but in every continent, has been moulded and shaped, and, so far as we can see, is likely for a very long time to come to be moulded and shaped, primarily by the great religious faiths and the sacred books which have sprung from a single continent. The significance of all this will appear more clearly if we study these great historic religions separately and a little in detail.

We may fittingly turn first of all to India, since it is that historic and venerable land that gave to the world what is probably its oldest sacred book, the Rig Veda, together with the attractive religion which it teaches.

The Rig Veda is a book of religious hymns composed by the early Aryan immigrants into India, probably from 1500 to 1200 years B. C., in the "Land of the Five Rivers," that is, in the lands of the North-west, among the streams that form the system of the great Indus. These hymns are ascriptions of praise and worship to the bright nature-gods, or personifications of the powers of nature, believed in by the people. As poetical compositions, they are striking in their thought and in their imagery, and are full of the spirit of a vigorous, joyous and conquering people, as they are also full of the charm of outdoor life, of open skies, of mountains and flowing streams, of dawns and evenings, of lightnings and rain clouds, of flocks and herds. Thus they reflect the spirit of their religion (properly called Vedism) which was very picturesque, very free, very near to nature and very simple.

But this earliest form of faith of the Indian Aryans passed through many and great changes in its long subsequent career. Like so many other religions in the history of the world, as time went on, it tended to lose its early simplicity, spontaneity, freshness and freedom, and to become artificial, elaborate, and burdened with ceremonials and priestly tyrannies. If we come down a thousand years from the time of the birth of the Vedic hymns, we find the religion which they taught transformed into the elaborate, artificial, formal, stately, but oppressive faith known as Brahmanism; and if we come down two thousand years more, to our modern age, we discover it transformed still further into that strangely diverse and contradictory and yet strangely unified and harmonious agglomeration of religious faiths, worships, sects, superstitions, asceticisms, philosophies and pieties known as Hinduism, the religion, to-day, (and it must be added, the intensely living religion) of more than 200,000,000 out of the 350,000,000 people of India.

In the long period of its history it has produced a sacred literature the most extensive in the world,—supplementing the first Veda of hymns with two later Vedas of prayers, incantations and liturgies, and then adding, as time went on, works of spiritual meditation, of deep devotion, of profound philosophical thought, codes of laws, ethical treatises, great epic poems, dramas, lyrics, tales, sermons, writings of nearly every known literary form, and also of almost every conceivable literary, ethical and religious quality.

Thus the religion of India, under its different names, may be thought of, not inappropriately, under the symbolism of a great and majestic river, whose headwaters appear in the far-away Vedic mountain highlands, and which flows on and on, full of strange shallows and mysterious deeps, through more than thirty centuries, receiving into itself during its long course many tributaries to change its character and to swell its on-sweeping waters, and in its tortuous ways flowing sometimes through broad fertile valleys and sometimes through dark and malarious jungles, but ever increasing in volume and power until it becomes what we see it today, perhaps the most comprehensive and inclusive, the most mysterious and subtle, and yet the most tenacious and persistent religion in the world, embracing within itself almost every form of faith and worship from the crudest polytheism to the most vague and abstruse pantheism and the loftiest theism, and almost every grade of morals from the lowest and most sensual to the very highest and purest.

* * * *

But Hinduism, although the great central stream of Indian religion, is not the only important historic faith that this remarkable land has given to mankind. Buddhism also was born on Indian soil.

In a sense Buddha was the Luther of India. The religious movement which he inaugurated was India's Protestant Reformation. Six centuries before Christ the old religion of the land, that which I have called Vedism in its beginning and Brahmanism and Hinduism in its later developments, had become burdensome, tyrannical and corrupt, much as had Roman Catholicism in Europe when Luther came on the scene. Then arose India's Luther, to break the chains, to free the people, and to give to them a religion without cruel castes, without burdensome ceremonials or sacrifices, and ethically of a higher type than they had previously known.

Buddha was one of the really great religious teachers of the world. He seems to have been the son of a prince, or the ruler of a small kingdom ; but he gave up his heirship to a throne, put on the garb of a mendicant, and devoted his whole life in the most self-sacrificing manner to the religious welfare of the people. The religion he taught was a way of salvation—salvation primarily from the sufferings, sorrows and evils incident to human life, and the attainment of *Nirvana* or perfect peace.* This salvation was to be attained by means of eight steps, namely, Right Views, Right Feelings, Right Words, Right Behaviour, Right Mode of Living, Right Efforts, Right Recollections and Right Meditation. He also laid down five moral precepts or commands, which his followers were expected to obey and to teach their children. These were : (1) not to take life ; (2) not to steal ; (3) careful sexual control ; (4) not to lie, deceive or slander ; (5) not to drink intoxicating liquors. He taught the doctrine of non-resistance, that evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good. He taught the doctrine of human brotherhood in a most emphatic and impressive way, both by precept and example. His religion bacame a great influence for peace, gentleness, toleration and goodwill.

Little by little Buddhism extended its sway until it became the dominant faith of India ; and it remained so for many hundreds of years. Then a strange thing happened. The old Hindu faith which still continued in the land, the rival of Buddhism, but less influential, commenced by degrees to regain its influence. Besides adopting many of the popular features of the Buddhist religion, it took the bold step of making Buddha an incarnation of one of its gods (Vishnu), thus seeking to conquer its rival faith by seeming to yield to it. The result was that Hinduism began to grow stronger and stronger, by degrees regained its old power, and at last partly absorbed Buddhism and and partly drove it out of India. About the tenth century of our era, after a great career of 1,500 years in India, Buddhism practically ceased to be an Indian religion. From that time to the present its main home has been in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Manchuria and Japan,—countries into which it had spread as a missionary faith and where it numbers some hundreds of millions of adherents. As already stated, its sacred book is called the Tripitaka, or the Three Baskets, in which are found the teachings of its great founder.

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* There are different interpretations of the word *Nirvana*. Many interpret it as annihilation or extinction of existence. But many Buddhist scholars object to this interpretation, and define it as perfect peace, rest, bliss.

* * *

So much for the two great religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, given to the world by the Indian branch of the Aryan or Indo-European family.

From the Persian branch of the same family comes a religion very different from either Hinduism or Buddhism. It is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster (or Zarathustra), a great religious teacher who lived in Persia or Bactria many centuries before Christ, we do not know how many, but probably somewhat later than the origin of the Vedas. Zoroaster's religious teachings come to us in a sacred book called the Avesta or Zend-Avesta. Its ethics is singularly pure and its worship is of a high order of spirituality. Its philosophy is not polytheistic, and yet it is not quite monotheistic. It teaches that there are two powers or Beings above man, a God of Light and Good, and a God of Darkness and Evil. These are in perpetual warfare; but in the end the God of Light and Good will conquer his foe, and become triumphant in the universe.

Zoroastrianism has a special interest to Jews and Christians from the fact that our Biblical doctrines of the devil, and angels, and perhaps to a greater or less extent of heaven and hell, seem to have come from the Zoroastrian or ancient Persian faith.

On the rise of Mohammedanism and the conquest of Persia by the successors of the Arabian Prophet, Zoroastrianism was almost wholly crushed out. A little remnant of believers fled, however, to the East and made their home in India, where their descendants are still found, and are known as Parsees.

In the great commercial city of Bombay these Parsees are very prominent as leading merchants, manufacturers, bankers and educators. They are the solitary candle that keeps alive in the world today the flame of the old Zoroastrian faith of Persia which for many centuries held wide sway in western Asia, which, it is interesting to recall, was the religion of King Cyrus the Great, who conquered Babylon, and set the captive Jews free to return to their own land; and it was also the religion of Xerxes, the Persian king, who half a century later invaded Greece.

In this connection it is curious to speculate what might have been the fate of the Zoroastrian religion and what the religious fate of Europe if the Persians instead of the Greeks had been victors at Salamis and Plataea. If they had conquered the Greeks, would Zoroastrianism have become the religion of Greece? And further, entering Europe by the Greek door, might it have spread and in time become the faith of Europe, thus radically changing the history of the whole western world? Of course, these are idle questions; and yet they have more than once been asked by very thoughtful students of history.

* * *

Pass now from the Aryan family of the "White Race" to the so-called "Yellow Race" in China (called yellow though quite as white as southern Europeans). Here we find a great religious teacher, Confucius, and a very influential religion called after his name.* It is not easy to classify Confucianism. Some insist that it is only a system of ethics. But if so, it is an ethical system lifted up almost or quite to the dignity of a religion—a religion which in one aspect seems hardly less than theistic. Considered as a system of ethics it may be described as a great body of practical precepts, or as a moral, social and political code, designed for the government of the individual, the home, the community, and the State.

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* Two other important religious teachers of China might be mentioned in this connection, Mencius and Lao-Tse, but their influence has been much less extensive and powerful than that of Confucius.

At first the teachings of Confucius were accepted by the Chinese people only unwillingly and slowly. But little by little they gained favour, until at last they became the moral law of the nation from the Emperor to the peasant. For more than two thousand years they have been the supreme authority and standard, venerated by everybody. On them we may say that the Chinese State, Chinese life, Chinese morals, Chinese civilization are all based. And this is to say very much for China, for the teachings of Confucius are among the noblest that come down to us from the past. Centuries before Christ, Confucius taught what was essentially the Golden Rule. Among his precepts are many on the high level of the following:

"Love to speak of the good in others."

"Only he who has most complete sincerity, can transform and inspire others."

"If one cannot improve himself, or serve men, how can he improve others, or serve God?"

"No virtue is higher than love to all men, and there is no loftier aim in government than to do good to all men."

* * *

Let us now leave the Chinese Confucius, the greatest religious representative of the so-called Yellow Race in Asia, and return to the White Race. Not, however, to the Aryan portion of it, in India and Persia, but to the Semitic portion, found in the extreme west of the Asiatic continent.

The Semitic family of the White Race has several branches. From two of these, the Hebrew and Arabic, in Palestine and Arabia, have come great historic religions and sacred books. Indeed, from the earliest of these in point of time, the Hebrew, have come two great religions, namely, Judaism and Christianity; and two sacred books, namely, the Old Testament and the New.

* * *

Let us look first at Judaism. This faith sprang from roots which extend very far back. It seems to have grown out of an earlier polytheistic belief similar to that which is found in connection with the religion of all of the early Semitic peoples. Perhaps the point at which the religion of the Hebrews began to separate itself from that earlier polytheism, and to assume a life of its own on a somewhat higher plane, was what is known as the Exodus, when a great leader, named Moses, some twelve or thirteen hundred years before Christ, is supposed to have led the rude and as yet polytheistic Hebrew tribes out of Egypt or from the Sinaitic peninsula in the neighbourhood of Egypt, across the desert to the "Promised Land" of Canaan which was to be their future home. Moses by a long period of disciplinary training, appears to have cemented these tribes together and planted in them the feeling of common relationship or nationality. He also seems greatly to have elevated their morality, purified their religious conceptions, and set their feet on the road leading to the worship of one God as a God of Righteousness. However, the full attainment of these high ends was a slow process, which took many centuries of time for its consummation. The main agents in carrying it forward were men known as Prophets, leaders who appeared among the people from age to age, with foresight, with moral courage, with clearer vision than their fellows, with religious fervour and zeal, to urge the nation forward to higher and purer religious faith.

For a long time there was no sacred book. The first beginning of what many centuries later was to become a sacred book, was probably Moses' Ten Commandments, in some brief form known as the "Ten Words." Then, three or four centuries after Moses had passed away, someone, we do not know who, seems to have gathered together such precious fragments of the people's history and tradition and folklore as were available, such old laws and tribal enactments as he could find, and such bits of ancestral wisdom as were within his reach, and these became further beginnings of what would after a while become a sacred volume. But many more centuries must pass and many minds and hearts of prophet, preacher, priest, historian, seer, framer of laws and singer of songs and sacred hymns, must contribute before the time could arrive when the Hebrew people would possess a literature so large, excellent and dear to their hearts, that they would instinctively lift it up in their reverence, associate it with their religion, and make it a real sacred book or Bible.

The Hebrew people had a long history, in some respects glorious, in some respects tragic in the extreme, in Palestine, before they were finally driven out. Again and again during their Palestinian career, they were subjugated by foreign nations. Once a large part of their number were carried away captive to a distant land, and never returned. Later others were carried away, but were permitted to come back. Again and again their capital city was destroyed, and afterwards rebuilt. At one time, their greatest pride, the splendid Temple erected by Solomon, was destroyed. At last they were expelled wholly from the country which they had come to love so well, and were scattered over the earth.

* * *

This, however, did not occur until after a great prophet and reformer had arisen, the greatest in all their history, preaching a form of religion purer and higher than any before him had done. That reformer and prophet was Jesus; and the religion he taught was the old Judaism of Isaiah and Micah and the Psalms, only purified and deepened. It should not be forgotten that Jesus was a Jew, and that his aim was not to break with the religion of his fathers, but to purge that religion and carry it on to a still higher ethical and spiritual development. But his lot was that which is so likely to come to the man who is in advance of his fellows. Many misunderstood and opposed him, and finally he was seized and put to death. After his death, the religion he taught, which to him was the religion of his fathers, was taken up by ardent disciples and given to the world as a new faith; and thus Christianity was born.

At first Christianity had no sacred book except the Old Testament, which it shared with Judaism. But after a while, out of accounts of the Master written by one and another, when those who knew him personally had begun to pass away, and out of letters of counsel and encouragement written by leading disciples to churches which they had founded, and other religious material, two or three generations subsequent to the Master's death, there came into existence by a slow but natural and inevitable process, first parts, and then the whole, of another sacred book—one belonging to the Christians alone. Thus Christianity got its New Testament.

I need not stop to sketch the history of Christianity. It will be enough if I notice the rather singular fact, that though it was born in Asia, it spread quickly into Europe; and nearly all its most important triumphs have been won not among Asiatic but among European peoples, either on the European Continent or in America. In this respect its history is somewhat analogous to that of Buddhism, which, as we have seen, though coming into existence in India, later disappeared almost wholly from the land of its birth, and became pre-eminently the religion of non-Indian peoples.

*To be concluded.*

# REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT MOVEMENT IN CHINA

*(From our Shanghai Correspondent)*

THE Chinese student movement, suppressed for the past five years by the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government, has now arisen and is demanding leadership in the serious national crisis with which China is faced today. From the day Japanese troops occupied Mukden on September 18, the suppressed student movement began to lift its head until now, the entire student world of Shanghai, numbering 45,000, has entered on a general strike as a protest at the policy of the Nanking Government. In violation of official orders, it called an urgent all-China Student Conference in Shanghai on December 15. This Conference met to formulate openly and frankly a revolutionary programme demanding among other things the withdrawal of China from the League of Nations as China refused to accept the decision of the League regarding Manchuria, and the dismissal of the newly-appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Wellington Koo, who was accused of direct secret negotiations with Japan for the sale of Manchuria. Nanking is besieged with thousands of students, no longer *petitioning*, as up to now, but *demanding*. On December 5, one hundred and eighty-five students from the Peking National University were beaten and arrested in Nanking, having been jerked from a huge student demonstration. With their imprisonment by the gendarmerie, students from the Central University stormed the offices of the president of their University but, not finding him, beat his secretary to unconsciousness ; they fought the police in the streets and captured the chief of police and one other police officer and held them prisoners in some unknown place. The students of Shanghai arose, and despite the martial law proclaimed by the Chinese authorities in order to prevent them from demonstrating and sending new thousands of their ranks to Nanking they have continued. Students in Tsinan fought the soldiers of the city to get trains to Nanking, thousands of students from Peking and other points north demanded trains to proceed to the capital and, refused, took turns in lying on the railway tracks before all trains, completely blocking the traffic. Hankow students were held back by the military commander of the city who forbade them to demonstrate. In Shanghai, the centre of all student activities, foreign and Chinese authorities have united and forbidden all student demonstrations or activities, while the personal secretary of Chiang Kai-shek came to Shanghai on December 6 and warned the students that General Chiang will permit no more demonstrations against him or against the Government. In defiance, tens of thousands of students prepared for big demonstrations and for the all-China Students' Conference. The movement is now very clearly revolutionary and anti-Nanking. One delegation of four hundred student volunteers, calling themselves the "Dare to Die Corps," entrained for Manchuria on Dec. 6 to join the army of General Ma Chan-shan who fought the Japanese at Tsitsihar ; the "Dare to Die Corps" declared that they were going to Manchuria to fight and die "to redeem the shame of our government in its failure to preserve our country from foreign aggression." The reply of the Nanking Government and its local militarists is—killing. In the city of Changsha, seven students were shot and killed in a demonstration in early December and unconfirmed reports from Nanking declare that a number have been killed there also.

This movement is not to be scoffed at. The number of students in China number, it is true, but 250,000 all together. But historically the Chinese intellectual and student world has always wielded tremendous power, far in excess of its numerical strength ; the unfortunate illiteracy of the Chinese people, which is as high as 92 to 95 per cent, gives the student world additional power ; and, lastly, the Chinese student world is on the whole revolutionary and progressive and since 1919 has stood in the very forefront as leaders in the national revolution. It was the students who began the organization of labour and who filled the ranks of the revolutionary army during the 1925-27 period, who spread to all parts of the country and organized peasant unions on a Communist basis, and who, since then, have gone in large numbers into the Red Army, supporting the social revolution and assisting in every way the Soviet movement among the peasants of the country.

It was because of the revolutionary, or Communist influence, so widespread among Chinese students, that the Nanking Government rigidly suppressed the student movement, after having executed thousands of revolutionary students in every city in the country. For the past five years the terror that has raged in China has carried off thousands of students and educated men as well as tens of thousands of workers and peasants. A fraction of the Chinese student world, coming as they do from the well-to-do classes, have supported the Kuomintang and have been able to go abroad to study, returning to China to join the ranks of the ruling class. But the vast majority of this world comes from the petty bourgeoisie, including the poor intelligentsia, small traders, or even the better-placed peasantry ; as such, their standard of life and their psychology approximates that of the masses. For them, as for the overwhelming mass of the Chinese masses, predatory capitalism means nothing and the whole economic and political situation of the country demands a most radical revolutionary solution. Their ranks are permeated through and through with Communist thought and Communist activity. The Chinese Communist is a man apart from others, and it is universally accepted that he is more energetic, more stimulating and more active than his colleagues. This also gives the Communist students an influence far superior to their numerical strength and enables them at times to dominate their school comrades. They are also a dominating influence because they are alive to every national and international issue, and those who are actual organized members of the Communist Party are under the most rigid discipline and become active amongst their comrades. General Chiang Kai-shek has accused the entire student world today of being under Communist influence and, because of this, of "embarrassing the Government" in its attempt to solve the Manchurian crisis.

In recent months, even before the Sino-Japanese conflict, the suppressed student movement broke through in numberless instances. For instance, when M. Henri Vandervelde, the Belgian Social Democrat, visited China in 1930 as a guest of the Nanking Government, he had to be guarded by detectives against the students of the Shanghai universities where he lectured against the Soviet Union and Communism in general. Despite the detectives, he faced a most hostile demonstration in the University of Communications, the student assembly of 2,000 calling him a "running dog of the imperialists" and filling the university hall with their leaflets. In last November the American Y. M. C. A. missionary Sherwood Eddy, lecturing to the student body of Peking National University, faced exactly the same situation and for the same reason. In Shanghai, in 1930, five different colleges were closed down completely, having been accused of being "hot-beds of Communism," and in 1931 a number of others followed in their wake. One of these was the so-called Labour University of Shanghai where students are supposed to be trained as "safe and sane" labour leaders. But it was learned that the University was another "hot-bed of Communism," and the president took an action which was drastic, but in this case less drastic than most Chinese authorities take. One morning at 4 o'clock this president called out the military police and a section of armed soldiers, surrounded the dormitories in which four hundred students lay sleeping, dragged them from their beds even without sufficient clothing, herded them into motor lorries and then dispersed them helter-skelter all over Shanghai. In China, students live in dormitories and pay for a year or half year in advance and, poor students, coming as they do from the most distant provinces, they are entirely dependent on their school. Often they have but a few cents to spend from month to month. The President of the Labour University, a reactionary, drove the students out into the streets of a city that permits thousands of destitutes to die of starvation on the streets yearly. Then the University was filled with hand-picked students, exhaustively examined for "dangerous thoughts" before being admitted.

This method was less drastic than most, for the daily Press in China is one ceaseless record of executions of students in various cities and provinces; and the latest annual magazine of the Chinese Y. W. C. A., the *Green Year Supplement*, publishes an article on the student movement in which it states that "one hears of mere children, yet in their teens, dragged to the execution ground, shouting 'down with the militarists' and 'down with imperialism' in the most unperturbed manner." Nor do the girls lag behind the men in their sacrifice, and very often the foreign Press of Shanghai gleefully reports that another "bobbed-haired girl Communist" or a "bobbed-haired and fresh young woman teacher" has been caught, but that "her career will soon be ended for ever." There are frequent reports in the Chinese Press of university dormitories or student rooms being raided by the police or the military and the occupants being taken out and beheaded before the dormitory or the school. In their search for Communist literature among the students, the soldiers and police, as a rule, seize every book with a red cover on the theory that Communist books are bound in red. And the owners of red-bound books pay with their lives for having such volumes, even if they contain nothing more than the life of Napoleon or Henry Ford. The Communist Party, however, adopts other methods to spread their principles amongst students than that of using red covers, or even red titles. Here, for instance, lies a book entitled *Saint Paul, the Friend of Youth*, supposedly published by the Christian Literature Society of Shanghai, 1930. But if you turn the first two pages of this pious volume, you learn that it is nothing less than the *Communist International Monthly*. Or, again, here is a small volume on how to learn the *Pei Hwa* of simplified Chinese language, supposedly published by the largest bourgeois publishing house in China. But turn its pages and you learn—it is Bukharin's *A. B. C. of Communism*. Or take another volume, a love novel; and here you find Communist propaganda in the form of popular folksongs.

These methods are in themselves filled with a romance that appeals to Chinese students and draws them to the revolution by still another bond than that of economic necessity. Not only this, but the distant Red Armies of Kiangsi and Hupeh which half a million Government troops and dozens of foreign gunboats could not crush, stir in Chinese youth an admiration that the bargaining of the Nanking Government with the League of Nations could never do. The newly established Chinese Soviet Government in southern Kiangsi has issued proclamations calling upon the Chinese people for support, and these have moved the revolutionary students to renewed and intense activity until even the most rigid suppression of the Government, with its terror, cannot suppress the movement. The general strike of the students has thrown 45,000 students on to the streets, and they are urging the factory workers to declare a general strike against the Nanking Government. The suppression of the movement will mean the use of military force, such as was used by the old Peking Government, but even such methods have not been effective in the past, and there is no reason to think they will achieve anything today. The foreigners have joined their voices to that of the Government in the condemnation of the students, and there is no means of telling which is foreign and which is Chinese denunciation, so alike are they.

# THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The Disarmament Conference, convened by the League of Nations which is to meet at Geneva on February 2, will be the most important political gathering the world has seen since the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. Whether its results will be as or even more disappointing depends on the wisdom of the Governments which are going to participate in it and perhaps still more on the strength of world opinion marshalled in favour of peace expressed through the world's Press. We are particularly fortunate in having been able to secure for *The Modern Review* a special contribution on this subject (the second of the two articles published below) from Dr. Kurt Trampler of Munich, who is one of the most distinguished experts on the subject and voices the official opinion of Germany.

## I.—THE BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE

### By "X"

MR. Arthur Henderson, elected President of the Disarmament Conference when he was the Foreign Minister of Great Britain, is now only a private individual without even a seat in the parliament. This fact might almost be taken as symbolical of the disastrous changes that have come over the disarmament situation since the Conference was decided upon. The latter half of the year 1931 has seen a series of events which have seriously damaged the prestige of the League and blighted men's hopes for an effective reduction of the armament burden. First and the most important of these is Japan's military adventure in Manchuria with its serious international implications involving Russia and the United States, and perhaps other Great Powers as well. Then came the British general election which has certainly not strengthened the hands of pacifists in Great Britain. This was followed by the Hoover-Laval conversations in Washington which committed the United States to at least a passive pro-French policy in Europe and relaxed Mr. Hoover's pressure upon Europe to reduce its armaments. Next happened an incident, trivial in itself, but valuable as showing the direction the wind is blowing. In the first week of December the Paris Pacifist Conference, a large and representative gathering of international societies working for the success of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference, was broken up by French militarists with the apparent support of public opinion, and the French Government maintained an attitude of studied indifference to the episode which many observers have read as tacit approval. Last of all comes the refusal of Germany to pay political reparations and the determination of France to exact them, by international action if international action is forthcoming, by her own efforts if it is not. This is a sad and depressing catalogue, though optimistic people would perhaps be inclined to regard them as passing clouds in the sunny progress of disarmament. Some of the circumstances are certainly nothing but momentary obstacles. But coming as they do in the wake of the already existing difficulties and disagreements, they make the task of the Conference an almost forlorn adventure.

Had the Conference met to discuss and set its formal approval to a plan of disarmament already agreed upon as a result of preliminary discussions, the work of the Conference would have been much easier. But it does not do so. The only agreed working basis it has is the Draft Convention of Disarmament prepared by the Preparatory

Commission. This Draft Convention has been rendered so colourless with the object of bringing about an agreement among the Great Powers, that it has been completely disavowed by some of them. Germany and Turkey, for example, dissociated themselves from the decisions of the majority and reserved to themselves the right to submit to the Conference any proposals regarding reduction and limitation of armaments which they might consider appropriate. The Soviet Government made no formal reservation, but disapproved of the results of Conference which it considered to be entirely negative. Even those Powers who formed the majority on the Preparatory Commission, adopted the articles of the Convention subject to numerous reservations.

In spite of these reservations, which, together with the absence of figures for the standard of armaments, take away much of its value, the Draft Convention represents the nearest approach to an agreement which the Powers concerned, through the Preparatory Commission, was able to reach, and as such it will be accepted as the basis of the discussions at the Conference. This document, therefore, deserves to be analysed at some length.

It consists of sixty articles and opens with a general article by which the contracting parties "undertake to limit and, so far as possible, to reduce their respective armaments as provided in the present Convention." Even this conditional acceptance of the principle of disarmament was not agreeable to many of the Powers. Their representatives accepted the principle of limitation and reduction in the spirit of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, but made the formal reservation that the reduction of all or some of the armaments was not possible for them, their present armaments being far from sufficient to guarantee national safety. The Soviet delegation, on the contrary, urged unconditional reduction and proposed that the article should simply read "to limit and to reduce." This did not receive the support of the majority of the Commission who considered that it was too rigid and did not take any account of the situation of certain countries. The principle of making disarmament contingent on security—the French thesis—was thus accepted by the Preparatory Commission. After this follow the provisions of the Convention with regard to the personnel, material, budgetary expenditure, exchange of information, the chemical arm and other matters. They may be summarized as follows :

### PART I.—PERSONNEL

There is to be a limitation of peace-time effectives in land, sea and air forces and formations organized on a military basis. By formations organized on a military basis is to be understood police forces of all kinds, gendarmeries, customs officials, forest guards, etc., which, in time of peace, are so organized and equipped as to be capable of being employed for military purposes without measures of mobilisation.

The period of service in forces recruited by conscription is limited for each country, and there is also to be a general international limitation.

The principal reservation to these proposals was made by Germany. Germany objected that the stipulations did not provide—either directly, or by a reduction in the number of the annual contingents, or by a strict determination of the period of active service—for a reduction or limitation of trained reserves, who constituted the main body of the personnel in countries possessing conscript armies.

. France declared that she could not accept the specific limitation of professional soldiers in land or air forces unless similar provision was made for limitation in sea forces.

Germany, Italy and Turkey made reservations with regard to the proposals concerning home and overseas forces.

The central point at issue on effectives was whether trained reserves should be included in the limitations. Trained reserves are men who have gone through training in conscript armies and are liable to be called up in time of need.

The point of view of several States, and particularly of Germany, is that effective reduction of armed forces is impossible without the limitation of trained reserves. Their exclusion (Germany declared) might be conceivable only if all the signatory States had a free choice ; but, under the existing treaties, there were States which did not possess this freedom and which were obliged to give up the formation of trained reserves. A convention which neglected so important a consideration could not be regarded as equitable.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considered the reduction of reserves as an integral and essential part of disarmament.

### PART II.—MATERIAL

### A. *Land Armaments*

By a majority of sixteen votes to three, with six abstentions, it was decided to apply the principle of indirect or budgetary limitation to war material for land armaments--that is to say, limitation of the annual expenditure of each contracting party on the upkeep, purchase and manufacture of war material for land armaments.

The problem of the relative effectiveness and equity of direct and indirect limitation was one of the outstanding controversies in the Commission.

By direct limitation, of which Germany was the most emphatic protagonist, is meant the limitation directly by number of the various categories of material.

The partisans of direct limitation regard it as a perfectly feasible method, because it has already been applied to some countries in the provisions of the Peace Treaties. It would enable countries to know precisely what were the armaments of their neighbours, and would prevent States compensating for the limitation of man-power by unlimited stocks of material. Its opponents hold with equal emphasis that direct limitation would be illusory, owing to the difficulty of defining different categories or kinds of weapons; that it would be practically impossible in regard to small arms and spare parts; that it would operate unfairly against States obliged to buy war material abroad; and that it implied international control of a kind which most countries were not ready to accept. The indirect method, they claim, avoids these difficulties. A further argument advanced by opponents of direct limitation, is that of potential industrial war strength. The advocates of direct limitation reply that the indirect system does not cover material in existence at the date of the coming into force of the Convention, that it fails to furnish information on the market value of armaments, and does not furnish suitable means of comparison for the purposes of reduction.

A vote was taken on the application of the principle of direct limitation; nine States voted in favour of it, nine States against, and seven abstained. A proposal to combine the two methods was also put to the vote, nine States voting for, eleven against, and five abstaining.

As already stated, the Commission finally adopted the principle of indirect or budgetary limitation by sixteen votes to three.

### B. *Naval Armaments*

Each fleet is to be limited to a total (global) tonnage figure, and each State is to show how its total tonnage is distributed amongst the five different categories of war vessels. These categories comprise

Capital ships (divided into two sub-classes);
Aircraft-carriers;
Cruisers (divided into two sub-classes);
Destroyers;

Submarines.

There is to be a limit to the tonnage and gun calibre of the capital ship, the aircraft-carrier and the submarine.

No vessel coming under the limitation imposed by the Convention is to be replaced until it becomes over-age.

Detailed rules for the disposal of vessels of war by scrapping and by other means are set forth.

No preparation is to be made in merchant ships in time of peace for the purpose of converting them into vessels of war, other than the necessary stiffening of decks for the mounting of guns not exceeding 6. 1 inches.

### C. *Air Armaments*

The standard of limitation for aeroplanes capable of use in war in commission and in immediate reserve, is the number and total horse-power.

For dirigibles capable of use in war and in commission, it is the number, total horse-power and total volume. The question of rules for the measurement of horse-power was, at the request of the Commission, referred to a Committee of Experts appointed by the Council.

States are to refrain from prescribing the embodiment of military features in the construction of civil aviation material. No preparations are to be made in civil aircraft in time of peace for the purpose of converting such aircraft into military aircraft. States undertake not to require civil aviation enterprises to employ personnel specially trained for military purposes, and undertake to authorize only as a provisional and temporary measure the seconding of personnel (or material) to civil aviation. Any military personnel or material which may thus be employed in civil aviation must be included in the limitation figures.

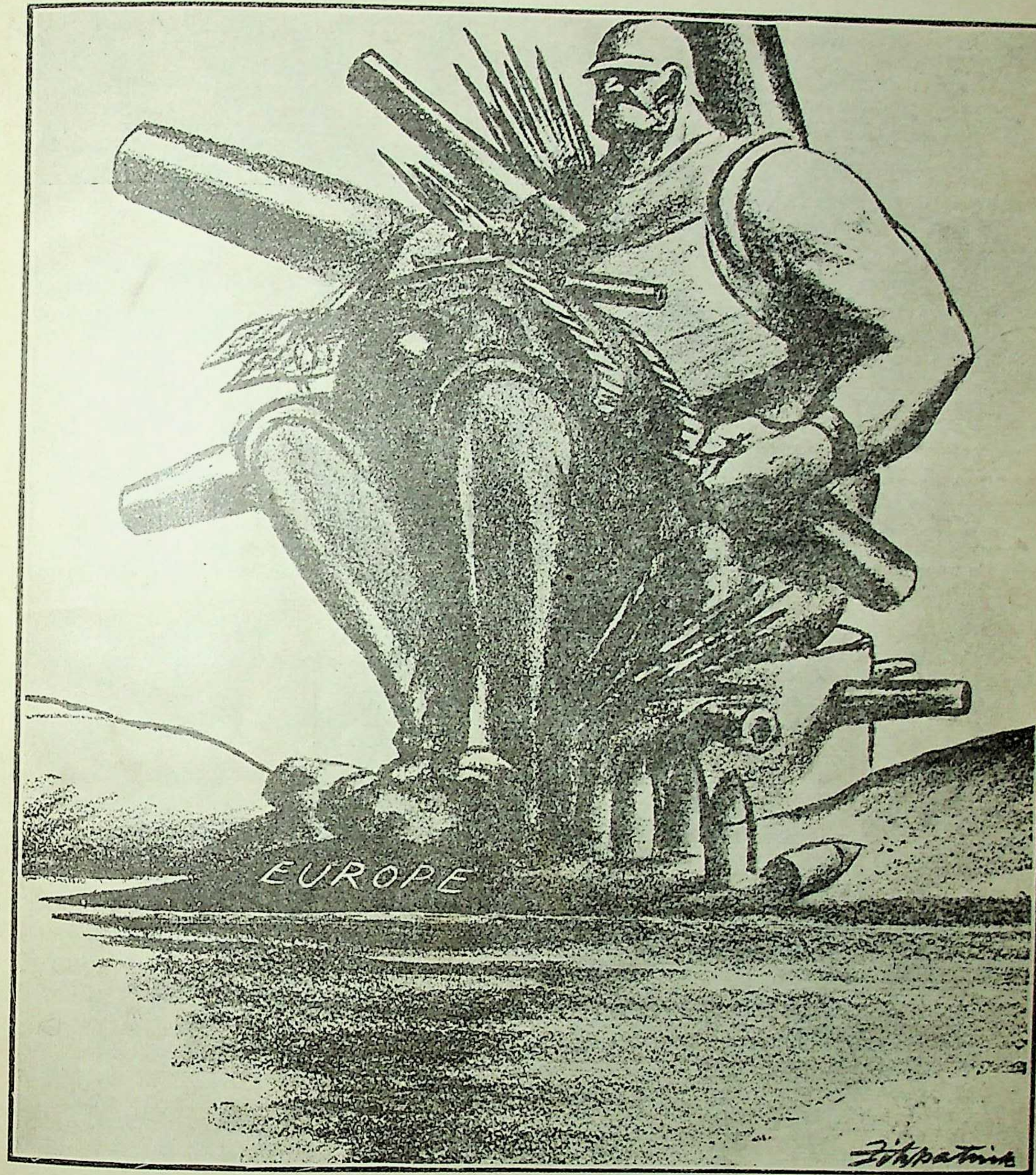
States also undertake not to subsidize directly or indirectly air lines principally established for military purposes, instead of for economic, administrative or social purposes; and they agree to encourage, as far as possible, the conclusion of economic agreements between civil aviation undertakings in the different countries.

The decision of the Commission to limit complete aeroplanes in immediate reserve as well as machines in service was taken by a majority of nine votes to eight, with some abstentions.

The problem of the relation between civil and military aviation was a difficult one. The Commission's view was that the Convention should avoid any provision capable of obstructing the development of civil aviation. All efforts should be directed towards differentiating more definitely between civil and military aviation, so that Governments should be prevented from interfering in civil aviation undertakings and diverting them from purely civil objects.

# ON THE EVE OF DISARMAMENT

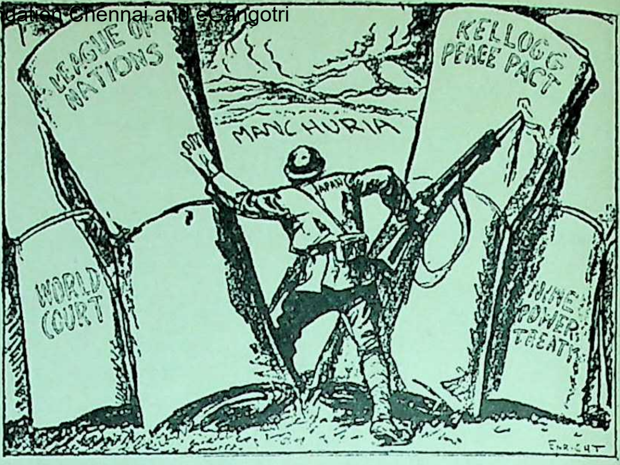
## AN AMERICAN VIEW OF EUROPE'S TROUBLES


EUROPE
Fitzpatrick

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

SINKING A CONTINENT

## JAPAN IN MANCHURIA


LEAGUE OF NATIONS
KELLOGG PEACE PACT
MANCHURIA
JAPAN
WORLD COURT
NINE POWER TREATY
ENRIGHT

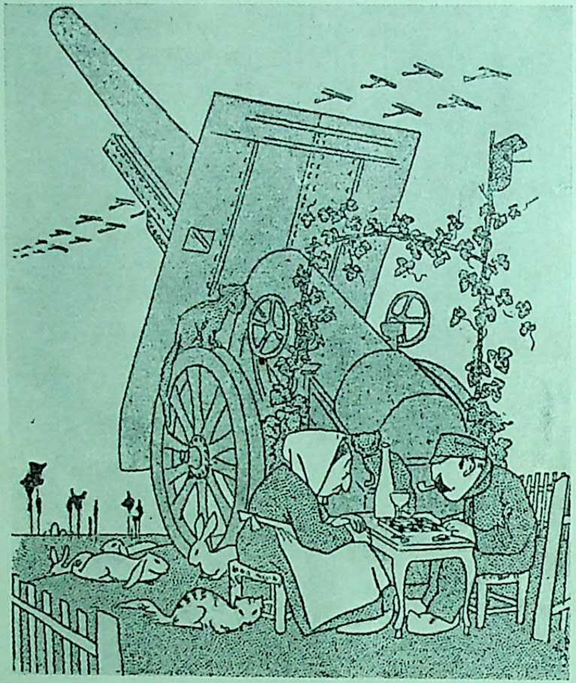
*Los Angeles Examiner*

Scraps of Paper

⁂

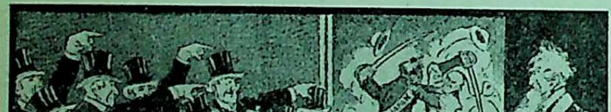
## FRANCE
## AND
## THE WORLD CRISIS

The world crisis does not affect France because she has her gold in a woollen stocking and guns in her garden.



*Simplicissimus,* Munich

⁂


LEAGUE OF NATIONS
CHINA

*New York American*

Let Sam do it

## THE LEAGUE
## AND
## THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS

⁂

### PART III.—BUDGETARY EXPENDITURE

The total annual expenditure on land, sea and air forces and formations organized on a military basis is to be limited.

The United States of America repeated the general reservation declining budgetary limitation in any form for herself, and Germany repeated her reservation pending consideration of the report of the Committee of Budgetary Experts.

### PART IV.—EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION

This chapter contains provisions for exchange of information, and publicity, in regard to the categories for which limitation has been accepted, and also some other details.

Discussion on exchange of information resembled the discussion on the chapters dealing with limitation.

One of the main additional controversies was connected with the publicity for civil aviation. Some members of the Commission urged the importance which the development of civil aviation might assume from the armaments point of view, and the Commission considered that the publication of information on civil aviation would be extremely useful. While accepting this principle, certain delegations doubted whether such provisions would not be more suitably included in a separate international convention, and a desire was expressed that attention should be drawn to this point.

### PART V.—CHEMICAL ARM

This part consists of one article by which States undertake, *subject to reciprocity*, to abstain from the use of asphyxiating, poisonous or similar gases and of all analogous liquids, substances or processes.

They also undertake *unreservedly* to abstain from the use of all bacteriological methods of warfare.

Germany is of opinion that the effect of prohibiting the use of chemical weapons would be incomplete unless it referred also to preparations for the use of those weapons (instruction of troops, etc.) A scheme for the reduction and limitation of armaments should, in the first place, prohibit weapons of an essentially offensive character whose destructive powers menaced not only armies but also civilian populations, weapons such as bombs from the air, large calibre guns and tanks of every kinds.

### PART VI.—MISCELLANEOUS

This part contains miscellaneous provisions and provides, among other things, for the setting up of a Permament Disarmament Commission to follow the execution of the Convention.

This summary of the Draft Convention will give some idea of the questions which will arise before the Conference. They are mostly highly technical ones. But besides technical difficulties, there are also serious political difficulties in the way of disarmament. The most important of these are the dispute over naval parity between France and Italy, which prevented a five-power treaty in London; the question of the revision of the Peace Treaties considered sacrosanct by France, which has assumed a new aspect by the support which Italy has given to Germany and the defeated Powers; the problem presented by the drift towards extreme nationalism in Germany; the problem of Soviet Russia; and, finally, the perpetual problem of security.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it may be anticipated that the Disarmament Conference, like the Preparatory Commission, will split into two sections, one, of the former victorious Allied Powers, headed by France, and the other, of the defeated States with Germany and Soviet Russia as the principal protagonists. The position that France will take up is perfectly clear and consistent. She will make disarmament conditional on security. Great Britain will perhaps not agree to this, as it is to her interest not to have any one Power too powerful on the continent. Besides, the most vital issue for Great Britain—the right of maintaining the integrity of her Empire by force of arms, will not be touched by the Disarmament Conference as it has not also been touched by the Kellog Pact. The United States of America is partially committed to the French point of view by the Hoover-Laval conversations. The most serious problem before the Conference will perhaps be the position of Germany. The Peace Treaties forced upon her a unilateral disarmament and deprived her of the means of self-defence in a world armed to the teeth. This conference will thus be to Germany a test of the sincerty of the other Powers. If substantial reduction of armaments is not forthcoming, Germany will feel justified in repudiating the Peace Treaties and increasing her armaments to the level of that of her neighbours. This most important aspect of the Conference is fully dealt with in the article of Dr. Trampler.

## II.—THE PROBLEM OF GENERAL DISARMAMENT

### By Dr. Kurt Trampler

NEXT to the right of self-determination of peoples, President Wilson considered the general disarmament of all States as the most important condition precedent of a lasting world peace. He rightly saw a dangerous incentive to war in the increase of and the race for armaments amongst the States. The fourth point of the famous Fourteen Points of President Wilson therefore laid down that there should be "adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." This demand signifies that the strength of the armed forces of every State is to be cut down to such a level that their application for invading other States would become a matter of impossibility, and they would only serve the purpose of a police force for maintaining peace and order within that State. After a lengthy correspondence between the German Government and the State Department of the U. S. A., an understanding was finally arrived at amongst all the belligerent Powers on November 5, 1918, to conclude peace on the basis of President Wilson's peace declaration, and the fourth point of the Fourteen Points also found a place in the valid armistice treaty. True to the conditions of this treaty, Germany surrendered all the weapons of warfare. But the Allied and the Associated Powers did not carry out any of these conditions. Be that as it may, the Peace Treaty of Versailles and its first part, *i. e.*, the clauses for the creation of the League of Nations, reiterated the necessity for a general disarmament. A significant alteration of the terms of the armistice treaty was, however, made in the Covenant by restricting the reduction of the armaments to a level "consonant with national safety." This extended the function of the army by implying its employment against external aggression. But, in any case, it was precisely laid down that armies must only have a defensive character. Although this limitation is elastic, there are definite limits which make the differentiation between offensive and defensive means of warfare possible. Moreover, the time within which general disarmament was to be completed was also indirectly laid down. It was stipulated in the Versailles Treaty that the disarmament of Germany must be taken up first. After its completion, disarmament of the other Powers should follow. It has been admitted for many years, on the authority of the report of the Inter-Allied Control Commission, that the disarmament of Germany has been carried out. And, therefore, when the other signatory Powers have not yet begun the work of disarmament, this failure must be considered from Germany's standpoint at least as a *delay in fulfilling the clauses of the Peace Treaty.* The Disarmament Conference will show whether the Powers mean to follow Germany's example and disarm themselves or *break* the Treaty which is their own creation. In view, however, of the experience hitherto gathered in the sessions of the Preparatory Commission, the hopes of a complete fulfilment of this very important duty of disarmament for all the States are not encouraging.

Almost all the States have declared that their present level of armaments is necessary for "national safety." Inasmuch as the armaments of any one Power are conditioned by those of another, it would be possible today for any Great Power to frustrate the efforts towards disarmament of all the others, if it only sticks to its point of view. The cause of disarmament has, however, gained a somewhat noticeable stimulus through the crisis of world economics. The formidable cost of a big army and navy, forming a high percentage of the total budget, has become intolerable for many countries. Even if this Conference cannot bring about a general disarmament, they hope from it at least some limitation of armaments, so that they might be relieved from the burden of a deficit budget. It is indeed a forecast that a 25 per cent retrenchment of the military budget might be expected from the coming Conference. How far these hopes will be realized depends entirely upon what attitude France takes up. France justifies her level of armaments, uniquely high in the history of the world, by an alleged risk to her safety. The defence of France alone does not justify the maintenance of such an unusually high means of offensive. But she considers it necessary not only for her own safety, but also for the maintenance of the political *status quo* of the extraordinarily dangerous zone between Germany and Soviet Russia, a zone occupied by the newly created, highly militarized and opposing small and middle-sized States, who are to a certain extent allies of France. In other words, France's army is not only to serve the object of assuring her political position, which was created as the immediate result of the Versailles Treaty, but also to maintain her domination in Europe, which came to her as a result of the decline of the three empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. That such a military policy is not in the spirit of the Peace Treaty requires no stressing. Another significant fact in connection with the attitude of France towards disarmament, is that she has been the least affected by economic crises and, therefore, hardly needs any relief from the burden of her military budget. Thus, in the event of her refusal to lower her military organization, it will be extremely difficult to pursuade her to do so. France dominates a continent today by her military organization and gold, and does it the more surely, because other Powers are obliged by the economic crisis to abandon military preparations on a par with France.

Disarmament, for most of the States, means neither de-militarization nor complete disarmament, but only relatively small alterations in the present level of their armaments or a limitation of the level of the future army. But, for Germany, it plays quite a special and fundamentally different role. The Versailles Treaty has imposed on Germany a limitation of armaments which conform fully to the fourth point of the Wilson declaration. Not only has Germany been compelled to disarm below a level necessary for defence against invasion from outside, but all the means which may enable her to stand against even a small or a medium Power in an armed conflict, have also been taken away from her. It must clearly and openly be proclaimed that the German army today hardly suffices for the maintenance of law and order within the country in the face of revolutionary tendencies. It can never be considered as a means of defence against outside invasion. Germany lacks all heavy artillery, specially long-range guns, tanks, and military aeroplanes. Germany is not permitted even to have the means of defence against aerial attacks. All the remaining light weapons are so limited in their number, spare-parts etc., that a war with any neighbouring Power means for the German people pure and simple suicide. Germany is not allowed to build any useful fortification and the whole western frontier is not to be entered by any soldier of the German army. When, therefore, a scare is raised here and there in foreign countries about the "secret army" which Germany possesses in her national associations, such scares cannot be too strongly and decisively denied. It is an illusion to believe in the strength of these untrained and unarmed organizations. Germany is a completely unarmed State in Europe. Her military position in relation to her neighbours is similar to that of the native population of a colony, armed with bows and arrows against the machine-guns and the artillery of its alien rulers. It follows, therefore, that a "success" of the Disarmament Conference, which would result only in a 25 per cent reduction of the armaments, and which perhaps would satisfy most of the States, would mean for Germany no success at all. On the other hand, such a result must be considered by Germany as a complete denial of the Treaty rights. Germany demands that her adversaries must disarm to the same level as she has done. In the event of their not fulfilling this demand, Germany can no longer remain within the limits imposed by the treaties. Germany must then demand an equal right to organize an army sufficient to guarantee her national safety. Germany will sincerely regret such a development. For, the peace-loving German people wish nothing with greater eagerness than the maintenance of world peace without violence. But if the other States would not put the same faith in the creed of world peace as Germany has done, she will indeed be compelled, for her part, to take steps for the defence of her people.

The special position of Germany in respect of disarmament, is of great significance not only for Germany; it is indeed *the problem* of world peace. There are quite a number of obligations in the Versailles and other treaties, which have caused dissatisfaction and hatred among the peoples of Europe. If Europe were occupied by States with almost equally strong armies, it would in itself have been a matter of grave danger. But even then an armed conflict could have been prevented, for it would have meant for every State, which went to war, a great risk. Today there exists, however, a completely unarmed country in Europe, into which every State can march without any risk. Germany is thus a predestined field of battle in every European conflict. Hence, the one-sided disarmament of Germany, which has destroyed the balance of power in Europe, leads more to disturbance than to the maintenance of peace. Thus, it is in the interest not only of Germany but of the entire world that a new war should be prevented by means of a just regulation of the military position in Europe. Germany's sincere wish is that this equilibrium should be restored by generalizing the German level of disarmament and not by compelling her to compete with others in military organization. The latter alternative would in any case be impossible for Germany for a long time, because of her economic position.

A gigantic conference of such world significance has seldom been looked forward to with greater or more justifiable scepticism than this Disarmament Conference. Here perhaps the world will be placed for the last time before the choice whether it would destroy the machines of destruction or itself be destroyed by them. Nowhere are the terrible consequences of the failure to disarm more convincingly depicted than in the work of the Inter-parliamentary Union on *"What Will the Future War Look Like?"* According to the opinion of leading military experts, the world war of 1914-18 would be a harmless affair in comparision with the coming war. The destructive power of modern military aeroplanes is many hundred times greater than those employed in the last war. The newly invented inextinguishable incendiary bombs can be thrown in thousands by a solitary aeroplane. It is quite easy today to transform the whole of the civilized world into a mass of blazing ruins. Destructive gas-warfare will kill the helpless civilian population, and distant firing enables to kill at a range of 100 km. How can there be a question of victors or the vanquished in such a war? A sweeping destruction will be the result of a failure to achieve disarmament. Only depopulated deserts, thinly populated forests and hills will be spared in a new war. It would destroy the centres of life of the world and with them the creative peoples as well as thousand year old cultures.

A settled fact should yet be discussed here, and it is perhaps a decisive question. One cannot separate the weapons from the object of their application: but the Disarmament Conference will only discuss the weapons. Will any State reduce its army, so long as there is the possibility of a war at all, so long as there is no peace-order, obligatory on all peoples, which offers a peaceful solution of opposing political interests? One cannot answer that such an order already exists in the League of Nations. The League of Nations in its present form can perhaps by good will maintain the *existing* order. But that is not enough. A peace-order which is to make weapons superfluous, must be able to replace the existing order when it is unjust, and create new rights. A peace-order which will take the growth and development of peoples into consideration and which will transform freedom and justice into reality, will carry in it the preliminaries of a complete and lasting disarmament.

The German people, who have been purified by the sufferings of the last decade wish no senseless warfare in the world and will serve to the best of their ability the non-violent victory of liberty and justice. They feel from the depth of their hearts that they are the comrades of all peoples who suffer in a struggle for the same liberty and justice.

# THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER

## By M. KRISHNAN NAMBYAR

THE latest mails from India give one the impression that neither the Press nor the public there have appreciated the importance of the Statute of Westminster which received Royal assent last evening; yet the Indian public might have wondered why to the very innocuous policy of His Majesty's Government on India, outlined in the white paper issued on December 1, 1931, the chief merit of which lies in granting nothing and refusing nothing, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Winston Churchill should have been so anxious to table an amendment to the effect that "nothing in the said policy shall commit this House to the establishment in India of a Dominion constitution as defined by the Statute of Westminster."

Why does Mr. Churchill shudder at even the remote possibility of the application of the statute to India, when after a heroic but unsuccessful fight against the passing of the statute it was introduced in the House of Commons last November? And Why did he again object to the bill at the Committee stage, attempting with equal results the exclusion of the Irish Free State Treaty from the operation of the statute? "Let any one who reads these clauses," exclaimed Mr. Churchill on 21st November in the House of Commons, opposing the motion for the second reading of this bill, prematurely called a statute, "contemplate the frightful disaster which would be brought on India if full Dominion status as set out there became the law governing India!"

Apart from India, which the statute never sought to include within its scope, it was not without a struggle that the Conservatives allowed it to be passed into law.

On the 10th of November last many distinguished persons of their party gathered under the banner of the Royal Empire Society in King Edward VII's rooms in the Hotel Metropole in Northumberland Avenue. Viscount Hailsham who had been appointed to the Cabinet a few hours before, presided. Professor J. H. Morgan, K. C., the eminent constitutional lawyer delivered his address on the prosposed statute and was vehemently applauded when he ridiculed the famous Balfour formula on which the statute was founded as English but not law, and proceeded to show the alarming implications behind the bill. Lord Atkin, a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and a Law Lord, followed up saying that "the proposals were so far-reaching and might be so dangerous that they should have the fullest consideration before being passed. Lord Stonehaven, an ex-Governor-General of Australia, deplored with others the grave iniquity in introducing the measure. One eminent gentleman tried to comfort the audience that after all the Parliament was the supreme authority and what it did today it could undo to-morrow. Professor Morgan too tried to console the audience in the end with the soothing reflection that though the statute gave such wide powers to the Dominions, it did not follow that they would use them. There was one speech, however, which struck a warning note, and that was by Mr. Bruce, the ex-Prime Minister of Australia. He admitted that as a member of the Imperial Conference of 1926 he was one of those criminals responsible for the statute; he deplored with every one present that the inter-imperial relations should be pressed into the straight jacket of a statute, but hinted darkly that but for the enunciation of the Balfour formula and the proposal to translate the formula into law, the inter-imperial relationship might have been quite different from what it is now. Viscount Hailsham did not advert to the legal difficulties in the way, but pointed out in conclusion the very grave risk that would be run if anyone engineered any opposition to the statute after agreeing with the Dominions representatives in the Imperial Conference of 1930, that it would be enacted by the Parliament before the 1st of December 1931. But the Conservatives were deaf to the warning. More than once Professor Morgan was invited to address the Conservative members of the House of Commons on the legal or illegal aspect of the statute ; Mr. Churchill led a valiant fight at all the stages of the bill and revealed to the Dominions and Ireland what he and his friends thought of them ; but the statute withstood all the attacks and emerged more successfully through them than the Indian Round Table Conference.

THE extreme significance of the provisions of this statute could be better understood by a reference to the constitutional status of the self-governing Dominions prior to the present Act. It may be recalled that Dominion legislature is, or to be more accurate was, in law and in theory, only a subordinate and not a sovereign legislature founded by Acts of the British Parliament ; being a body empowered to legislate within its territory, its right to enact laws having extra-territorial operation was always doubted and very often negatived by courts. It could pass laws contrary to the common law of England under the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865, but not laws repugnant to any Act of the British Parliament extending to such Dominion, in which case such laws to that extent would be absolutely void, and of no effect. Further, the Imperial Government could exercise its supremacy by directly legislating for a Dominion through the British Parliament ; again, it could, through the Governor-General, veto and disallow any measure passed by a Dominion legislature, or direct such bill to be reserved for the King's pleasure. Again, even after the bill had become law by receiving the assent of the Governor-General, it could be disallowed, through the King, within a certain specified period, in the case of some Dominions one and others two years, as provided by the constitution of each Dominion. Not being independent States in international law, the foreign relations between the Dominions and other States were exercised by His Majesty's Government in Great Britain.

The great war which threw several ideals into the melting pot, revealed the dependence of the mother country on the Dominions, and the legal dependence of the Dominions on the mother country. Control from Whitehall was chafed at and resented. English statesmen who took note of the signs of the times remembered that discretion was the better part of valour and honoured the Dominions by grant of representation in the Imperial War Cabinet and participation in signing the Treaty of Versailles. Subsequently Southern Ireland framed a constitution for itself in the "exercise of undoubted right" by its own "House of Parliament, constituted pursuant to the Irish Free State Agreement Act 1922, sitting as a constituent assembly for the settlement of the constitution of the Irish Free State" and proclaimed in its preamble that "all lawful authority comes from God to the people." This and the wording of Article 2 that "all powers of Government and all authority legislative, executive and judicial, in Ireland are derived from the people of Ireland" negatived by implication the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and all the fundamental principles of English constitutional law. The separate representation of the Dominions in the League of Nations, and the gradual assertion by the Dominions of its right to conclude its own treaties with foreign States—as Canada's treaty with the United States of America in 1923—without the intervention of the British Government and the appointment of diplomatic representatives in foreign States —all tended to weaken the established doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the British Parliament over the Dominions.

It was therefore in a spirit of distrust and suspicion that the Imperial Conference of 1926 met. The younger members of the Commonwealth—South Africa and Ireland, were discontented, rebellious. Rumblings about secession plainly felt themselves heard. It was then that, with consummate tact and admirable diplomacy, Lord Balfour framed his famous formula which the Conference adopted without dissension : "The Dominions are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or internal affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." India was a member no doubt, and continued to be a member of every Imperial Conference held subsequently, but she was left out of the scope of the formula because of some vague reason defined as the "peculiar nature of its position." The Conference proceeded to enumerate the future relationship of the Dominions with the mother country: that "every *self-governing* member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny. ... *In fact* if not always *in form* it is subject to no compulsion whatever. And though every Dominion is now, and must always remain the sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation no common cause will in our opinion be thereby imperilled." It was resolved that the Governor-General was not to be the agent of His Majesty's Government, but only His Majesty's representative exercising the same constitutional powers as the King in Great Britain; that each Dominion had the right of tendering advice directly to His Majesty which of course His Majesty could never reject, and that it was unconstitutional for His Majesty's Government to advise on Dominion matters. Each Dominion was to have full power to sign treaties; and, lastly, a committee was appointed to report on the operation of Dominions legislation and suggest the necessary changes.

One should have thought that the aforementioned constitutional conventions agreed to at the Conference were ample to secure the independence of the Dominions; but every student of constitutional law knows that a convention can never be enforced in a court of law; it depends for its strength only on the degree with which it is observed, and the Dominions which know their mother country better than India does, did not wish to leave these conventions to the shifting sands of time or of party Government in Great Britain, and proceeded in the committee to report on the operation of Dominion legislation, to translate the conventions into the provisions of a bill to be enacted by the British Parliament. The report was produced in 1929, and the Imperial Conference of 1930 fixed its imprimatur thereto, resolving incidentally that the right of recommending appointment of the Governor-General for each Dominion lay in the particular Dominion concerned alone and not with His Majesty's Government, a right which was enforced shortly thereafter in the appointment of Sir Isaac Isaacs, an Australian, as the Governor-General of Australia, on advice tendered directly by the Australian Prime Minister without the intervention of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

THE provisions of the bill, now an act, called the Statute of Westminster, are few and brief. A Dominion in the bill means only the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland. The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 will not apply further to any law passed by a Dominion. No law passed by a Dominion is to be void on the ground of repugnancy to the law of England or any existing or future act of the British Parliament. The powers of a Dominion Parliament are to include the power to *repeal* or *amend* any such act of the British Parliament extending to a Dominion. But no act of the British Parliament is to be passed thereafter extending to a Dominion unless it is expressly declared in that act that the Dominion had requested and consented to the enactment thereof. The legislature of a Dominion is to have full powers to make laws having extra-territorial operation. Further, powers are also given with reference to merchant shipping, and in relation to Courts of Admiralty.

The fundamental doctrine of British constitutional law regarding the sovereignty of the British Parliament is rudely and violently assailed. If the British Parliament passed tomorrow an act extending to the Irish Free State, save as provided by the Statute of Westminster, would it be valid or invalid? Would it be enforced by the King's courts in Ireland? The courts in Ireland could say with perfect ease that the act is repugnant to the Statute of Westminster, and therefore *ultra vires*. But the British Parliament is a sovereign body; it can repeal its enactments either expressly or by implication. If a later act conflicts with an earler act, the later act would prevail; besides, one of the necessary incidents of a sovereign body is that its acts can never be pronounced *ultra vires* by any outside authority or court.

Again, the grant of legal powers to a subordinate legislature to enact laws repugnant to the laws of the sovereign body, and further to *repeal* or *amend* both existing and future enactments of the sovereign body is to divest the sovereign body of its sovereignty and endow the subordinate body with sovereignty. Not only that. It goes a step further. The vesting of the right of repeal or amendment of the existing or future acts of the British Parliament in a Dominion Parliament stamps the former with all the legal incidents of a subordinate body—a position as strange as it is incongruous! If the Imperial Parliament tomorrow revoked the constitution of Ireland by passing an act to that effect, the Oireachtas Ireland could pass the next day an act repealing the same, or ignore it as void, as repugnant to section 4 of the Statute of Westminster. It was this provision that exercised Mr. Churchill's mind and induced his party to table an amendment safe-guarding the Irish Treaty. Sir T. Inskip, the Solicitor-General, assured Mr. Churchill that under Article 50 of the Irish Free State Constitution Act 1922, the Oireachtas had no power to repeal it. Mr. Churchill then asked the Government what objection there could be to incorporating his amendment in the act, but the Government avoided the inclusion. But with the greatest respect to the eminent Solicitor-General, it is difficult to understand his contention. It may be that under Article 50 of the Irish Free State Act, the Irish Parliament had no authority to repeal the Irish Treaty. But the Irish Treaty is embodied in the Irish Free State Act of the British Parliament; and Section 2, clause 2 of the Statute of Westminster empowers a Dominion to repeal *any* existing Act of the British Parliament, which of course includes the Irish Free State Act 1922.

But more startling than these provisions, are the words used in the preamble. It sets out "that inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the succession to the Throne of the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom." The Crown in its person is no doubt the last and the remaining vestige of union between the Dominions and the United Kingdom; but apart from the fact that constitutional authority of the throne is shadowy and of little substance in practice, it is difficult to estimate the significance and effect of this preamble coupled with the provisions of sections 2 and 4. Succession to the throne is governed by the Act of Settlement of 1700; under section 2, clause 2, of the Statute of Westminster this act like any other existing act, as Professor Morgan frankly conceded, can be amended or repealed by any Dominion Parliament, since the act applies to every Dominion. Again, if the Act of Settlement is to be amended or a fresh Act of Succession to the Throne is deemed necessary, the act cannot be passed by the British Parliament without the assent of the Dominions, and perhaps under section 4 only at their request and with their consent. If such an act is passed without the consent of a Dominion, or even with its assent, the Dominion could, if it was determined, exercise its right of repeal under section 2. Indeed the most alarming and dangerous results would follow if any Dominion took it into its head to exercise all the rights given under the Statute with all its implications. If the doctrine of absolute sovereignty of the British Parliament should be upheld in spite of the passing of the Statute of Westminster, and be unrestricted by its provisions, the Statute of Westminster is innocuous, and can be repealed legally at any time the Parliament chose. In that case the statute is only a blind and an eye-wash. But otherwise,—and it is difficult to see why the Dominion lawyers and governments should have spent large sums of money and so much time, and insisted on the enactment of such a statute if it was going to be a worthless scrap of paper,—it may truly be said that the independence the United States of America achieved by force of arms, the Dominions could proclaim by the enactment of a statute. The Statute of Westminster has given the Dominions the right to secede by the enactment of a law by its own legislature, though whether it will exercise such a right or not in its own interests is a different question altogether.

The term "Dominion Status" with reference to India has been scrupulously avoided in the pronouncements of His Majesty's Government in its policy with regard to India. Both the Government of India Act of 1919 and the subsequent pronouncements use the words "responsible government." It was only once that, in Lord Irwin's announcement, it was stated that responsible government included implication of Dominion status. That statement, as everyone knows, evoked a storm of protest in the House of Lords, and the righteous indignation of Mr. Churchill. Both in his letter to the *Times* on 25th of November last and his speech in the Commons on the announcement of the Indian policy, Mr. Churchill bitterly complained of the use of the term Dominion Status in relation to India, which "the Imperial Conference had used in such a way as to abolish all conception of Imperial supremacy." In the Commons Mr. Churchill drew a subtle distinction between Dominion Status and Dominion Rights, and contended that the former did not always include the latter. Apparently, the ceaseless manufacture of phrases by which the goal of India has been successively defined by different schools of thought as "responsible government with safe-guards," "responsible government," "Dominion Status," "Substance of Independence," and "Independence" is not yet complete, and Mr Churchill may have to be thanked for the discovery of a new phrase as a new goal and a new mirage for India, namely, "Dominion Rights."

Whatever India's goal be, and whether India is or is not to be included in the ambit of the Statute of Westminster, it is difficult to think of a more momentous parliamentary enactment than this act. The people of Great Britain naturally try to believe that it means the cementing of an indissoluble union on the perfect bonds of free will and affection. Mere disinterested observers might perhaps suggest that it means the passing away of the greatest empire the world has seen with absolute ease. To strike the balance between the two points of view is not easy. We live too near the times to have the right perspective. Time alone can tell whether that great parliamentary gladiator, Lord Balfour, has justified British statesmanship or won one of the last of his wordy victories.

* * *

# THE STAR ANGEL

### By MANMOHAN GHOSH

As up at God's great silence
I looked with streaming eyes
A star through my tears came trembling
Glittering down from the skies.

Trembling with pity eternal
Shining with steadfast peace
That angel of the silence
Hushed me and bade me cease.

Cease, for thy falling tear-drops
Have dimmed the eternal eyes
And thy heart-rending sorrow
Disturbs heaven's harmonies.

Thou can'st not pierce with grieving
The austere, awful hush
Around whose central stillness
The stars in myriads rush.

Thou can'st not win with weeping
From the Bosom of vast repose
Her resting soul, nor trouble
His Calm whom we enclose.

Round whom our angel armies
Wheel and with solemn awe
Make with our heavenly motions
The music that is law.

Trembling with pity eternal
Peaceful I hear him speak
And with fresh tears fast welling
I wet his glistening cheek.

Return, nor tremble with pity
Return, and shine in peace,
Thou glorious star that streamest
Through my tears without cease.

Resume thy austere function
Law and the swerveless chime
Whose marshalled order and motion
Preserves the world's fresh prime.

What ails thee through a tear-drop
A mortal tear to stream
To break thy glory and tarnish
With our salt sorrow's gleam.

I ask not back with weeping
From infinite distance and rest
God's starry silence, the frailty
That bathed in His Calm were best.

I crave not thy bright comfort
Cold star, my tears should steep
And hush my wild heart's throbbing
I only ask to weep.

To think and to remember,
With tears how she was sweet
And life how briefly blissful
With her awhile to beat.

Wildly through tears I answered
His angel cheek I strained
Yet streaming the pity eternal
Through my tears he remained.

Why stay'st thou ? Can thy brilliance
Have caught the tremble, the pain,
And the glide of all stars lingered
With my grief to remain ?

Through a tear's terrestrial tremble
To wait and weep with me
Hast thou from steadfast rapture
Stooped from tranquillity ?

Forsook, perhaps to grieving
The severe awful hush
Around whose central silence
The constellations rush

Of all the glories of distance
That never an eyelid drooped,
Nor paused for a tear terrestrial,
Thou only, hast thou stooped.

I cannot move with weeping
The Bosom of starry bliss
In whose eternal keeping
Her restful spirit is.

I cannot with the tremble
Of a frail terrestrial tear
Persuade her trancéd stillness
In grief to re-insphere.

Persuade from infinite distance
A moment, it may be,
Through my tear's useless streaming
To look and think of me.

To think and to remember
In the Bosom of vast repose
Where like a star she glitters
My grief for her, my throes

Caught in a tear's wet tremble
To dim and to fill with me
And streaming the old sweet pity
Stoop from infinity.

Then in my eyes soft gazing
Through tears that well and fill
To touch me and to whisper
"Grieve not, I love thee still."

So wept I ; through my weeping
Larger I saw him shine
Kindly his streaming fingers
That bright star laid in mine.

"Nay hush thee ; for thy tear-drops
Have a million starry eyes
Drenched through, and the calm eternal
Is troubled with thy sighs.

"The boundless bosom to hear thee
Is moved, and to soothe thy strife
Let stream the peace and the distance
Through the broken tremble of life

"Out from the infinite wheelings
From everlasting awe
The swerveless dance, whose motions
Make harmony and law.

"One calm eye of the millions
Spectator's of earth's pain
That have looked and swept for ages
On through the glittering plain.

"Guards of the world's great order
The sheen and the array
Patrols of space ethereal
From tarnish and decay

"I, angel of his pity
Lo, I am sent thy woes
To share, thy grievous weepings
To comfort and compose.

"Lay thy head on my bosom
Still thee upon my breast
Taste of the starry silence
Sink to our heavenly rest."

With gentle human accents
Softly he spoke ; it bred
Strange wonder warming through me
Yet I, uncomforted,

Answered : "Thou alien splendour
Return, thou can'st not share,
Kind, tranquil star, my weepings,
Who knowest not grief or care

"Hadst thou some sister glory
Lost from the peace of the skies
Then might'st thou comfort whisper
Then might'st thou wipe my eyes."

"Let me divine compassion,
God's patience, let me move.
To burst death's awful barrier
And send me her I love.

"Through a tear's terrestrial tremble
To wait and weep with me
To part my hair and to whisper
A moment it may be.

"Dear, from the infinite distance
I love thee, I am not cold,
From space toward thee I tremble,
I love thee as of old.

"On the bosom of bliss eternal
I yearn to think of thee
I dim in trancéd brightness
Thy far-off pain to see.

"She sees not, will not hear me.
Then glorious star return
Nor the glide of all heaven linger
But let my salt tears burn."

Then with a strange emotion
Pulsing my words to hear,
They were not the pulsations
Of aught so cold or clear,

That glorious star he clasped me
He strained me tenderly
To his distant breast that I wondered
And wept to think it she.

In the clasp of pity eternal
Severe, sweet, heavenly,
For bliss and awe I trembled
Whispering "Is it she ?"

I fell on his angel bosom,
I wept for joy ; his gāze
Softening with tender glory
My whole soul did amaze.

I yearned up to those features
Severe, sweet, heavenly
" 'Tis thou," I sobbed in whispers
"Emily, Emily !"

"Hush." 'Twas her own sweet accents,
And yet angelical,
I heard with human tremble,
Her faltering accents fall.

"Hush ! On the bosom eternal
I suffered of thee to think,
I dimmed in trancéd brightness
On rapture's awful brink.

"From God's conceiveless glory
Turning from bliss away,
From peace, toward thee I trembled
And thy tormented clay.

"Through thy tears' sorrowing tremble
As thou did'st gaze on high
I, on a glittering star beam,
Stooped from infinity.

"Not till thou looked'st upward
To crush thy suffering clay
Against God's star-thronged distance
Could I to thee find way,

"To soothe thee and to comfort,
God is no silence cold ;
The smallest star in the vastness
Burns with a love untold.

"It trembles with pity eternal
It moves with blissful awe,
In the love-linked dance whose motions
Are harmony and law.

"Not one but earthward gazing
To meet a tear-drop still
With God's own bright compassion
Must dim, suffuse and fill,

"Must make a glittering stairway
For that large sympathy
Whence came the world, to brighten
Down to a sorrowing eye

"To shun eternal comfort
In nature be not fond
To the pity in the grandeur
Through brightened tears respond

"With all things, in the vastness
He suffers, he weeps as we,
In the mist, the falling dew drop,
The rain on flower and tree.

"The cloud is but his sadness
The sunset but his grief
In the homeless wind he wanders
And moans without relief.

"In the weeping life of water
He channels and frets and groans
He petrifies and freezes
In the tearless heart of stones.

“With every poor worm trampled
He dies, the death pang tastes,
No mateless she-bird mourneth
But to her side he hastes.

“The glories of the distance
That seem so cold and high
They are the eyes of mercy
To see creation by.

“All day, unseen, they glitter,
Clear all night long they shine
That infinite Compassion
May gaze and Love divine.

“Then mourn since God’s self sorrows
Suffer, for suffering is
The law by which love strengthens
Increases, burns toward bliss.

“Yet be not lonely in sorrow,
Not selfish be. Let share
The starry All thy weeping
To vastness lift thy care

“The illimitable bosom
That all contains to all
Yearns out of space and distance
Feels though a sparrow fall.

“How infinitely lonely
Think, in his vastness, he
To mix himself and limit
In man and bird and tree.

“He aches to be unbounded
Ever alone he seeks
Some shore to burst his glory
On human hearts he breaks

“Sparkling with life eternal
By bay, creek, rocky shelf
Foaming eternal freshness
He seeks to spend himself

“On all life. Tree, man, creature
We are the lonely shores
His lonelier vast sets tidal
Towards and heaves and roars.

“Ever toward all existence
Those mighty waters move
On limit to break their grandeur
And wet with streaming love

“Me like a shell his glory
Washed from thy side away
An oyster to pearl in his freshness,
Depths fathomless today.

“Thou as a clinging sea-weed
Upon thy rock must weep
Yet be with his grandeur lifted,
Suffer to sway and to steep

“Thy drenched heart his pity
Drink infinitely sweet
God’s love, divine, compassion
Nor gainst his vastness beat.”

I felt her starry beauty
Softly imparadise
From me that angel clasping
I looked with streaming eyes

With fond tears I besought her
I sought to stay her back
“God’s bosom shall not miss thee
A little while to lack.”

“Nay, hush thee. Through the tremble
Of a frail terrestrial tear
Have I not wept and waited ?
Have I not soothed thee, dear ?”

Upon my brow she kissed me
On my cheek a tear let fall
She left me wildly weeping
Left me without recall.

I dashed away those waters
I gazed but nought might see
Only a star in the distance
Was shining quietly.

# DID INSULINDIA GET MAHAYANA CULT FROM BENGAL ?

### By BIJANRAJ CHATTERJEE, M.A., D.LITT.

DID Java and Srivijaya get the Mahayana cult from Pala Bengal ?

(A)—Comments on the inscriptions of Canggal, Kedu, Kalasan and Nalanda by Dr. Stutterheim in the *Tijdscrift,* 1927, and in *A Javanese Period in Sumatran History,* 1929.

A Kavi inscription found at Kedu (in Central Java) gives us a list of the kings of Mataram (Central Java) beginning with Sanjaya—the hero of the Canggal inscription. The immediate successor of Sanjaya, according to this list, is Maharaja Panangkaran, whom Dr. Stutterheim identifies with the Maharaja Panankaran of the inscription of Kalasan.

But Panankaran of the Kalasan inscription is a Sailendra, *i. e.,* a prince supposed to belong to the royal family of Srivijaya (in Sumatra). We know nothing, however, as to how the Sailendras got a footing in Java. There is nothing to suggest conquest by force of arms.

Stutterheim's theory is that Sanjaya of Mataram (in Central Java), whose panegyric we read in the Canggal inscription, was himself a Sailendra. This dynasty then, according to Stutterheim, originated not in Srivijaya but in Java. Stutterheim quotes a Kavi work, *Carita Parahyangan,* in which Sanjaya is described as having won victories in Khmer, Malaya, Keling and in the country last named Sang, Srivijaya is defeated by m Probably these conquests took place after the dedication of the *linga* mentioned in the Canggal inscription (732 A. D). Dr. Stutterheim then proceeds to interpret the Nalanda inscription (*c.* 850 A. D.) in a daring manner in the new light thrown on it by the Kedu list of kings. Maharaja Balaputra of Sumatra, the donor of the monastery at Nalanda, refers to his grandfather, a king of Java, not by name but by the meaning of his name—which is **वीरवैरिमथन** (he who has crushed the valiant enemy). Then Balaputra's father is described as **समराग्र** (foremost in war) and his (Balaputra's) mother is mentioned by the name of Tara. Tara is said to be the daughter of a king Dharmasetu. Now, Stutterheim proposes to identify Sanjaya, a famous conqueror, with the grandfather of Balaputra. In this case, Sanjaya's successor Panangkaran would be the father of Balaputra and Tara would be the queen of Panangkaran. This seems to receive some confirmation from the Kalasan inscription (778 A. D.) in which we find Panangkaran dedicating a temple to Tara. The queen on her death might have been identified with the goddess Tara and the Kalasan temple might have been built to commemorate her memory. Again in the inscriptions of Kalasan and Kelurak (782 A. D.) we come across the word Dharmasetu and in the Nalanda inscription Dharmasetu is mentioned as a king whose daughter is Tara—the mother of Balaputra. Dr. Stutterheim is bold enough to identify Dharmasetu with Dharmapala—the famous Pala ruler of Bengal. So his theory is that it was after the marriage of Dharmapala's daughter Tara, a Bengali princess, with king Panangkaran of Java that Mahayana elements began to be mixed up with the Saiva doctrines already existing in Java. Dharmapala, according to Stutterheim, was the *guru* as well as the father-in-law of Panangkaran.

Finally, Dr. Stutterheim points out that there was no embassy from Srivijaya to China during the period 750-904 A. D. It was after 904 A. D. that ambassadors from Srivijaya began to visit the Chinese court again. Therefore Dr. Stutterheim believes that Javanese rule over Sumatra ended in 904 A. D. Thus by supposing that the Sailendra monarchs belonged to Mataram (Central Java) and not to Srivijaya, Dr. Stutterheim rejects the hitherto accepted designation of the period (750-904 A. D.) as a Sumatran period of Javanese history and would replace it by a new designation—a Javanese period of Sumatran history.

The inscription of Kelurak and the visit to Java of the Mahayanist Raja-guru from Bengal (from the article by Dr. Bosch in the *Tijdscrift voor Indische Taal-Laand en Volkenkunde*, LXVIII, 1928).

The inscription of Kelurak (near Prambanan in Central Java) is in the Nagari script like some other Mahayana records, as for example, that of Kalasan, which bears the names of the Sailendra monarchs. It is dated 704 Saka era, *i. e.*, 782 A. D. Portions of it are badly damaged. Just as in the Kalasan inscription (778 A. D.) we are told that it was due to the persuasion of the *guru* that the temple and image of Tara were constructed by the Sailendra monarch—similarly in the Kelurak inscription it is the Rajaguru, coming from Gaudidvipa (Bengal) to 'purify with the holy dust of his feet' the Sailendra ruler of Central Java who consecrates the image of Manjusri. Dr. Stutterheim believes that the *guru* mentioned in the Kalasan inscription was no other than Dharmapala, the celebrated Pala ruler of Bengal. In the Kelurak inscription the name of the Rajaguru seems to be Kumaraghosa. He is then not the king of Bengal but a very holy personage who had come all the way from Bengal to teach Mahayana doctrines in Java. There must have been many such visitors from overseas. Dr. Bosch quotes the Nagarakritagama (83,4): "Continuously people of all kinds came by sea to Java, numerous merchants, monks and distinguished Brahmans."

Another passage in the Kelurak inscription raises some interesting points. In the Nalanda inscription the Sailendra monarch Balaputra (the donor of the monastery at Nalanda mentioned in the inscription) refers to his grandfather a king of Java (not Sumatra), not by name but by the meaning of his name which is वीरवैरिमथन. Now, the king of the Kelurak inscription is extolled as वैरिवरवीरविमर्द्दन and therefore it would not be unreasonable to identify him with the grandfather of Balaputra. Balaputra, a contemporary of Devapala of Bengal, may be assigned a date *c.* 850 A. D. and the date of the Kelurak inscription is 782 A. D.

Dr. Bosch agrees with Dr. Stutterheim in accepting Panangkaran, the second prince of the list of Kedu, as the same person as the Maharaja Panankaran of the Kalasan inscription. But further than this they do not agree at all. Dr. Bosch believes that Panangkaran did not belong to an indigenous dynasty of Java, but was one of the younger Sailendra princes of Sumatra, who, by his marriage with a Javanese princess, became the legitimate successor of Sanjaya. The restoration of the Javanese dynasty might also have taken place by another marriage *c.* 904 A. D. So Dr. Bosch sticks to the older theory of the Sumatran period of Javanese history, though in a recent lecture delivered by him at the Société Asiatique, Paris, he seems to appreciate the importance of the points raised by Dr. Stutterheim.

To sum up, Dr. Stutterheim's identification of Dharmapala (of Bengal) with Dharmasetu, whom he supposes to be the father-in-law of king Panangkaran, is far-fetched. Professor Coedès shows us from an old Malay inscription of Srivijaya dated 606 Saka era (*i. e.*, 684 A. D.) that the Vajrayana was already known in Sumatra at that early date. The far-reaching influence of Nalanda is also well known. In the Kelurak inscription we actually find a Mahayanist *guru* from Bengal visiting Java. Thus, without dragging in Dharmapala, we can point to Bengal as the source of the Mahayana and Tantrayana cults in Java and Sumatra. In my *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia* (*vide* the conclusion) written in 1926, I had tried to show that Pala Bengal might well be given the credit for having spread Mahayana and Tantrayana teachings into Indo-China and Insulindia. Now this point is well established.

### Text of the Kelurak
### Inscription (dated 704 Saka era)

This inscription is in Nagari script and was found near Prambanan in Central Java. It is badly damaged but luckily the important portions are decipherable.

**नमो रत्नत्रयाय**

जयलोकेश्वरसुगतपदान्तर जयभद्रेश्वरसुगतपदान्तर ।
जयविश्वेश्वरसुगतपदान्तर जय···श्वरसुगतपदान्तर ॥ (१)
घर्षति यो लोकेश···धर्त्तुं मूर्ध्नामिताभम् अपि लोकेश्वरम् ।
प्रणमत तम् लोकेशम् सकलदिगन्तावभासनालोकेशम् ॥ (२)

……………………………………………………

सामन्तमन्त्रिपतिसंस्कृतसत्क्रमेण दिक्चक्रराजविजयार्जितविक्रमेण ।
···रवैरिवरविमर्दनेण नित्यं परार्थकरु(णा)—मेन ॥ (४)
शैलेन्द्रवंशतिलकेन महोदयेन यस्यक्रमाम्बुजरजैः शिरसाप्रणम्य ।
सम्पूज्यते प्रवररत्नसरोरुहाद्यै राज्ञा धृता धृतिमता धरणीन्द्रनाम्ना ॥ (५)

……………………………………………………

गौड़िद्वीपगुरुक्रमाम्बुजरजः पूतोत्तमाङ्गात्मन··र्थविदामहार्द्धिसहदासवेद ।
······प्राप्ताभिषेकं श्रिया श्रेयः कार······यिद्वाद्रिया ॥ (७)

……………………………………………………

मन्जुश्रीरयं अप्रमेयसुगतप्रख्यात··कीर्तिमहा ····राजगुरुणा लोकार्थसंस्थापितः ॥ (८)

……………………………………………………

……………………………………………………(९)

·······त्रैलोक्यार्चितसंक्रमस्य जगतः त्रातुर्विधातुः श्रियः ।
कृत्वेमाम् प्रतिमां मया यदमितं प्राप्तं गुरुं भक्तितं
सेवा·····स्मरजितः ···· मन्जुश्री-यम् ॥ (१०)

शकनृपकालातीतं वर्षशतैः सप्तभिचतुर्भिरपि ।
वर्षैः कुमारघोषः स्थापितवान मन्जुघोषं इमम् ॥ (११)

……………………………………………………

……………………………………………………(१२)

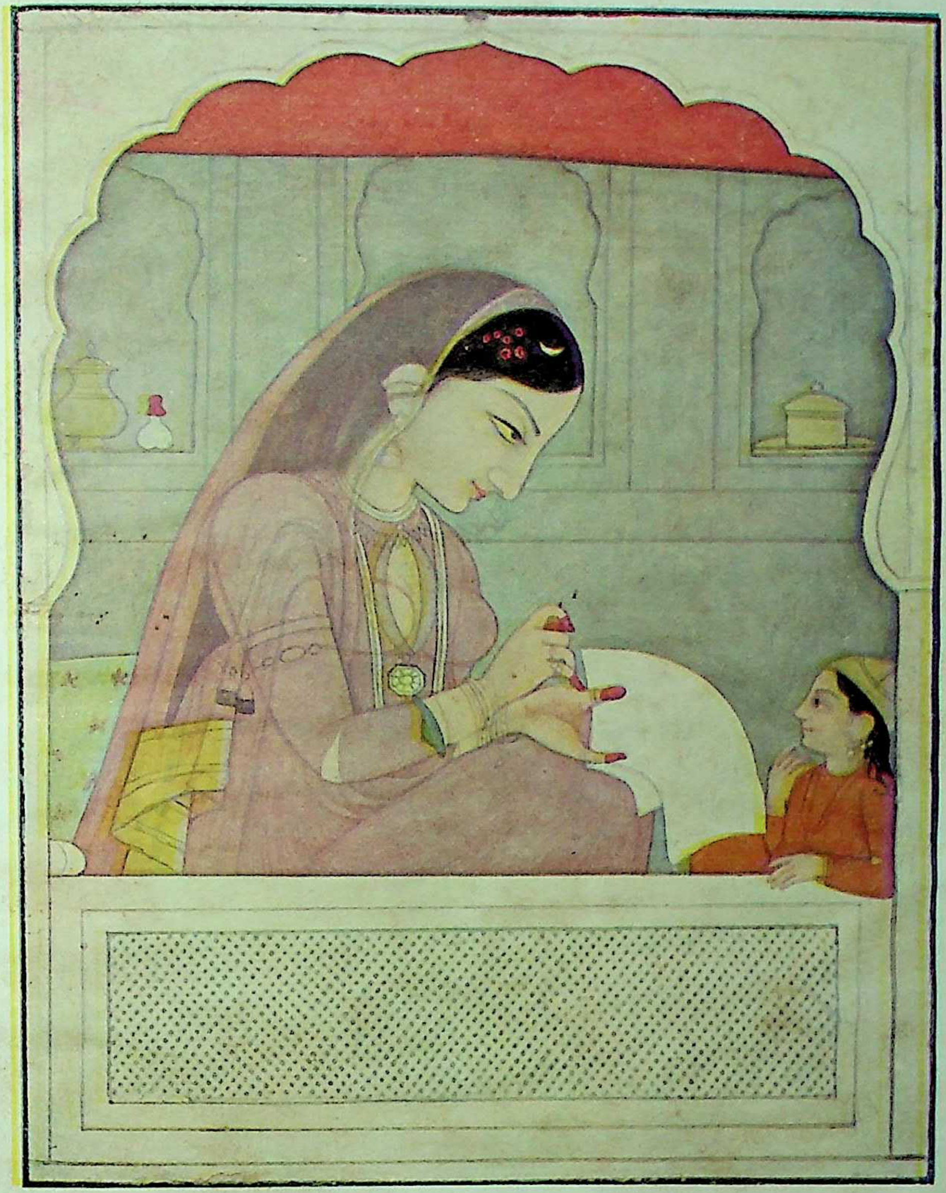
कीर्तिस्तम्भोऽयं अतुलो धर्म्मसेतुः अनुत्तमः ।
रत्नार्थं ○ ◡ सर्व्वसत्त्वानां मन्जुश्रीप्रतिम कृतिः ॥ (१३)

··· ◡ ……………………………………………

……………………………………………………(१४)

अयं स वज्रधृकं श्रीमान ब्रह्मा विष्णुर्महेश्वरः ।
सर्व्वदेवमय स्वामी मन्जुवागितिगीयते ॥ (१५)

Summary—After the invocation to Lokesvara there begins the eulogy of the king—one of whose qualifications is that of वैरिवरवीरविमर्द्दन. Then comes the important passage (7th stanza, 1st line)—"his (the king's, head purified with the dust of the lotus-like feet of the *guru* from Gaudidvipa, Bengal)." The rest of the stanza is unhappily badly damaged. In the 8th stanza we read that the image of Manjusri has been consecrated by the Rajaguru. In the 11th stanza we get the date of the inscription—704 Saka era and we are told that in that year Kumaraghosa (probably the name of the Rajaguru) has consecrated the image of Manjusri. In the 15th stanza we find Manjusri identified with Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara.



THE LOVE-LETTER

After an Old Painting of the Kangra School

Prabasi Press, Calcatta

# THE LIFE OF SAYAJI RAO III*

## A REVIEW

BY "P"

THESE two beautifully produced volumes supply interesting reading. Though dealing with only one typical personality, they will be much appreciated as an accurate exposition of the internal and external life of an average Indian Prince of the present day. One, however, fails to understand why the Gaekwar has been so impatient to have his biography published during his lifetime by different writers. The author of the above volumes refers to another biography written by one Mr. Sergeant, a couple of years ago. It is also well known that the Maharaja of Baroda had for years engaged a journalist, Mr. St. Nihal Singh, to write his full biography and had himself communicated to him his personal reminiscences. There are besides letters and speeches of the Maharaja, already separately printed, from which Mr. Rice quotes freely. Mr. Rice was employed in the State service some three years ago as a member of the Executive Council, presumably, as it now appears, with the object of writing the Maharaja's biography. This circumstance naturally lowers the value of the production.

The two volumes under review are divided into twenty chapters, which fall into five main phases of the Maharaja's activities :—(1) two chapters are devoted to purely historical matters, detailing the rise and fortunes of the Baroda State up to the point where the present Maharaja came by chance to be adopted, when a little boy, to undertake its rulership ; (2) four chapters are devoted to the Maharaja's domestic life ; (3) five to his world wide tours, (4) three to imperial and foreign concerns, and (5) six more describe the administrative and social reforms which are meant to sustain the Maharaja's claim to be the most advanced prince in India.

A careful perusal of the two volumes gives one the idea that they are a studied defence of and a concentrated apology for the Maharaja's abnormal absences from his ligitimate seat, that is to say, for his incessant quest of 'health,' for which long and frequent tours to Europe and America were undertaken, which have earned him the nickname of a touring prince and for which he has suffered occasional snubs from the British Government. Throughout the work the author maintains that all these tours were undertaken and all the expenditure on them incurred by the Maharaja in order to serve his State and benefit his people ; that his love for his people has always been intense and inordinate ; and that he has spent himself entirely for them (Vol. I, p. 50). The futility of this plea is, however, too transparent for any trouble to be taken to disprove it. Mr. Rice himself admits it when he says :

> "It is permissible to doubt whether the restless pursuit of relaxation and rest, which always elude capture, is not more harmful in the long run, than the eccentricities of the English climate (Vol. II, p. 191). In 1910 the time approached for the Maharaja to leave Baroda to begin a series of travels that have gone on almost uninterruptedly, save for the war years, ever since. The war once over, he set his face again towards Europe and once more sought elusive health in Europe, where the women are as free as the men and where he was able to gratify his taste for female society to the full ; like all virile men His Highness delights in ladies' society." (Vol. II, pp. 127, 180, 188).

One wonders, after reading such accounts, whether the plea of intense love for Baroda can stand unimpaired. The writer himself is conscious of the hollowness of his pleading and adds that "an enthusiastic biographer may be accused of partiality." (i, 60). He concludes his defence by maintaining that the Maharaja's restlessness has so increased that he can never be content to stay for a long time anywhere (ii., 177).

The author claims that this is the first adequate life of an Indian prince published in England and declares its purpose to be "to convey to an English public the trials and the difficulties, the hopes and the aspirations, the sorrows and the pleasures of an Indian Ruler." He says that "the Maharaja is a great man with a career behind him of which any one may be proud." Such a panegyric may perhaps be tolerated by those who know little of India ; but it cannot appeal to those who have to suffer the drawbacks of an absentee ruler. But the Maharaja evidently wishes through this book to justify his character before the English public, little caring for the feelings and opinions of his own countrymen ;—perhaps this is why the work has been offered at an exhorbitant price of 31s.-6d., which for about 500 pages is quite beyond the means of an average Indian reader.

The writer asserts that "Baroda has a government framed on constitutional lines with just and reasonable laws, and instinct with all the progress of modern science and modern wisdom." It is some relief to know that the author is conscious of the weakness of his judgment when he specially adds that "an Englishman cannot look at things with the eye of an Indian; intuition in the fullest sense of the term he never will have; the disadvantage does exist." Here the author almost gives up his own case. The Maharaja's life cannot be adequately interpreted by a foreigner, who sees only the outside of things, much less by an Englishman imbued with imperialistic views. If a correct and useful estimate of a life's work is to be made, which can serve as a guide and an example to all, it must come from those who have lived and worked in intimate contact with the subject of the memoir. Sir Manubhai Mehta, to name only one among many others, would have been the right person for the task, as he rose in His Highness' service to the highest post and had special opportunities to study his personality through weal and woe. The experiences of such a person, if fully and frankly narrated, would prove immensely illuminating. He could then explain why he had to quit the Maharaja after a service of over thirty years and get no mention. To this parsimoniousness in the character of the Maharaja many of his sorrows, difficulties and failures could be directly traced.

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* MAHARAJA OF BARODA, Volumes I & II. pp. 234 and 292 ; Oxford University Press, London, 1931, by Stanley Rice, Author of *Challenge of Asia*. Price 31s. 6d. for the 2 Vols.

Sayaji Rao III is a full and genuine product of Western influences. His social and political reforms, his so-called intense love of Baroda, of which the author has sung praises with tiresome repetition, are all set phrases and commonplace catch-words, which at this date have ceased to attract the serious attention of Indians and States subjects alike.

> "Baroda," says the writer, "has earned the reputation of being one of the best governed states, taking high position in the van of progress. All that the Maharaja has achieved in the course of a long reign is simply the expression of an early ideal which he set before himself and of which he never has lost sight. The State has progressed upon well ordered systematic lines," and so on and so forth.

Let us consider what his people have to say to this. Have the Maharaja's subjects appreciated all his paternal care and reciprocated his love? We are in these days familiar with the grievances of the States subjects, and apparently the people of Baroda have shown no disposition to repudiate on their behalf the common complaint which is loudly heard in the neighbouring districts of Bardoli and Kaira. Leaving aside the people, do his own kith and kin love the Maharaja? Do his Sardars, his officers, his Diwans accept the Maharaja's claim of intense love and fostering care? Let some of his trusted officials—Aiyangar, Samarth, Manubhai, or Khaserao Jadhav answer. The explanation is plain to any one. The Maharaja has doubtless a fine head, but unfortunately has not developed his heart. He has indeed succeeded in those matters in which the head alone is the driving agent and failed completely in all those in which one must fail without the heart. In this imperfect world a man of heart, possessing imagination and vision, often succeeds better without the cold calculating intellect. Heart wins heart. The Maharaja cannot tolerate strong outspoken officials. He does not feel he belongs to them or that he is one of them. His words and actions belie his real personality. He has not been able to conquer his circumstances; on the contrary, it is his circumstances that have got the better of him. A ruler can be called great only when he can master his situation so as to secure the lasting good of his people. The author approvingly quotes these words from the Maharaja's speeches,—

> "I believe the best form of government is a government through the people themselves. The people should be trained to look after their own concerns. They have to be taught to know what is good for them and how to secure it."

He also adds that the Maharaja "has looked forward to the fulfilment of a larger ideal, the ideal of an Indian nation, which shall be strong and self-respecting and which shall be equipped with all that makes nations great." (ii., 68,133). Has the Maharaja put these ideas into practice in his own State? Has he even attempted what many a smaller State has already accomplished? We have not known or heard of any such realization in Baroda. We do not see that his subjects are in any way better off than those of the neighbouring territories. The Maharaja's long experience of life, travel, history and politics and his visits to the Presidents of France and America have not so far enabled him to part with the least bit of his autocratic power.

He could succeed in obtaining cheap popularity up to a certain limit; but when the time came for a crucial test for making a real advance in surrendering his own power to the popular representatives, he shrank back. The Delhi incident so vividly described by Mr. Rice nearly extinguished him. Thereafter he ceased to care for getting into touch with outstanding personalities like Aravindo Ghose or Dutt, and has since studiously entertained in his service such persons as would humbly submit to his will. Thus he has now declined into a nonentity. We shall enquire into this change more closely.

Our ideas of reform and progress have recently undergone a great transformation. The British government have put before us certain standards which most of our Princes have for long blindly copied for the amelioration of their subjects. The hollowness of political, social and other reforms has been time and again exposed by men like Tilak, Gokhale and Gandhi. Peace and security have destroyed the nerve of the people. They have lost hope and spirit. No field is left open to them to show their worth and initiative. The country's wealth and vitality are drained away. To retrieve this position many Indian leaders are striking a new path. It was open to the Maharaja to lead his people in such an undertaking. Indeed a faint gesture was once observed in his earlier life. But thereafter he preferred personal 'health' to public duty. He lost the singular opportunity offered by the post-war circumstances. The British Government created the Chamber of Princes, in which the Gaikwar was expected to take the lead, and bring to bear on the urgent situation all his ripe experience. But he lost the splendid opportunity. He has been described "as an enlightened prince, intensely patriotic and ever anxious for the advancement of his people." His biographer excuses his inability to advance the people's material interests by asserting that Baroda being an agricultural state is not suited to the fostering of industries on account of competition from Ahmedabad and Bombay. But agriculture itself could have been improved to a phenomenal extent by personal care and scientific methods. Baroda yields some of nature's best products,—wheat, cotton, tobacco. The *patidar* of Gujrat is known to be the best agricultural labourer in India; the Maharaja was expected to set an example in agriculture to the rest of India. Besides this, there are a thousand and one subjects crying for lead, co-operation and help. But the Maharaja's libraries, picture galleries, hospitals, Zander institutes or his system of compulsory education have so far benefited the people very little. If he had instead organized his own order of the Princes through their chamber, for which he certainly possessed the capacity, he could have shewn tangible results and made impossible the present bitter agitation about States subjects' grievances. In that case, he would have been hailed as a national hero by all India and would have perpetuated his name better than any number of written biographies could do. The fact of the matter appears to us to be that the Maharaja has no spirit of sacrifice and venture. He will argue on many useful topics; but like many of our glib patriots, when the time of action comes, he fails and covers his failure by absences from Baroda. We know that the people must help themselves: but they must also receive from their ruler the necessary lead and encouragement. Putting all the blame on the people will not help much.

The Maharaja is credited with being the author of the Princes' decision last year to accept the ideal of Federation at the Round Table Conference in London. He does wield that influence. Such concerted action on the part of Indian India in other spheres, such as giving constitutional rights to the States subjects or pooling the combined resources of the States for industrial purposes, for the removal of drink and other evils, would surely have been of immense use for solving the poverty problem of India or for quieting the political agitation in a practical way. Even a failure on the part of the Maharaja in an attempt of this nature would have been of great benefit to the nation and an example to the British government. But with all his erudition the Maharaja has never shown the needed courage to tackle national problems.

A casual look at the interior of his palaces which are heavily stuffed with all manner of foreign furniture imported from Europe at an expense of crores, will reveal to any observer how suicidal nationally is his excessive taste for foreign articles, when the poor of Gujrat are trying to earn a poor pice or anna a day by plying the *charkha*. What millions of poor people earn in years, these Maharajas drain away on their unprofitable hobbies in a day or a month. How then is the Maharaja different from the rest of his order?

The life of the Maharaja of Baroda is well known in India and has not been spent in secrecy. The newspapers have always reported his movements, speeches and actions. The important events of his domestic and public life, such as the deaths of his sons, the incident of the Delhi Darbar, his grief over his monetary losses, are topics long discussed throughout India. One would, therefore, think that there can be nothing new or fresh in the presentation of Mr. Rice, who in our opinion deserves congratulations for having done the best out of an awkward subject; and while we deprecate the Maharaja's employment of an Englishman to write his biography, we can equally congratulate him upon having secured for his purpose an able writer of the ruling race, however reprehensible may be his desire to appear before the European society in colours not entirely real, at the sacrifice of the love and respect of his own people, over whom he was called to rule and with whom his life should for ever be bound.

As a compendium describing the inner working of Indian States and their relations with the supreme British power, or the various administrative problems confronting the Indian Princes, the work will be a valuable addition to the scanty literature on an important subject. One can well conceive and admire the patience, the industry and the energy of the author in wading through a mass of hitherto unnoticed material piled in the State archives.

Mr. Rice possesses a great gift of expression and style, which lends charm to the whole execution and makes its reading anything but dull. As a study of living history we recommend the book to students, containing as it does a clear exposition of many outstanding questions of a political nature. If we have had to criticize the Maharaja adversely, it is not the fault of the writer. We strongly feel that the Maharaja's life once gave a brilliant promise but has somehow proved a failure in the long run, particularly in the domestic and political spheres. As only one side of the shield was presented by the author, we had reluctantly to undertake the unpleasant task of presenting the other side of it as well. Let people judge. And let the Maharaja also turn over a new leaf. There is time yet.

# INDIA AND THE FASCIST IDEAL*

### BY SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.LITT.

Mr. P. N. Roy's *Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth* is a book which I have read with very great pleasure and profit, and I am very grateful to the author for kindly associating my name with his work as a mark of his friendship for me. We should all know something about the great thought currents and movements which are now altering society to its very foundations. A great many of us think that they have bidden good-bye to the older conceptions of life and society, and are either themselves actively engaged in remodelling the destinies of man as an entirely new conception of human relations, or are (like most of us) in tacit sympathy with those new experiments. The present age is unquestionably one of chaos, in the outward as well as in the inward life of man; and we are apt to get a little puzzled through rival theorists, and those who are putting their theories into practice, shouting out the success of their wares as the panacea for the ills of humanity. Human society is the result of a long period of evolution in which mankind as a whole consciously or unconsciously has taken a part, and it is not the expression of either the transcendental wisdom or the diabolical machinations of this or that community or fraternity which happens to be associated with the outward governing of a society in this or that land. Those who think of starting again with a clean slate would seem to be ready to wipe out the past, which, try as we may, will not leave us as it is a part of our very being. Where is the well-ordered organization which makes for the most natural line of progress? There are extremes and there are reasoned lines of progress which are recommended either as short-cuts to Paradise or as safe *viæ mediæ*.

History never repeats itself, notwithstanding the popular proverb; and the conditions of one country are not identical with those of another. In our own country, what with the self-complacency and selfishness and lack of imagination of the orthodox upper class Hindus; the servility, with an under-current of sullen resentment, of the suppressed lower class Hindus; the insane communalism of a vociferous section of Indians who follow the Mohammedan faith, with attendant unreason and religious fanaticism making itself painfully mainfest at not infrequent intervals; exploitation of this attitude by the champions of vested British interests in India, making the efforts of liberal Europeans and nationalist Indians useless in setting to order the general chaos; inter-provincial jealousy, prejudice and opposition; exploitation of labour by capital, complicating upper class and lower class, as well as Hindu and Mohammedan relations; confusion of economic and religious questions; the Native States with their potentates (the less said about whom the better); the decaying middle class in certain provinces, and the rise of new social groups everywhere;—all these and many other things have brought about such a tangle in India, as perhaps nowhere else in the world and at no period of history we can conceive of. Mahatma Gandhi's attempts at the Round Table Conference to create union and order out of this disunion and chaos are being baffled at every step by petty jealousies and mutual recriminations and a desire to be the bully in a future arrangement for the administration of India. In such a situation, cool-headed and even thoughtful people get bewildered, not to speak of the average man. Mahatmaji is trying his method of sweetness and light, and we heartily wish that this method will succeed ultimately. But we cannot help feeling a bit wistful for a *zabar-dast* or strong-handed leader of men like a Mussolini or a Kemal Pasha or even a Reza Shah Pahlavi, who will hold the reins with no uncertain hand and lash us into sanity in the face of the ruin that is presenting itself before everything, and by main force make us forget or at least forgo our prejudices, our superstitions, our desire to bully and the thousand and one meaner vices that are turning us into refined savages.

Mussolini and his followers claim to have done as much for the people of Italy. I do not know the exact situation now, but in 1922 when I was in Italy, as a passing sojourner, I could see that Fascism at that time was making for an orderly and all-embracing scheme of national progress, despite the opposition of some groups within the body-politic which shouted for Bolshevism and chalked on the walls *Viva Lenin,* an inscription which the Fascists would always score through and restore to *Viva il Re.* Some Italian friends whom I knew long and intimately in England, members of the middle class, who were in the army during the war, spoke to me about the measures that the Fascist Party were taking for bettering the conditions of the masses. What the Fascist organization stands for, we in India did not have much opportunity of knowing, and yet we could not afford to remain ignorant

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* MUSSOLINI AND THE CULT OF ITALIAN YOUTH. An Exposition of Fascism based on the speeches of Benito Mussolini. By P. N. Roy. R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, Price Rs. 3-8.

Mr. Roy's book is consequently exceedingly opportune. By making a judicious selection from his speeches and writings, Mr. Roy has made Mussolini speak for himself and his ideals which have been accepted by Italy. He has taken various aspects of Fascist history and Fascist theory and practice in running the State, and he has himself added exceedingly clear though concise recapitulation of the historical and other background for these. The result has been that in a short compass we have an eminently readable and informative account of Fascism from first-hand sources. First-hand sources, because Mr. Roy as lecturer in Italian in the University of Calcutta and as a translator of one of Rabindranath Tagore's books into Italian, has access to the original Italian.

The Fascist definition of the State makes it something essentially dynamic and educative, embracing all sections of the people and recognizing each section in its proper place. It is something which is refreshingly definite before the *agnosticism* which is apparently the guiding principle of the State such as we find in the most advanced countries where parliamentary institutions and *laissez-faire* are the guiding principles. The individual must be subordinated to the interests of the State or nation. This is a principle which is stated with an admirable frankness—rudeness, if you will—which has become necessary; and in our present-day States, dominated by individual or group interests which we would heartily wish to see terminated, such a principle becomes one to be rigorously enforced. In the Fascist State it is not the domination of the entire community by one section of the people; whether capitalists, or workers, or an exclusive ruling class, or this combination, or that other. These are excellent ideas which we should ponder over. In fact, there is a great deal in the Fascist case as put by Mr. Roy, that gives us food for thought. I would wish we could roll in this great principle enunciated by Mussolini with all the vigour that his personality stands for, into our clamorous communalists who are ready to wreck the most vital interests of the Indian nation as a whole in their demands for 'weightage' and communal electorates and special privileges and extraordinary political rights, *viz.*, **there is no right without a duty previously done.**

I need not go into the details further, but I think Mr. Roy's book will be of signal service in making the Fascist view-point understood, and perhaps appreciated, and possibly worked up to (at least in some of the points), among those who, sooner or later, will have to take in hand the work of national reconstruction and to build up a new and united India in place of a Mohammedan India and a Hindu India, an India of the upper castes and one of the untouchables, an India torn to her vitals by a thousand and one factions, some of which seem now to be determined not to forgo their insane prejudices and professions of fear and their wretched little rights and privileges and demands, without any duties and obligations implied.

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# GAJA-SIMHA

## By DEVAPRASAD GHOSH, M. A.

THE Gaja-Simha motif is nothing but a plastic translation of the proverbial rivalry between two of the most powerful denizens of the forest. It is a typical Indian decorative device and the most frequently represented animal motif in Orissan architecture. This complex ornament, displayed with considerable effect in varying attitudes and manifold combinations in every nook and corner of the stately temples, consists essentially of a lion standing upon a crouching elephant. This device was certainly not created by the fertile imagination of the Orissan architect; but it was left to the peculiar artistic individuality of Orissa, readily to grasp the profound significance of the theme and its perfect suitability as a decorative motif.

In another age and country, the artist adopted a similar formula for the adequate visualization of the conception of triumphant power. The fierce conflict between the lion and the bull was a subject which the ancient Persian artist loved to portray with as much relish as the Orissan craftsman found in depicting the duel between the lion and the elephant. The lion and the bull perpetually recur at Persepolis, and the staircase spandrils of the hypostyle hall of Xerxes bear remarkable representations of the fatal combat.* But the Indian craftsman scored over his distinguished predecessor when he managed to combine the two fighting animals into a beautiful and vital composition, easy to be handled and ready for use in all places and in varying attitudes. The efforts of the Persian masters were confined only to reliefs.

Scholars differ as to the symbolic interpretation of this motif. According to some,† "this is representative of the ascendency of Bramhanism over Buddhism, the votaries of which held the elephant in great sanctity." But this emblem is as common in Buddhist art as in any other. In fact, the earliest specimen of this motif is to be found inside a Buddhist Chaitya cave at Ajanta. It also figures in other Buddhist sculptures of the Pala period (*cf.* the Kurkihar image*) from Bengal and Bihar. The Gaja-Simha device is also to be noticed on the facade of the courtyard of the Jaina Indrasabha cave at Ellora.† So, it is palpably clear that it cannot have anything to do with the rivalry between the two opposing sects. Mr. Manomohan Ganguly, on the other hand, assumed that "this is probably indicative of the ascendancy of one dynasty, the Kesaris, over another. The Kesaris came to power before the Gangas; but it is difficult to ascertain the dynasty supplanted by the Kesaris, whence the name of the dynasty is referred to. This ascendancy has been signalized by efforts of art. Instead of any graphic account, or even mention of the fact in any historic document or legend we have a symbolic representation of it in the recesses of the temples."§

In addition to the facts adduced above, which prove the contrary, recent historical research has raised considerable doubt about the so-called supremacy, or the very existence of the legendary dynasty of Orissa. Moreover, this motif is as plentiful as ever in the temples, constructed under the auspices of the Eastern Ganga dynasty. It is quite unlikely that the ruling house should have adopted the coat-of-arms of another, defeated and driven away by it. The conventional image, again, was employed with equal zeal by the Suryavamsi dynasty which supplanted the Eastern Ganga

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*Perrot and Chipiez—*History of Art in Persia.* London, 1892, Fig. 211.

† Bishan Swarup—*Konarka*, p. 64.

* Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India 1903-04, Pl. LXII, 3.

† Codrington—*Ancient India*, London, 1926, Pl 52, A.

§ Ganguly, M.—*Orissa and her Remains.* Calcutta 1910, pp. 202-03.

line in Orissa.* It should also be mentioned that this peculiar device was associated with another royal family in the far South. The stereotyped "Hoysala group of sculpture,"—from Kadamesvara temple, Rattihalli (c. 11th century A. D.) which is an insignia of the royal family, always represents the founder of the Hoysala line attacking a lion which rests its forelegs upon a reclining elephant.† In fact, the Gaja-Simha motif, far from being the exclusive property of any sect, locality or dynasty, was universally used as a typical and stock device in all phases of medieval Indian art. "The pattern," remarks Mr. O. C. Gangoly, "is almost an echo of the well-known anonymous verse descriptive of the lion which ascribes to the animal the daily habit of 'splitting the head of the king of elephants'."§ It was a decorative form, pure and simple, without any extraneous complexion. The powerful king of beasts, treading triumphantly on the mighty elephant, is mighter still. As a symbal it epitomizes indomitable force and victorious power.**

The origin of the motif is still shrouded in mystery. "In the fifth century," Mr. Gangoly adds, "we meet with an earlier phase of a pattern of the 'lion' which crystallized in a set formula in conjunction with the elephant form sometime between the 5th and 6th century."* The earliest representation, so far discovered,† besides the bronze capital,§ excavated at Nalanda by Dr. Spooner, just referred to, is provided by the "lion throne" carrying a seated Buddha carved on the stupa in the interior of Cave No. 26 at Ajanta (Fig. 1). Here we find on each side of

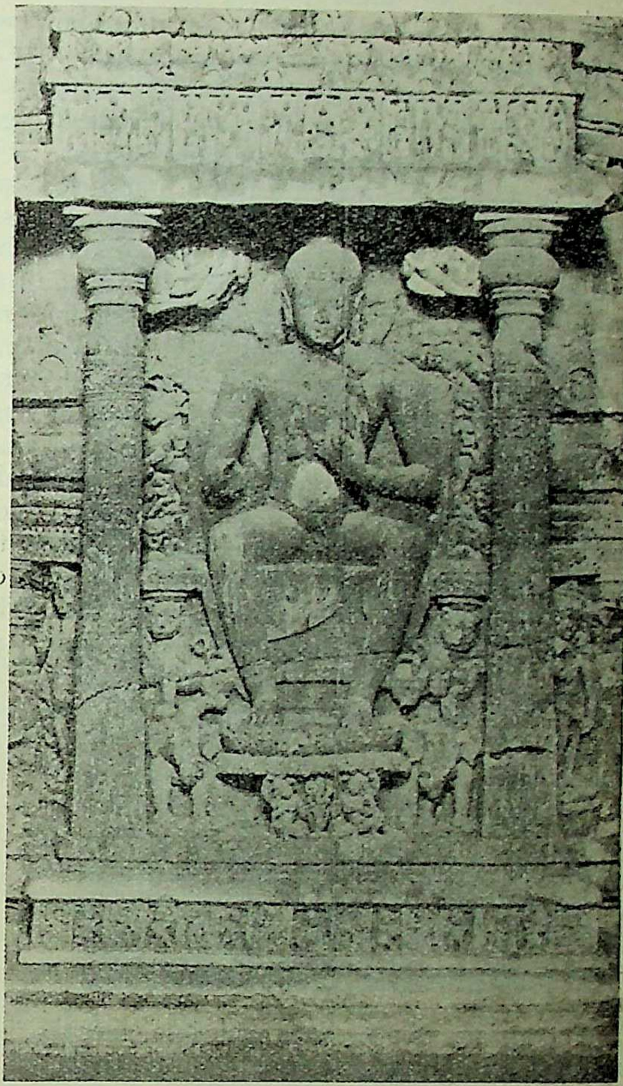

Fig. 1

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* The valiant 15th century Gajapati ruler Kapilendradeva, the founder of the powerful Suryavamsi dynasty, which ruled the eastern coast of India for a little over a century, is referred to as the "lion of the Karnata elephant," in the Gopinathpur inscription. (R. D. Banerji—"The Empire of Orissa," *Indian Antiquary*, December, 1928, p. 235 ff.)

† Cousens, H. *The Chalukyan Architecture*. Calcutta, 1926, Pl. CXII.

§ Gangoly, O. C.,—"The Story of the Lion and the Elephant," *The Modern Review*, September, 1919, p. 282.

** In this connection, the observations made by the late Dr. Spooner, regarding this device on the Visnu images from Rungpur, will prove interesting. "I should like to add," he wrote, "that the design as we have it here, is said to be peculiarly the *emblem of the Pala dynasty*. In point of chronology this would agree very well with the conclusions already drawn as to the age of the bronzes. But, nevertheless, I cannot believe that the device here has any such significance. A lion rampant upon an elephant is, as Dr. Bloch says, 'to be seen projecting from the front of the spire in every temple in Orissa and since the Palas were of course Buddhists, who did not include Orissa in their territory, it is as clear that this device is not necessarily associated with them, as it is improbable that it has any reference to them in the present instance." *A. S. I.—A. R.*, 1911-12, pp. 156-57.

* Gangoly, O. C. *ibid.*, p. 281.

† In the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1920-21, Sir John Marshall writes that among the minor antiquities recovered from Bhir Mound, Taxila, the punch marked coins bear symbols of bull, rhinoceros or "*lion and elephant*." Unfortunately, no photographs of the said coins accompany the report. If Sir John is correct in his surmise, then the origin of the emblem must be sought in the first century of the Chr stian era.

§ *Modern Review*, September, 1919, p. 280. fig. 2.

the dangling feet of Buddha, which rest on a footstool, a queerly combined device, consisting of a cat-like lion standing with one of its forelegs raised, in profile, upon the forepart of an elephant also standing, supporting the seat of the Divine Preacher. Both design and technique are coarse and crude. Now, we must remind the reader that the purpose of this paper is to describe the Gaja-Simha motif, represented realistically. Its popular counterpart, the Gaja-Sardula, comprising originally a rampant mythical horned lion, towering over a couchant elephant, which eventually culminated in the fantastic "Virala" of Orissa and the monstrous "Yali" of South India, is beyond the scope of our present enquiry. But the last variety is also happily present in the above sculpture, on either side of the upright back of Buddha's throne. The genealogy of its essential element, *viz.*, the rampant Sardula, can be traced, as far back as the Mohen-jo-daro, through an uninterrupted succession of motifs, in Andhra, Sunga and Maurya art. The traditional enmity between the two animals is graphically reproduced on the 7th century early Pallava Temple No. 4, at Mogalarajapuram, adorned with a "frieze decorated with small figures of lions and elephants. The former are portrayed with lashing tails and in the act of attacking the elephants which have the trunks raised and extended as though trumpeting defiance at the lions."* Further representation of this composite pattern, in its typical form, is afforded by the figure of a rampant lion resting its forepaws upon a couchant elephant, embellishing the shaft of a pilaster in the north porch of Kailasa temple at Ellora.†

The artists, who were responsible for the primitive sculptures of the temple of Satrughneswara, the earliest temple at Bhuvaneswara, belonging probably to the last decade of the 7th century or early part of the 8th, were evidently unfamiliar with the Gaja-Simha pattern. But the rapid growth of this device, as a favourite decorative ornament and its simultaneous occurrence throughout India, is attested by the crude attempts at reproducing the same on the surface of the Vimana of Parasurameswara temple, Bhuvaneswara (8th century A. D.). Rampant Sardulas pouncing upon the heads of the fallen elephants appear at the corners of the deeply recessed frieze between the Bada and Rathaka portions. But the same device is represented in a different way, under the outstretched wings of the large Chaitya-window carved on the Raha, just above the Bada. Here we find a rampant gardant lion, heavily pressing upon the body of a reclining but smaller figure of an elephant, with its face turned inward. Again, horizontal strings of rectangular slabs, forming the frieze below the eastern niche of the Bada, are embellished with lions scrambling upon reclining elephants, in a rather ungainly manner. All these pictures are fashioned in the most clumsy and awkward way; the modelling is extremely flat, soft, and flabby, and is accompanied by confused and inelegant drawings. They are paralleled by figures of Gaja-Simhas in similar attitudes, supporting the throne of the goddess Chandi, in an image discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji, at Sonarang, in the Dacca district, of equally poor contemporary Pala workmanship and closely resembling the Nalanda capital. But contrary to convention, the Bengali sculptor made a notable departure in portraying the vanquished elephants bigger than their victors.*

The series of Gaja-Simha capitals, which are superimposed on the pilasters of the Bada of the Vaital Deul, Bhuvaneswara, (late 8th century), are remarkable architectural ornaments, unique of their kind (Fig. 2). They are composed of pairs of seated addorsed lions, stretched upon recumbent elephant twins facing outwards, with an intervening tree. It is difficult to deny that they are based, *prima facie*, upon Gupta lion capitals. The heads of the lions and of the elephants too, are often shown in three-quarter profiles. Strictly conforming to a rectangular outline as emphasized by the lions with their erect heads, and the elephants calmly submitting to their inevitable fate, the compact and symmetrical composition breathes an air of dignity and repose, which harmonizes with its architectonic purpose and contrasts vividly with the restless agitation and savage scrambling of the Parasurameswara animals. The elephants are superficially, though faithfully, rendered—the modelling being almost linear. The flatness of the lower animals is relieved by the soft and round modelling of the lions above, which are treated in comparative higher relief. But the technical deficiency of the composite pattern is betrayed in the impossible attitude of the crowning lions, who are simply superimposed on the elephant pair, without any organic contact. The result is that they seem to float in the air.

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* Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, Part I; A. S. I. Mem. No. 17; 1924, Pl. vii.

† Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*. London, 1880, Pl. lxxxiv, 2.

* *A. S. I.—A. R.*, 1924-25, Pl. xl, e.

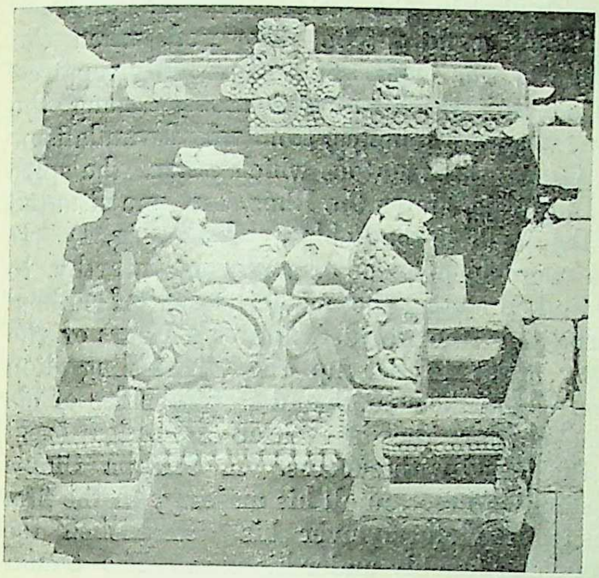

Fig. 2

However, the above glaring defect in composition was skilfully remedied, later, in Dopichcha Gaja-Simha figures, in high relief, adorning the base angles of the famous Makara Torana standing in front of the Mukteswara temple, Bhuvaneswara (*c.* 950 A. D.). The modelling has perceptively gained in relief, strength and firmness being imparted to the flabby limbs of the squatting lions who are not at all happy in the uncomfortable position. Although the workmanship of the elephants is rather unsatisfactory, their sinking attitudes are expressed with a rare amount of truth and fidelity. Elsewhere, within the recesses of the shrine itself the Gaja-Simha appears in a new and picturesque role, as bearer of numerous richly carved Naga-Nagini columns (Fig. 3). In such cases they are represented in full face and in pairs, and modelled almost fully in the round. The riding animals, it should be noted, are always Jhappa Simhas, with one of the forelegs invariably uplifted. The playful agitation of the lions, running through their grinning heads, slightly tilted and surrounded by picturesque manes falling in dishevelled masses; the agile and nimble limbs, ready to strike the fallen enemy, are finely contrasted with the placid resignation of the beasts below, characterized by heavy and massive immobility. The restless animation of the upper lines are also admirably counterbalanced by the broad sweep of drooping lines underneath. The way in which dark shadows, sharply opposed by patches of bright surfaces, in the upper portion, softly and imperceptibly melt away on the smooth and round curves

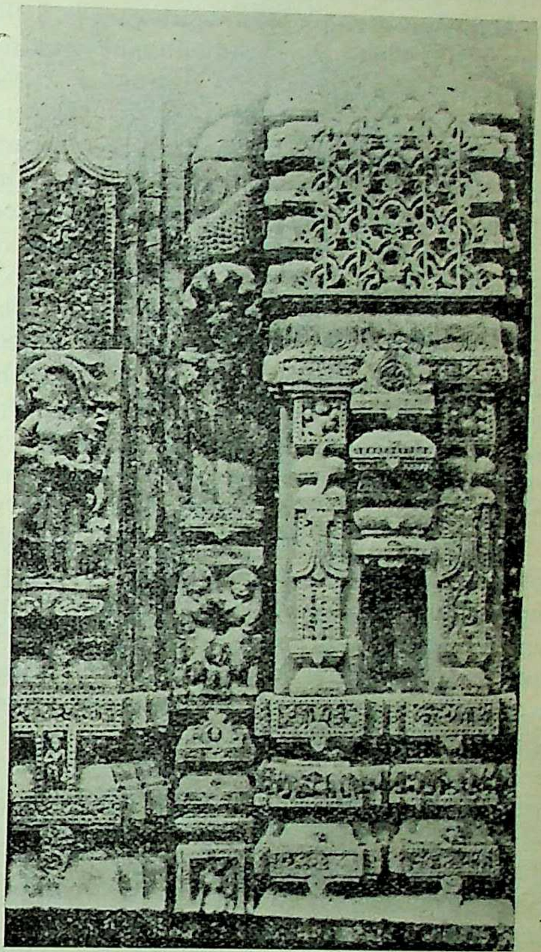

Fig. 3

of the lower one, amply demonstrates the profound realization of plastic values by the artist of the classical epoch of Orissan art. The swelling muscles of the vigorous lions and the undulating smoothness of the fleshy elephants also testify to the discriminating observation and scrupulous care of the master who chiselled them.

Further development of the motif occurs in the Raja-Rani temple, Bhuvaneswara (*c.* 12th century A.D.), where the Naga columns flanking the doorway and window are borne by three lions mounted on elephant triplets. Except for the refined elegance of the elongated forms, there is, however, no technical advance. The examples, which adorn the column bases, on the Pabhaga of the ruined Jagamohana of Surya Deul, Konarak (13th century A.D.), embodies several notable departures. The heavy and bulky lions, with a conical protuberance on the heads, have grown at the expense of the elephants, whose foreparts, shown in three-quarter profile, unable to carry the enormous pressure above, sink down to the ground. The strict symmetrical reserve of Mukteswara is disturbed, here, by the emotional rythm which permeates the whole composition. It is manifest in the amorous advances of the male, above, to his mate who responds with a sensitive touch of her uplifted paw ; in the affectionate twist of the faces, eloquently expressing the silent language of love ; and also in the significant movement of the elephant heads below.

So long we have been considering Gaja-Simha types embellishing the temples as surface ornaments. Let us now examine those colossal forms projecting from the spire, for which Orissan architecture is so remarkably conspicuous. The onlooker, however, will sorely miss these distinctive features from early temples. Even the Mukteswara, which is considered to be the pioneer achievement of the architects of Orissan classical era, is without this interesting detail. In later temples, it is usually placed on projecting slabs, on three faces of the Raha of the Vimana, above the large Bho or ornamental Chaitya-window. Again "higher up on the side facing the Jagamohana, is seen a huge lion projecting from Rekha and floating as it were, in the mid-air ; it is situated at half the height of the Rekha from Bada to the Kalasa or finial." It may be pointed out, that these projecting forms are exclusive features of the sanctum. On the Sikhara of the Bramheswara temple, Bhuvaneswara, the lion, strangely enough, supports itself on an enormous Kirttimukha head, instead of the familiar elephant, while the Raja-rani is inexplicably devoid of this composite pattern altogether. It is quite possible that in the latter case, the protruding block could not be recovered, when the Public Works Department thoroughly repaired the temple, which suffered most, among the Bhuvaneswara temples, from wilful vandalism.

Of the three statues which adorn the spire of Lingaraja, above the Bhos, the one situated on the north is the noblest of all (Fig. 4). It is a magnificent piece of sculpture, worthy to be ranked among the masterpieces of animal portraits of the world. The vain effort of the Orya artist to set up the scrambling lion firmly upon the smooth and sloping sides of his opponent for the last three centuries is at last crowned with success. A Jhappa Simha is standing erect, in all his majesty, in the first flush of victory, over his vanquished foe crouching humbly under his feet. The triumphant tread of one of his forefeet, the elastic spring of the other, the balancing curve of the lively bust, the dignified tension of the mighty head, the gliding curves of the slender tapering body and the subtle sympathetic modelling marks it as the very embodiment of force in repose. The refreshing realism which characterizes this animal lead us to infer that the master who created it, was certainly one of the few, who had the rare opportunity of scrutinizing the living beast more than once. Nor is the proud but humiliated elephant neglected. The artist by turning the head of the monster a little aside has deftly avoided the inevitable vertical stiffness and greatly enhanced the linear value of the charming composition. The bold massing of parts into broad and distinct planes, emphasized by the great outstretched ears, and the faithful and exact rendering of the supple but bulky body, combine to make it serve as an admirable pedestal.

The monumental figure, which is flung into space, from the spire of Lingaraja, facing the Jagamohana, is technically called the Uda-

Gaja-Simha, consisting of a mighty Uda-Simha or flying lion riding a huge reclining tusker (Fig. 4). The realistic energy and poignancy of this Simha and others of its kind, and the triumphant rythm which pulsates through them, is only equalled by the fierce and fantastic Chinese lions of Liang dynasty. "The majestic appearance of these animals depends largely on their enormous necks and bulging chests . . . the curving front line is continuous and is further accentuated by the long tongues, which hang out of the widely open jaws, balanced on its formidable haunches and carrying broad sweep of the swaying body terminating in a ferocious head, the enormous beast seems to be waiting for the moment to sweep down from the soaring height, upon the approaching enemy, with a thundering roar." Dr. Stella Kramrisch, with her unerring aesthetic insight, rightly conjectures that the architectonic significance of this mighty complex, lay in bridging the chasm between the spires of the Vimana and Jagamohana so as to unite them into one harmonious pyramid.

Unfortunately, the once imposing tower of Surya Deul, Konarak, is now a complete ruin. But a huge boulder of stone, representing the mutilated fragment of the Gaja-Simha figure, still lying on the ground beside the Jagamohana, is an evident indication of the fact that the Sikhara was completed, at least up to its height, before it tumbled down in a mass of confused debris, owing to some unknown reasons. The gigantic monoliths, which now erroneously flank the eastern staircase of the Natamandira, formerly adorned the Simha-Dwara of the vast enclosure (Figs. 5, 6). Each of them represents a rampant lion, standing on its hind legs, behind a couchant elephant "holding a prostrate human figure with its trunk and placed on a low pedestal, it being part of the same block out of which the figures have been cut." The colossal dimensions of the pieces can be judged from the fact that the figures are more than nine feet in height, the weight of each block being 27·48 tons or 750 maunds.* The awful goggle eyes of the fantastic Simha are shooting out from their sockets in the deep hollows between the round forehead crowned by a thorny tiara of schematic fore-

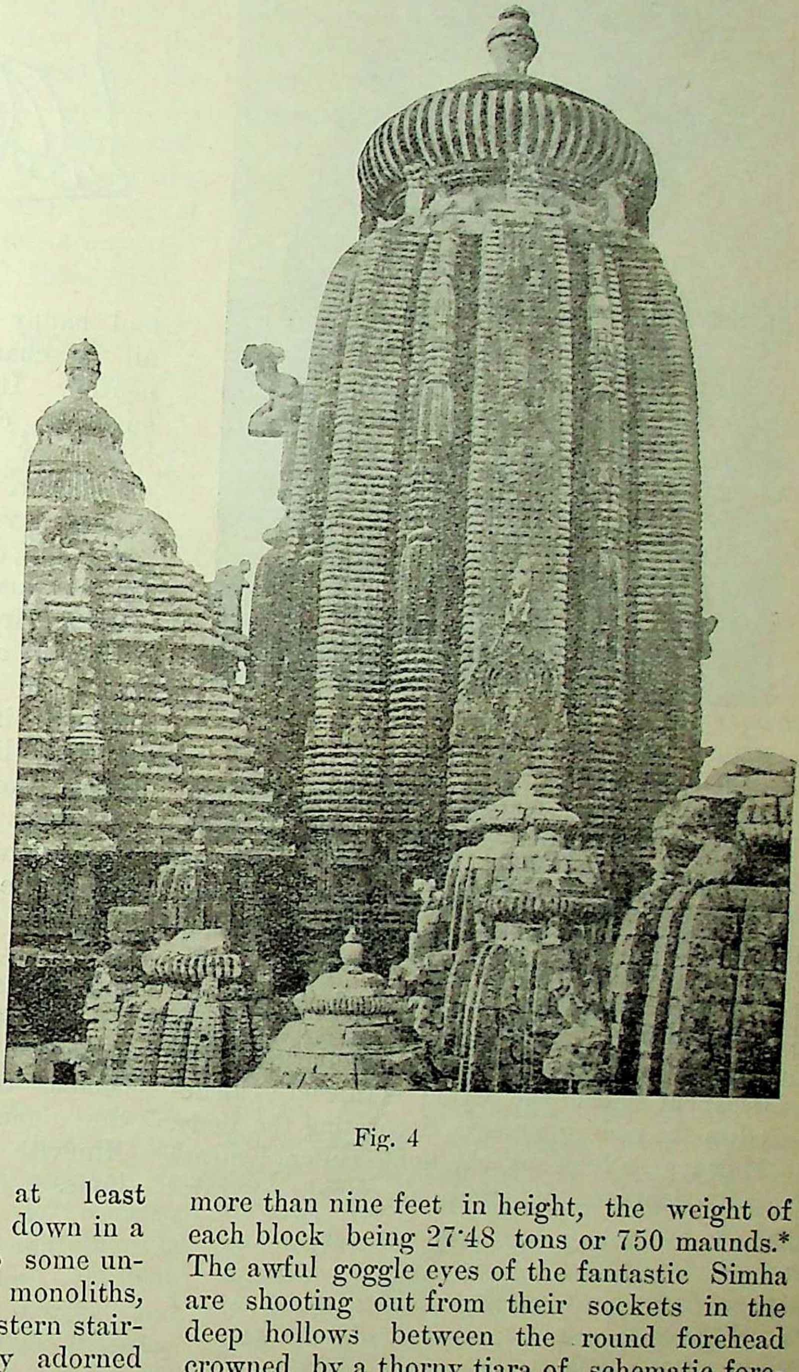

Fig. 4

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* Ganguly, M., *Ibid.*, p. 468.

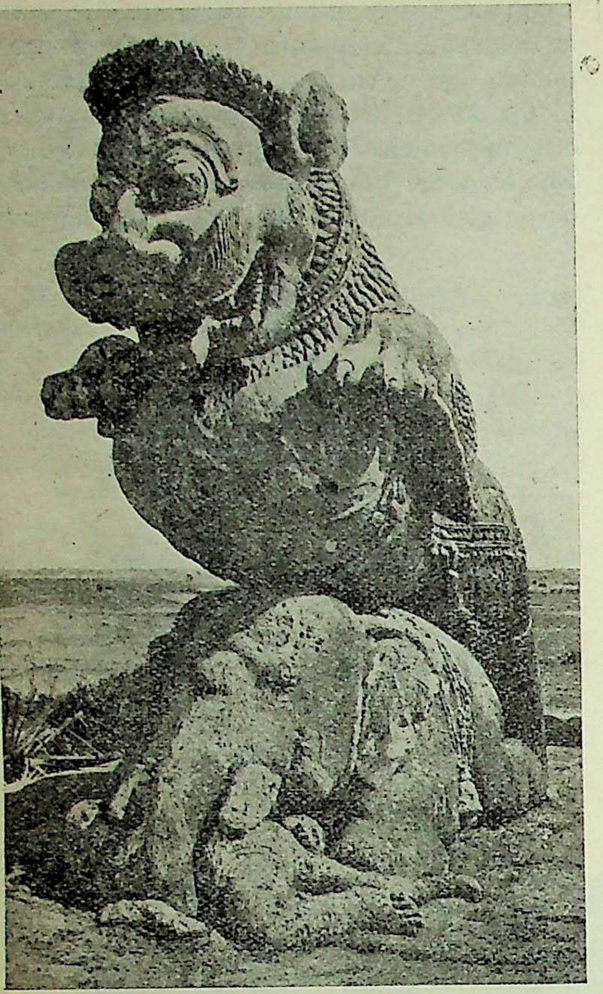


Fig. 5

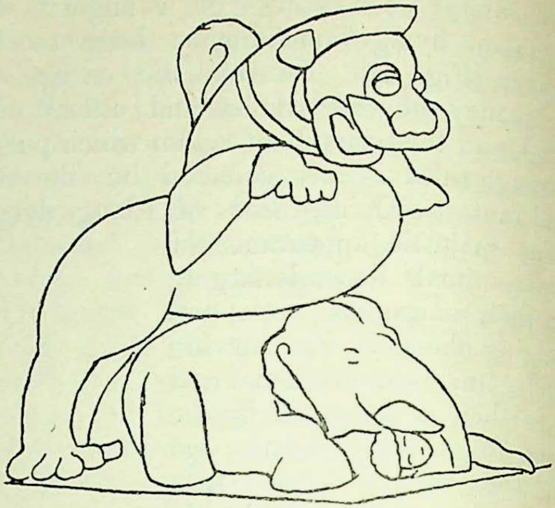


Fig. 6

locks and the massive sloping upper jaw, fringed with bristling whiskers and a terrible array of fangs. The conventional manes, covering the shoulder are sharp and precisely cut, entirely lacking the expansive treatment of the 11th century beasts. The crisp locks of hair fringing the loins and forelegs terminating in pernicious claws, accentuate the sense of precision and angularity. The decadent taste of the period is further evidenced in the rich ornaments decorating the body. However, a look at the noble animal beneath will convince us that in vivid portrayal and happy delineation of the elephant, with all its charming grace and suavity, the 13th century Indian artist still retained his supreme command, specially distinguished him from the very dawn of Indian artistic endeavour. But, although, the dominant beasts have lost the wonderful elasticity and verve of the Lingaraja lions, yet they are by no means—in the inimitable words of Osvald Siren, picturing the Chinese lions—"without a certain nobility and beauty of its own. In spite of their colossal dimensions, in spite of the supernatural vigour of their limbs and exaggerated energy and salience of their muscles, there is a kind of robust grace in the leading lines and proportions of these figures to which w cannot be indifferent.... The long sweepin lines are alive with a tremendous energ which is rolled up, so to speak, in th spring-like ornaments at the lions."

As protecting divinities of the sacre shrines and guardians of the gate, the Gaj Simhas of Orissa compare favourably wit the gigantic Egyptian Sphinxes, the coloss Ninevite bulls and the formidable Chine lions.

# CONTROL OVER THE MANUFACTURE AND IMPORT OF DRUGS

By B. C. CHATTERJEE, M. SC., PH. D.

THE increasing sale of adulterated and spurious drugs and medicinal preparations in India forms a real danger to the public health of the country, and the Government has, at long last, realized the seriousness of the situation and appointed a committee to go fully into the matter with a view to make legislations for safe-guarding the public. Drugs on the Indian market fall under two categories : (1) those imported from foreign countries and (2) those manufactured in India.

The total value of drugs imported into India from various countries amounted, according to the report of the Trade Commissioner for India, to Rs. 2,01,84,000 in 1929. The principal items included in the trade are as follows :

| Name of Drugs | Value in Rupees (in round figures) | Name of countries from which they are principally imported. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | U. K. | Other countries |
| Camphor | 27,52,000 | 2,000 | 27,50,000 |
| Morphin and other preparations of morphia and opium | 1,36,000 | 1,09,000 | 27,000 |
| Cod-liver oil | 1,30,000 | 81,000 | 49,000 |
| Proprietary and patent medicines | 42,84,000 | 23,13,000 | 19,71,000 |
| Quinine salts | 24,47,000 | 14,95,000 | 9,52,000 |
| Other drugs & medicines | 1,04,35,000 | 48,99,000 | 55,36,000 |
| Total | 2,01,84,000 | 88,99,000 | 1,12,85,000 |

It will be seen, therefore, that the greater portion of the imports, amounting to Rs. 88,99,000 come from the United Kingdom. This is unfortunate in a way, for *although a Food and Drugs Act does exist in the United Kingdom, it is not applicable to drugs meant for export from that country to India and other places,* so that there is no guarantee that such drugs conform absolutely to the standard of purity and quality laid down by the British Pharmacopoeia.

Similar want of restrictions over the export of drugs and pharmaceutical preparations prevails in other European countries with the result that a number of firms have been carrying on a lucrative business by exporting drugs especially manufactured for India and other Eastern countries and selling them at competitive prices there. It is needless to add that these firms do not always export articles of standard quality and purity. It should be mentioned, however, that *the United States of America have a better type of legislation in this respect and exercise a rigid control over all drugs manufactured within the country.* By the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906 and subsequent amendments, all drugs manufactured in the United States, whether they are for use locally or export abroad, have to be of the strength and quality prescribed under the Act. It is imperative, therefore, that steps should be taken, in the interest of the public, to prevent the unrestricted import of all adulterated and understrength drugs and chemicals into this country, so that India may not be the cheap dumping ground of unwholesome and undesirable products of other countries.

It is not possible here to give a detailed list of adulterated or understrength drugs imported from abroad, but the following may be cited as the commonest instances of adulteration : santonin (with boric acid crystals), quinine (with flour or chalk) and generally all costly powders such as pulv. ipecac, etc. Compounds like syrup ferri-iodide, fall in some cases below the prescribed standard in strength and cannot therefore be safely relied upon. Mention should be made in this connection of a large number of proprietary medicines imported in India, which neither bear their composition on the labels nor are checked by any responsible authority in either of the importing or exporting countries. These drugs form a perpetual source of menace to the public health of the country and cause a heavy drain on the slender resources of those using them.

The chemical and pharmaceutical products manufactured in this country have not been, on the whole, unsatisfactory, though there have been instances where they were found to fall below pharmacopoeial standards. Strict supervision should be maintained over all local preparations during the early stages of the infant drug industry, thus putting an effective check on all adulteration or understrengthening of the products. This is especially desirable at the present period when, owing to the economic crisis, there is a tendency on the part of the manufacturers to sell their articles at the cheapest prices, and thus compete against adulterated articles of cheap quality and packing dumped into this country.

The problem of vital importance to the medical profession as well as to the general public is, however, the correct standardization of the biological preparations, either imported from abroad or manufactured locally. The growing popularity of injections has led to an enormous sale of vaccines and sera in this country and firms have found their manufacture a very profitable line of business. The total output of vaccines and sera by a leading firm during the year 1929-30 has been 190,000 c. c. and 150,000 c. c. respectively and the production has been much higher in the following year. The same firm has also been responsible for the manufacture of 9,000 lbs. of organotherapeutic products in that year. All these preparations cannot be standardized by chemical methods and the determination of their strengths can only be effected by physiological assay. Unfortunately, very few firms possess laboratories for the biological test of their preparations and consequently it is open to grave suspicion whether they are of the same strength and titre as mentioned on the labels. Moreover, owing to the absence of cold storage in most of the dispensaries, the biological products stored there deteriorate on account of the tropical heat, and it is necessary, therefore, that they should be tested periodically, to see whether such deterioration has taken place before they are offered for sale.

It is clear from the above that the necessity for an effective drug control is not only very urgent but imperative in order to safe-guard the health of the people and to protect and develop the infant drug industry of the country. While legislation giving effect to the recommendations of the Drug Enquiry Committee will take time, immediate steps can be taken in this direction by the Calcutta Corporation by strictly enforcing the provisions of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1923. This Act fully empowers the Corporation not only to control the sale centres of drugs and pharmaceutical preparations by the issue of necessary licences, but also to exercise a powerful administrative policy for eliminating from the market all understrength, adulterated and spurious drugs unfit for human consumption. This will be made perfectly clear from the following sections of the Act :

Section 3 (2)
(a) (i) and (ii) "adulteration" defined.
Section 3 (42) "misbranding" defined.
Section 406—Prohibition of sale of adulterated or misbranded drugs.
Section 412—Prohibition of sale of unwholesome drugs.
Section 413—Licensing of shops and places for retail sale of drugs.
Section 415—Prohibition in respect of compounding of drugs.
Section 418—Provision for inspection of factories for the manufacture of drugs.
Section 419—Power to seize drugs unfit for medicine.
Section 420—Destruction of the drugs seized under Section 419
Section 421—Taking before the Magistrate drugs seized under Section 419.
Section 423—Power of purchaser to have suspected drugs analysed.
Section 424—Compulsory sale of drugs for analysis.
Section 426—Drugs directed to be destroyed to be the property of the seizing authority.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Corporation to make fuller use of these powers without delay and thus be pioneers in stamping out the adulterated drug evil which had flourished unchecked so long in this city.

### NOTE

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. K. S. Ray, late Chairman, Public Health Committee, Calcutta Corporation, for the material help he has received from him in the compilation of this paper.

# CATASTROPHIC FLOODS IN BENGAL AND HOW THEY CAN BE COMBATED

### By MEGHNAD SAHA, F. R. S.

A FEW years back Bengal was in the grip of a catastrophic flood, and a similar calamity recurred last year.

From newspaper reports, it appears that the whole of the Brahmaputra basin covering an area of 2,500 sq. miles was visited last year by the most terrible flood within living memory. As the population in this part is nearly 800 per square mile, the total number of persons affected is not less than two millions, *i. e.,* about four hundred thousand homesteads. From the writer's experience of such floods (he comes from the flood-stricken districts) and from newspaper reports of the havoc caused by the flood, it is estimated that the total loss in money to Bengal will not be less than eight to ten crores of rupees if we suppose that the average value of a Bengal homestead is from Rs. 200 to Rs. 250. But there is every chance that this might be an under-estimate.

The public in Bengal must be still in part busy with measures of relief which were organized soon after the visitation but the question which I shall discuss in this article is whether any remedy of a permanent nature can be found for prevention of such floods, or at least of mitigating the severity of the havoc and distress caused by them.

It was just nine years ago, as stated above, that North Bengal was visited by another catastrophic flood and magnificent relief measures were organized by Sir P. C. Ray. After the floods were over, the Government appointed an official committee to enquire into the causes of the floods and to suggest measures for combating them. This committee co-opted Professor P. C. Mahalanobis of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and then in charge of the meteorological observatory at Alipore, as a member. I had no opportunity of knowing what were the findings and recommendations of this committee, but through the courtesy of Professor Mahalanobis, I became acquainted with his valuable report on rainfall and floods in North Bengal (1870-1922) which was published in 1926. Professor Mahalanobis approached the question in a truly scientific spirit and based his conclusions on a large amount of data about rainfall, and on extensive studies of the topographical features of the country. On the basis of these studies he put forward a number of suggestions for combating the floods. I shall now examine these suggestions and put forward certain suggestions of my own which are the results of my study of the problem as publicity officer of Acharyya Ray's committee of 1922.

According to competent authorities, the total volume of water usually carried by the Ganges-Brahmaputra system is nearly the second highest in the world, the first being that carried by the Amazon in Brazil, the second by the Mississipi-Missouri system in the U. S. A. It far exceeds that of the Nile, which is about three times as long as the Ganges. Both the Amazon and the Mississipi basins are subject to devastating floods and widespread erosions. The Amazon is left much to itself owing to the backwardness of the country, which it traverses, but the U. S. A. Government maintains a large section of the river-engineering department to look after the "Father of Waters." The problem in Bengal is much more difficult, as owing to the comparative shortness of the rivers and the flatness of the country, the normal flood has to be discharged by a large number of channels (branches). This gives rise on the part of the rivers to delta-building activities on an unprecedented scale, causing widespread topographical changes within comparatively short intervals of time and giving rise to serious problems in agriculture, and sanitation and distribution in population. For example, just one hundred and fifty years ago, when Major Rennell published his map of Bengal (reproduced by Dr. Gopal Ch. Chatterjee in *The Modern Review* for July 1931), the river-system in Bengal was entirely different from what it is now. The main channels of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra were unconnected except very near the sea. The Brahmaputra, as it debouched from the Assam plains, made a detour round the Garo hills, and flowed past Mymensingh and east of Dacca into the Meghna near Chandpur. The Ganges flowed as the Padma through the Arialkhan channel into the sea. Between these two systems of rivers was the North Bengal system consisting of the Teesta-Karatoya-Atreyi which discharged its waters into the Ganges. The great landmark in the present maps known as the Jumna which divides the Rajshahi division from the Dacca division was non-existent. The branches which the Ganges throw to the south into the Presidency division, the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi, the Gorai, etc. were all active. It appears that about 400 years ago, the Bhagirathi was the main channel ; then its source near Murshidabad (Sooty) became silted and the waters were diverted to the Padma. Then in turn the branches to the south became the main channels, but ultimately these were also deserted, and the Padma as it flows through Goalundo and the Vikrampur area became the main stream.

But owing to a great catastrophic flood which occurred in 1787 so much mud and silt was deposited that the lower course of the Teesta was blocked, and the river was gradually diverted to the east and fell into the Brahmaputra. This caused widespread changes in the topography of the whole of Bengal. The Brahmaputra deserted its old south-easterly course past Mymensingh and forced a passage south through a small stream (called the Jenai) and joined the Ganges above Goalundo. With this fresh accession of strength, the Padma became the mighty river that it is now, and began to erode on an unprecedented scale. It washed away Rajanagar, Sripur and other important towns in Vikrampur, and flowed east to join the Meghna above Chandpur in a new channel (known as the Kirtinasa, *i. e.*, "Destroyer of Glories").

All these changes have been very lucidly explained by Dr. G. C. Chatterjee, the eminent bacteriologist of Calcutta, in his article, "On the Romance of the Rivers of the Gangetic Delta" in the July number of *The Modern Review*. The valuable map which he has given on page 72 clearly indicates the changes in the river systems which have taken place within the last 150 years.

The effect of these changes may be thus summarized :

(a) Before 1787, the river system of Bengal was such that flood-water could be equally distributed over the whole province. The country was probably free from malaria, and erosion by the rivers was not on such a scale as we have now.

(b) Since 1787, the river systems have been undergoing great changes. The main streams are concentrated at a point near Goalundo flowing through the Padma into the sea. The western part of the North Bengal system (the Atreyi-Karatoya system) has become moribund, making the whole district malarious. Similarly, the rivers in the Presidency division have become moribund, which caused a terrible outbreak of malaria in this part during the middle of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the Padma, by its unprecedented eroding activities, has washed away whole districts, towns and villages, and has been causing widespread distress in Eastern Bengal for the last three generations. Thus malaria and erosion, and consequent dislocation of economic life have been the consequences of these changes in the river system.

(c) Professor Mahalanobis has shown by his analysis that the catastrophic floods are caused by the combination of a number of circumstances, *e. g.*, (1) very heavy rainfall over the areas of Northern Bengal, (2) simultaneous high levels of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra which hold back the rain water, and prevent their quick discharge into the sea.

It will be clear from the above account *that the remedy for these evils, both permanent (like malaria, erosion and water-logging), and temporary (catastrophic floods) lies in restoring the river system, as much* *as possible, to the state which it had before 1787 when the catastrophic changes began, or to distribute the waters carried by the two mighty rivers, and the North Bengal system more equably throughout the whole of Bengal, instead of allowing them to converge to a single stream in the heart of Bengal at Goalundo.* This may necessitate engineering operations on a huge, nay, almost unparalleled scale. The present flood has cost Bengal eight to ten crores of rupees, and nobody has yet estimated what is the recurring loss due to malaria, and erosion. Should not the people of Bengal make an united effort to combat this evil? Should not at least an attempt be made to understand the problem, and discuss methods for its solution?

It is clear that in all these matters, and in matters of such vital importance, the State should take the lead. The Government of Bengal indeed maintains an irrigation department, *but irrigation is not the problem of Bengal, which does not suffer from shortage of water, but from excess and unequal distribution of water.* What we want in Bengal is not an irrigation department, but a river-training organization. The Government of Bengal has, it is understood, appointed a standing Waterways Committee in 1927, but the public is not yet aware of the activities of this committee. All this is due to the Government policy of pricing its reports so high that it is almost impossible for anybody to buy these. Thus Professor P. C. Mahalanobis's report on rainfalls and floods in North Bengal, a pamphlet of 90 pages with some maps, has been priced at Rs. 20. The annual revenue report of the Bengal Irrigation Department is priced at Rs. 21-4 per copy, and one would think from the price that it probably runs to thousands of pages, but actually it is a thin pamphlet containing a Government resolution of three and a half pages and a departmental administration report of seven and a half pages, and some statistical tables. What is the motive in fixing such extraordinary high prices for these reports and thus effectively withholding them from circulation? The policy of the Irrigation Department has been subjected to vigorous criticism by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in a pamphlet entitled, "Bengal Irrigation." Mr. Sarkar has subjected the activities of the department to a very searching analysis and finds that out of a sum of Rs. 428 lakhs spent up to 1927 only 21 p. c. has been spent on irrigation proper (in excavating some canals in Western Bengal) and 78 p. c. have been spent in navigation, embankment, and drainage schemes. Most of the schemes are unproductive, *i. e.*, yield no revenue to the Government, but are on the other hand serious burdens on the public finances.

It is not known to the public whether the Irrigation Department has ever examined the problem of equable distribution of water throughout Bengal or submitted any scheme to the Government for the amelioration of the river system. If they have done so, the public is not aware of it, owing to the Government's hush-hush policy of effectively withdrawing all the publications of this department by an impossible price. But the public heard much about the Grand Trunk Canal scheme about five or six years ago. This was a project to dig a canal from Calcutta towards the Khulna side at a cost of about three crores of rupees. The main object of this scheme was to provide a shorter route for cargo-steamers to Eastern Bengal, and it was, therefore, clearly intended to benefit the merchants of Calcutta. The public could never be made to appreciate how it was to solve the problem of drainage in the Presidency division, and thus effectively deal with problems of agriculture and sanitation. But the Irrigation Department, though a nation-building department, and as such should have been under the Indian ministers, was by some stratagem placed under the kindly protection of the reserved side. Hence the department could go on with the scheme for a long time behind the scenes and had almost brought the scheme to maturity when unfortunately the department was placed under an Indian Executive Councillor, namely, the late Maharājah of Nuddea. This gentleman was unable to appreciate the merits of the scheme. But in the meantime a sum of more than a crore of rupees was spent in the purchase of three dredgers. Still the Bengal public should feel thankful that it stopped there. Otherwise they might have had to feel the consequence of a Bombay Back Bay scheme or Mundi hydro-electric scheme for another gereration.

I have given a short account of the activities of the Bengal Irrigation Department, which has so far tackled problems which do not exist for Bengal. But I have shown that it is not the fault of the public that they are unaware of any other beneficial activities which may stand to their credit. But it seems that apart from purely scientific and academic studies which were made about the problem by several geologists, engineers and some administrative officers, no systematic investigation of the problem has been undertaken. The study by Professor Mahalanobis was the first of its kind. And such studies, if they were continued and supplemented by other studies, might give us valuable data from which an idea of the extent of the engineering problems might be inferred. It is clear that, before any costly project is decided upon, the ground should be made sure by extensive researches on the problems of river training (control of river waters) in Bengal, supplemented by collection of data about distribution of rainfall, and hydrographic survey of the country. In this connection it should be remembered that the opinions of the eminent hydraulic engineer, Sir William Willcocks, who constructed the Assuan dam in Egypt, is sharply at variance with those of the Bengal Irrigation Department. Sir William Willcocks, in his readership lectures to the Calcutta University, expressed the opinion that the problem of distribution of waters in Bengal would be solved if the dead and dying rivers in the Rajshahi and the Presidency divisions were resuscitated by dredging and excavation. The scheme is very attractive, and is identical with the one advocated here. But I think that the Bengal public would not be justified in committing themselves to any expensive engineering scheme until preliminary studies have been carried out for a number of years. The studies have to be organized in the following way :

(*a*) Creation of a hydraulic research laboratory for researches in river training in Bengal.

(*b*) Creation of a statistical department for continuing Professor Mahalanobis's studies.

(*c*) An up-to-date hydrographic survey of the river systems of Bengal.

# A MUSEUM OF INDIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

WITH the modern materialistic conception of cities, namely, that they should be centres of trade and industry and of sport and pleasure, many are familiar. Those who have a somewhat finer conception would ask that cities should have educational institutions, like colleges, universities, libraries, etc. But to many art seems a mere luxury for the opulent to toy with, rather than a thing which can and ought to enrich the spirit of all alike, irrespective of their rank or material possessions.

As in India democracy is all the rage at present, it is necessary to know that even democracies cannot do without art. In Russia, where there is dictatorship of the proletariat, great things are being done for art. In Great Britain, where in spite of the dictatorship of capital, there is a striving for democracy, art-lovers are voicing the claims of art. For example, the painter Sir William Rothenstein, Principal of the Royal College of Art, London, broadcasting recently his National lecture entitled "Whither Painting," said it was singular that a democracy was not concerned to have its ideals graven in graphic form.

> "Through music and songs, paintings and carvings, and buildings, the nobler side of every age spoke to us...Where in England can we read through painting and sculpture of our civilizing aims ? What town is so proud of its history that like Venice and Florence of old, it has wished to set down something of its aims and achievements ?"
>
> "We are no longer a wealthy country and the artist is likely to be neglected. Yet his instinct urges him to put as much wealth into the world as he may while life is in him, and he will be content to take little out of it, provided he be left free to create. A country should not waste any of its assets ; indeed, unless it absorb them, as with undigested food, what should be nourishment becomes poison. There is much talk of idle rich and industrious poor. But there are the rich and the poor in spirit. Let the country remember what it owes to the first—to the poets, inventors, artists, and men of science. We are to give up superfluous wealth. We should the more value real wealth, that of the spirit."

If Britain is no longer rich, what shall be said of India ? Its poverty is phenomenal. Nevertheless, the artists of India can do much for us, as they are content with much less than European artists. For fulness of the inner life of the people and for training and giving full play to the gifts of artists, our cities should have museums and art galleries.

Democracy does not imply merely the vote for all adults of both sexes. It implies all the amenities and conveniences of life, all the means of enlightenment, ennoblement and joy for every one. Hence objects of art should not be the monopoly of the rich but rather a common possession of the people. This explains why there should be museums of art and archæology in towns and cities and moving museums for the rural population. There should also be noble architecture and sculpture.

In India not many towns and cities can claim to have expressed their native spirit and genius through all these objects of art. Benares, the oldest Indian city existing from time immemorial, can put forward such a claim to some extent, though not in its entirety. Its ghats and some of the temples are fine specimens of Indian architecture. And, though it has not so far developed any characteristic school or style of painting or sculpture, it possesses a museum of art and archæology for which it is indebted, above all, to the public spirit and discriminating taste of Rai Krishnadasa, an unassuming citizen of that eternal city.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, as the museum is called, contains a fine collection of painting and sculpture, chosen with discriminating taste by Rai Krishnadasa, who has given to the public what took him twelve years to collect. This collection requires a suitable edifice for effective display, and we understand a plot of land has been secured for it and the plan of the building drawn up by Mr. Srish Chandra Chatterjea of Calcutta in Indian style. In the meantime it is housed in the Nagari Pracharini Sabha (Society for the Dissemination of Hindi Literature) building.

In the archaeological collection the early phases of Maurya and Sunga periods are not at present represented. These may be acquired for the museum hereafter. But there are specimens of the Mathura school and the Gupta school. The collection contains many examples of mediaeval Brahminical and Jaina sculpture, chiefly fragments.

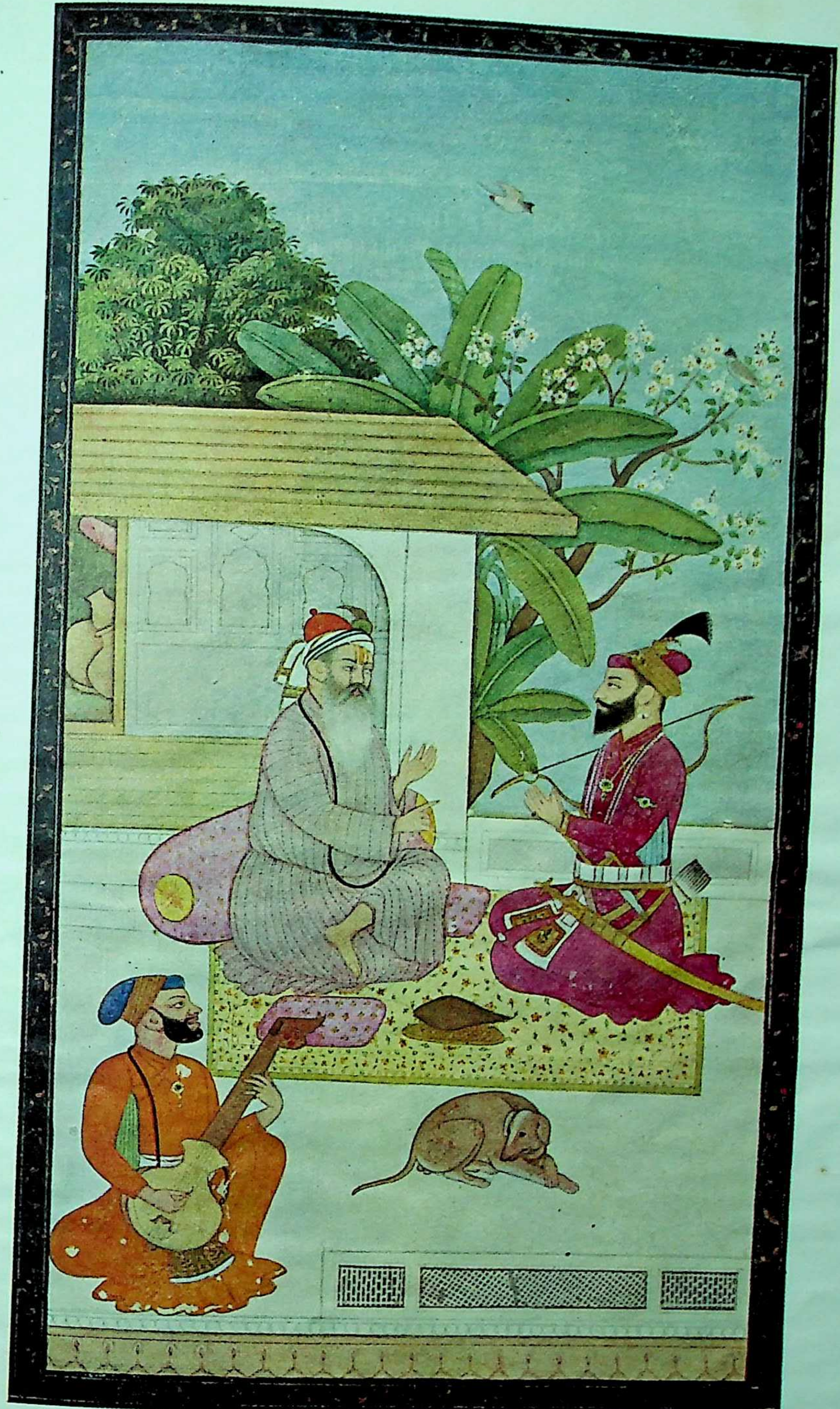
The sculptures are far outnumbered by the paintings—all water-colours, of which there are many hundreds, some already displayed, but more waiting to be permanently exhibited as space and panels become available. The paintings are divided into many sections and sub-sections, the outstanding specimens being of the Mughal period and the Kangra school. There are many single portraits of the Persian and Indo-Persian schools, as well as historical and anecdotal subjects drawn by the miniaturists of the Mughal period and school. There are also examples of fine calligraphy.

Kangra miniatures form the most attractive feature of the painting section. They consist of Shaivite and Vaishnavite themes, as well as *genre* subjects.

Rai Krishnadasa's interest in art is not of the mere antiquarian sort. He is wide awake as to the fructification of the Indian artistic genius in modern times. His collection, therefore, contains many works of the artists whose forerunner and (as regards many) teacher was and is Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. Rai Krishnadasa may be already thinking of acquiring some of Rabindranath Tagore's drawings, several of which have been purchased by His Highness Maharaja Bhim Shamsher Jung Rana Bahadur, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, during his recent visit to Calcutta.

By the courtesy of Bharat Kala Bhavan we are able to present to our readers reproductions in colours of five of the paintings displayed there. One of them is an idealized and imaginary representation of Guru Nanak and Guru Govind Singh, and is highly prized by Rai Krishnadasa. In view of the recent celebrations of Guru Govind Singh's anniversary, this should be interesting. Another is an illustration of Kalidasa's Banished Yaksha by Mr. Sailendra Nath De, one of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore's former pupils. The Banished Yaksha is here represented as pining away in separation from his beloved wife under a divine curse. The other three subjects are from ordinary life. Two belong to the Kangra school. One is a picture of a lady writing a love-letter. Perhaps some thought of her absent beloved has made her pause. The other is that of a lady caught in a rainstorm and flying for shelter. The last picture is that of an elephant being given a free run to allay his periodic excitement. The *mahout* firmly seated on his neck, is engaged in bringing him under control. Men on horseback and on foot are running ahead to warn people and check the huge animal.

* * *



GURU GOVIND AND NANAK

An Imaginary Representation
After an Old Painting

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

# COMMENT & CRITICISM

THIS section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this paper and other papers criticizing it, and should not be used for the expression of mere differences of opinion. The contributors to this section are also requested to be brief and to the point. It is desirable that communications meant for these columns should not exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

*Mr. Alexander's original article and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's reply thereto appeared in* THE MODERN REVIEW *for November, 1931.*

## India and Lancashire

I wonder if the editor will do me the courtesy of publishing some further comment on this subject. I only ask this favour because his comments on my previous notes show so much misunderstanding of my position that I can only suppose I expressed myself very badly. If he has so misunderstood me, no doubt others would do the same.

First, I have no wish to suggest that India should give preference to Lancashire goods, as against Japanese. I see no reason at all why she should do so, even if such a partnership as Mahatma Gandhi has offered were accepted by Britain.

Secondly, what I said about the finer counts was not intended to apply to the villages. I can quite agree that, if the villagers can only afford the coarser counts made in India or imported from Japan, it would be most improper to try to induce them to buy Lancashire's finer counts. But I understand there has always been a considerable demand—I suppose a middle and upper class demand—for these finer counts. All that I would suggest is that so long as that demand remains, there need not be any special discrimination in these counts against Lancashire.

Thirdly, the editor seems not to have noticed that I only wrote of many Lancashire workers as strong supporters of India's demand for freedom. He seems to imagine that I was writing of a "change of heart" among British capitalists. No: I see that no more than he does. I can fully agree, from my own observations during these last weeks, as the Round Table Conference has dragged its course to what seems likely to be a complete break-down that "British capitalists are conspiring with the separatist Moslems to sell their goods in India with their help." And I am glad to believe that, whatever immediate success they may have, they are bound to fail in the end.

I confess I cannot follow the argument that "it would be to the advantage of the masses to pay a higher price for Indian goods." Surely if the price were higher the demand would be less, so that there would be less, not more cotton production. The number who would get employment in the mills would be as nothing to the number who would be impoverished by the higher price. And surely the hand-spinning movement does not depend on tariffs. However, I know that protectionists, in every country, see advantages in tariffs which free-traders cannot see.

I am sorry that my attempt to look for a moral basis for international dealings seems to have annoyed the editor. Very likely my attempt was a feeble one, but if so, I wish he had shown up my fallacies, instead of jeering at my attempt to "soar." Under the circumstances, I can only repeat that, to leave men to suffer for the sins of their forefathers seems to me to be like leaving people to die of plague because they or their predecessors have not paid proper attention to the laws of hygiene. This may be "inevitable retribution," but it is surely the glory of man that he tries to save his fellows from the ruthlessness of natural forces. I think we should also try to save one another from the disastrous effects of "economic laws."

Yet, I think the editor and I are really fundamentally agreed. We can agree, at least that Lancashire's depression is not mainly due to the Indian boycott. And we can agree that her salvation must come through her own efforts, not through pressure upon India.

HORACE G. ALEXANDER

### The Editor's Final Note

If the finer counts of Lancashire were to be sold only to townsmen, they would not find a sufficiently large market; for 89.8 per cent of the population of India is rural.

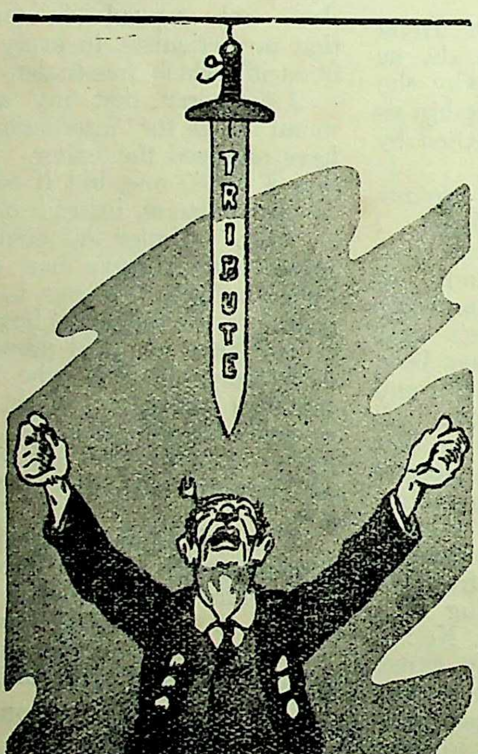
When Mr. Alexander says, "I understand there has *always* been a considerable demand for" Lancashire's finer counts (italics mine), I presume he means "always" since the ruin of the Indian indigenous spinning and weaving industry in the interests of Lancashire. My position is, that such a demand for foreign fine cloth ought not to have been created by ruining the indigenous manufacture of fine cotton cloth from fine yarn spun in India; but since it has been created, we ought by all legitimate and peaceful means to persuade those who want such cloth, to be content with the less fine country-made cloth until India herself can produce as fine cloth as Lancashire. In saying this, I have taken it for granted that there is, as Mr. Alexander says, "a *considerable* demand for these finer counts"; but I am not personally aware of the extent of this demand.

I do not doubt that many Lancashire workers are "strong supporters of India's demand for freedom." But considering the overwhelming Tory majority in the present House of Commons, who cannot be taken to be "strong supporters of India's demand for freedom," the number and influence of the "Indian-freedom-loving" Lancashire workers must be woefully small. And whatever their number and influence, there is no sign that they would refuse to profit by the conspiracy of their capitalist employers with the separatist Moslems, if the conspirators succeed in their object.

A brief note like this is no place for an elaborate discussion of the question of free trade *vs.* protection. Britain began to uphold free trade after disabling her rivals by the opposite policy. She has again become a convert to protection. I still believe—and in my previous note I have briefly given reasons for my belief—that it would be to the advantage of the people of India to pay a higher price for some time for Indian cloth.

Perhaps Mr. Alexander will give me credit for being opposed to "leaving people to die of plague because they or their predecessors have not paid proper attention to the laws of hygiene." I would be for saving them from plague. But it would not be possible to save them by perpetuating or prolonging the duration of the unhygienic and insanitary conditions which produced plague. Similarly, it is not the wisest and most effective way to save Lancashire people from economic disaster by prolonging or perpetuating the unrighteous economic arrangements and methods which have produced their misery.

## THE SWORD OF REPARATIONS



Michael, How can I work and produce with this sword of reparations hanging over my head !

*Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

# EXCHANGE BANKING IN INDIA

By MOTILAL DAM, M.A.

## I

THE exchange banks in India are all banks of foreign origin specializing in the finance of her foreign trade. It is a prevailing idea that these exchange banks were incorporated with the express purpose of financing the external trade of India.* As a matter of fact, promoters of the first Anglo-Indian exchange banking schemes did not take such a narrow view of their business. "The prospectus of the Bank of India of 1836, the first incorporated London bank which proposed to operate in India, shows.....that the bank was intended to do both issue and deposit business, grant cash credits and discount bills at branches all over India, and do London exchange business as well."† But the Exchange banks ultimately came to fulfil a much narrower and specialized function because of the Presidency banks, the private European concerns, such as the Bank of Agra and the Union Bank of Calcutta, and the domestic bankers. Before their time foreign exchange business used to be done by the East India 'Agency' houses. There is absolutely no legal bar to Indian banks taking up exchange business and though companies have occasionally been formed with the object, among others, of conducting foreign exchange business, the result achieved so far has not been encouraging and the foreign exchange banks have a practical monopoly of the business. In addition, they compete with the Indian joint-stock banks for the ordinary banking business. So, it is somewhat misleading to describe them as exchange banks.

### DISTRIBUTION OF EXCHANGE BANKS.

According to the latest tables* the total number of exchange banks is 18; of which the five doing a considerable portion of their business in India (*i.e.*, having 25 p.c. or more of their deposits in India) are all of English origin. Holland and America are represented by two each, Japan by three, France, Hongkong, Persia and Portugal one each. The firms of Thomas Cook and Son and Grindlay and Co., Army and Navy agents and bankers† conduct exchange business subsidiary to others. It may have been noted that the distribution of banks by countries of origin follows generally the distribution of India's foreign trade. The entry and expansion of the National City Bank of New York (1903) and particularly of the Lloyds Bank in recent times is totally different from the establishment of the exchange banks, in the fifties of the last century. All the banks, whatever their country of origin, are firmly established alike in London and in the chief seats of their activities. Only the two Dutch banks have representatives and agents in London instead of London offices. The exchange banks have 86 branches in India, of which about 60 are located in the principal port towns and the rest in important inland trade centres like Cawnpore, Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore and a few other places. These cities do a lot of direct import and export business.

The exchange banks are principally concerned with the financing of the foreign trade of India, the inland trade being looked after by the indigenous bankers, *viz.*, the

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* L. Minty, in his *English Banking Methods* (p. 45) says: "The exchange bank is a rather general term meant to include those banks that are specially concerned with financing the trade of India and China, which countries, not having a gold standard, had exchanges peculiarly liable to fluctuation."

†Baster, *The Bankers' Magazine*, March 1931, p. 364.

* Statistical tables relating to banks in India for 1928.

† Grindly and Co. has been absorbed by the National Provincial Bank in 1925. Minty, *Op. Cit.*, p. 42. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation is regulated by special ordinances of the Legislative Council of Hongkong.

Marwaris, Multanis and Chettys. Like the London joint-stock banks these indigenous bankers finance the movement of raw materials and manufactured goods to and from the ports.

### The Financing of Indian Imports[*]

The foreign exporter may obtain payment from the Indian debtor in one of several ways:

(i) He may draw a bill on the Indian and send it direct, through a bank, for collection. Such bills may be drawn in any way the exporter likes as the banker is not liable to pay—though he may give an advance—until the bill has been honoured and paid. Such bills pay a commission of ¼ per cent and postage in addition on all bills under £100.

(ii) When he is a person of good standing and repute and there is a series of transactions to be financed, the exporter will draw bills under a documentary credit and sell it to an exchange bank in London. In this case the importer will appoach a foreign bank in his home city; that institution being satisfied with his standing and bona fides, and also having assured itself that the goods are readily marketable, will possibly agree to advise its London office, that it may buy the exporter's bill drawn on the importer up to a certain amount, such bills to be accompanied by a full set of shipping documents. The importer has to sign various forms and engage to accept and pay the bills at maturity before the London office will open such a credit. The exporter duly receives a notice from the London bank.

It should be observed that in the above case the burden of carrying the finance is borne by the importer and the bill is drawn on him and not the bank. The bank's charge on account of discount is greater than that of collection, but in the former case the exporter receives payment from the bank on presentation of bills along with complete shipping documents. This method of collection can be indulged in by export firms having sufficient capital to finance the transactions themselves.

(iii) "A good deal of business is also done under banker's confirmed credits, opened by the joint-stock banks in London and advised through the intermediary of the exchange banks."[*] Such credit is irrevocable and carries the issuing bank's absolute guarantee of payment. It cannot be cancelled except by the consent of the exporter. The issuing bank accepts the bill and takes a small commission usally 1½ per cent. These bills being drawn on first class London banks can be readily disposed of at the best rates.

(iv) In the case of first class firms of high standing the exchange banks themselves may give their acceptance in London to bills drawn by the exporter.

Whenever bankers buy or advance against Indian import bills, "it is customary for the drawers to include in them an interest clause, which has the effect of making the bill bear interest at the agreed rate from its date until the approximate date the proceeds reach London."[†] Interest bills are in sterling, but they are payable in India in rupees. Generally a rate of exchange for this conversion is settled beforehand. In these cases the banks make themselves responsible for the transference of the value of the goods from India to London.

Acceptances are cheaper when the accepting commission and discount is together less than the interest. Which form of bill should be drawn is a matter resting on the banker. Import bills are more usually drawn D/P and the exchange bank attends to the interests of the shipper in the matter of receiving delivery, storage, etc.

### The Export Trade

Indian exporters constantly work under credits arranged by the foreign importer. "The credits are not always opened by the exchange banks themselves; frequently it is the London banks and finance houses which open the credits and advise them out to India through the exchange banks. . .

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[*] Largely based on Spalding, *The Finance of Foreign Trade and Eastern Exchange Currency and Finance.*

[*] Spalding, *The Finance of Foreign Trade*, p. 120.
[†] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Bills under the credit are drawn upon and accepted by the banks which have opened them."* In the case of documentary credits opened by the exchange banks it is the foreign importer who accepts the bill.

So far as the exchange banks are concerned the normal favourable trade balance of India is met in two different ways, *viz.*, sale of sterling to the Government and import of sovereigns. The Government of India invites tenders—when necessary—for sterling bills in India. The amount is not announced beforehand and allotment is made to the highest bidder. These purchases often exercise a very great influence on the exchange rates.

The exchange banks deal through brokers, though direct business is not rare. In Calcutta there are two Brokers' Associations, one European and the other Indian. In Bombay there is only one European Exchange Brokers' Association and an approved list of Indian brokers. Both Indian and European brokers have to make a deposit of Rs. 10,000. The brokers do not share the risk of the business like the Compradors of China, still their mediation is of great advantage to the banks as they know the parties well. The exchangs banks have to maintain highly organized credit information departments. The opinions are kept so up-to-date that very often bankers know more about a man than he himself does. A great handicap in this respect, for which Indian business men do not get accommodation justified by their intrinsic position, is that the banks do not get duly audited balance-sheets from their clients.

### Exchange Banks And The Bullion Market†

The Exchange banks play a very important part in the bullion market. Four of these, the National Bank of India, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, and the Yokohama Specie Bank, are of outstanding importance. These four banks finance the bulk of the bullion shipments to India by the sale of T. T., on the security of the bullion while *en route*. The quantity of bullion T. T. purchased every day is so large that it forms an important element in the exchange position.

In a measure these banks finance speculation in bullion through advances to bullion dealers on actual bullion.

Sometimes, specially when exchange fluctuations are wide, the exchange banks are interested in the direct import of bullion on their own account for speculative purposes. They also act as agents of producers and foreign operators when it suits them.

The National Bank of India has a particular function in that it acts as agent for the sale of gold mined in the Kolar goldfields of India—a function which it has exercised for many years. This gold is refined at the Bombay Mint and marked with the mint stamp and the "chop" of the National Bank of India. As this "chop" is well known throughout the country, it serves as a guarantee of the fineness of the gold.

Several of the banks, and notably the National Bank of India, sell in the Bombay market specially made, trade-marked, highly polished small bars of gold, for which there is a fairly extensive demand. To some extent, perhaps, these bars are imported by the banks on their own account, but in all probability the majority of them are ordered by bullion dealers and brought in on that basis. Consequently about the only function the banks perform in this instance is to have the bars made and to affix their own "chop" to them. The actual import is for dealer account on a bullion T. T. order.

Since 1925, the Central Bank of India and the Shilotri Bank of Poona (now in liquidation) began to market small bars manufactured by the Bombay Mint from bar gold of 10 tolas each known as "chips." The market is limited and confined to the vicinity of Poona. These bars are not acceptable at the settlements of the bullion exchange.*

## II

THE methods adopted for financing foreign trade given above have certain drawbacks. Indian importers have to do business more usually on D/P. terms which is less favourable than D/A. terms, for well-known reasons. Of course, D/P. bills may be prepaid; but even here the Indian is at a disadvantage as the rate of rebate is an uncertain factor, (it being fixed by the exchange banks themselves from time to time) while in London it is 1/2 p. c. above the interest allowed by the joint-stock banks for short deposits. The banks also do not seem to favour the partial delivery system. The argument that the term of trade is a matter between the importer and exporter abroad does not carry conviction as a D/P bill gives greater security to the discounting bank to which a bank can ill-afford to become indifferent. Moreover, the terms of trade are settled partly at least on bank references. So, there is hardly sufficient ground to suppose that the banks act purely as agents and have no responsibility for the hard terms imposed upon the importer. The way out of this mutual difficulty is to encourage the release of goods widely under trust receipts, *i. e.*, an arrangement by which the importer handles goods only as an agent of the bank until payment is completed. To prevent misuse, breach of trust in regard to these trust receipts should be made a criminal offence.*

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* Spalding, *Ibid.*, p. 123.

† *The Bombay Bullion Market*, pp. 9-10; By Don. C. Bliss, Asst. Trade Commissioner, Bombay. W. S. A.

* Bliss, *ibid.*, pp. 21,31.

One cannot but regret the comparatively insignificant position of acceptances by London or Indian banks or bankers as a method of import finance. The bulk of this trade is done without credit aud the foreign exporter draws a draft direct on the Indian importer and not on the bank. Reasons justifying the practice may not be wanting. But should we perpetuate a system which has been condemned by the whole world as being crude and expensive? Is it not wasteful to buy wooden machinery in the days of iron and steel?

### RUPEE BILLS

The foreign trade of India is conducted mainly on bills drawn in sterling. The use of the rupee bill is exceptional and confined to some cases of the import trade. In consequence, an Indian bank cannot grant a letter of credit to the importer authorizing the exporter to draw, but has to open a "third party" credit with some bank in London. This is not so cheap to the importer, who has to pay a double commission.* It not only fattens the profits of the foreign banks but also throws the risk of the exchange upon the Indian. It also places the Indian trader at a further disadvantage in comparison with rivals who could entrust their business to banks of their own nationality. While making these comments, I am not blind to the many advantages in using sterling bills. The London money market is an international clearing-house in which credit and debit differences can be off-set, and the London discount market is the most efficient and reliable in the world, and if not actually the cheapest, is distinctly cheaper and more elastic. It may be doubtful if the greater use of rupee bills would bring any net advantage at the present stage of our banking development, but that is no reason why the architect should not plan the lay-out of the foundation with an eye to a more glorious future.

### MONOPOLY OF EXCHANGE BANKING

The exchange banks have so systematized and developed the methods of their business that they make large profits without undertaking much risk. It is said that before the stabilization of the rupee in 1893 they used to make greater profits; but recently the cry of "Help! Murder!" has been raised in some Board meetings. At the annual meeting of the Mercantile Bank in 1929, the president said that, as a result of suicidal competition, the margin of profits on exchange operations was disappearing. At the annual meeting of the Chartered Bank in the same year the president described the competition as "absurd and excessive," and said it was cutting the exchange banks' margins of profit to the vanishing point. "It is true," he added, "that the number of Exchange banks in India and China is much in excess of trade requirements." In this connection the financial correspondent of *The Times* remarked that those concerned should be able to devise some form of co-operation. Whatever might have happened in the meantime, we find the chairman of the Chartered Bank again complaining at the annual meeting in 1930, of "the same extremely keen competition with less business." "It seems impossible," he added, "to obtain a working arrangement owing to the number of banks concerned and the diversity of interests." I find it a little difficult to accept the picture drawn above of the misery and losses of the exchange banks as a statement of facts for several reasons. The exchange banks had been giving a high and steady rate of dividend for a number of years after usual allocation to the reserve and other funds.[*] Writing in 1926, Spalding says, "The Indian exchange market is not such an extensive one as the London market —fewer banks make for less competition."[†] Minty speaks of the 'monopoly of exchange facilities' these banks command.[§] In 1913 Keynes wrote that 'Indian exchange banking is no business for speculative or enterprising outsiders, and the large profits which it earns are protected by established and not easily assailable advantages.'[**] The position is substantially the same in 1932. The Exchange banks had been and still are immune from any competition from Indian banks. The Imperial Bank of India has a London office, but without any access to the open foreign bill market. Nine of the Indian joint-stock banks have agents and correspondents in London, but they do not transact any considerable value of business of the type undertaken by exchange banks. In 1913 there were 6 banks in Group A, and 5 in Group B; as against 6 and 12 respectively in 1928.[††] So the "absurd and excessive" competition complained of by the bigger and older members of the fraternity come from newcomers doing a considerable part of their business outside India—mostly of non-British origin. So, as in 1913, we can conclude in the words of Mr. Keynes that "the business of financing Indian trade, so far as it is carried out by banks with their seats in London, is in the hands of a very small number of banks." Principal Davar is also of the same opinion. The Exchange banks, he says, practically command a monopoly for the financing of foreign trade, for the simple reason that they have been doing this business for a large number of years, and naturally command large resources, as well as important connections on the continent of Europe.[*]

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* This was the view of the representatives of the Exchange Banks' Association in their evidence before the Central Banking Enquiry Committee.

* Walter Leaf, *Banking*, p. 197.

## III

WHAT has just been said partly explains why Indian banks have not taken to this type of business or have proved unsuccessful. The development of exchange banking by the existing banks has been so intense and thorough, that it had been and still is, an extremely difficult matter for any local organization to get a footing, and the attempts in this direction have not met with success. The indispensable preliminary to success in foreign exchange business is a knowledge of foreign currencies and discount rates, the course of foreign trade and methods of finance, up-to-date credit information about parties, a net-work of branches at the principal trade centres, large and liquid funds, foreign financial relations and long and varied experience. The Indian Specie Bank failed (1914) because of heavy speculative commitments in silver. Exchange banks at times speculate in bullion and so it was nothing sinful for the Indian Specie Bank, but fortune did not smile. The Alliance Bank of Simla was ruined (1923) by Messrs. Boulton Bros. The Tata experiment was wrong in principle and ill-timed.

Moreover, it is a fact that Indian banks do not get the same re-discount facilities from the Bank of England and the London joint-stock banks as the exchange banks do. The Bank of England buys or lends on the security of "approved bills," *i.e.*, a bill bearing at least two English names, one of which must be the acceptor. However arbitrary, anomalous and irritating this might be, it immediately and always rules out of court bills drawn on foreign banks even though accepted by their London offices. Normally the other banks in their attitude towards the foreign agency are by no means so exacting as is the Bank of England, but they are found to follow its lead and charge a higher rate for agencies.*

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[*] In 1929 only one of the 'big five' of England gave 20 per cent, and two others 18 per cent, while of the three older exchange banks two gave 20 per cent or more and the third 16 per cent. The Hongkong and Shanghai declared 56 per cent last year as against 64 per cent for a number of years earlier.

[†] Spalding, *The Finance of Foreign Trade*, p. 126.

[§] Minty, *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[**] Keynes, *Indian Currency and Finance*, p. 298.

[††] According to the Statistical Tables there were 12 exchange banks in 1913.

[*] *Commerce*, March 14, 1931, p. 489.

The Exchange banks are also assisted by the Government of the respective countries of which they are the nationals,† but our Government has done nothing in this respect.

So, it is no wonder that the forebodings of Mr. Keynes§ whose predictions have a tendency to being fulfilled, have come true.

If we wish better success in the future, any one or more of the following methods should be adopted.

1. Some of our big joint-stock banks and private firms should form a subsidiary company in India with branches at least in London, New York, Berlin and Yokohama, to specialize in foreign exchange business. Exchange banking requires large funds which can best be secured by pooling resources and distributing the risk. Also only large banks can employ the necessary imported technical staff.

2. Failing the first method some of the joint-stock banks may join with some English financial houses or banks to promote an exchange bank. This was the method employed in 1916 in forming the British Indian Corporation with a view to financing trade between Italy and England.

In any case, the Reserve Bank in India should have unfettered access to the open bill market. It should be a statutory obligation of the Reserve Bank to be ready at all times to buy bills in all amounts offered, because only banks getting interest-free deposits and government balances could give re-discount facilities at low rates. Provided this is done, I would not much favour the idea of giving a State guarantee of minimum dividend on capital. As Burgess says, the bill market in America "could not exist without the Federal Reserve Banks just as the bill market in London could not exist without the Bank of England."* Such is the position in Japan and other countries. Can it be otherwise for a beginner like India ?

## Is the Time Ripe for Exchange Banking by Indians ?

Sir J. C. Coyajee writing in the *New Era* holds that the time is not yet ripe for Indian banks undertaking exchange business, as success depends upon a long preliminary preparation. "The assumption and development of foreign exchange business," he says, "can only form the final stage of our banking progress."† I am constrained to submit that while his diagnosis is correct the particular conclusion is, if not unwarranted, not certainly the only one that could be drawn from the premises.

That India is not yet ready for this 'final stage' of banking progress, Sir J. C. Coyajee attempts to establish by reference to the history of the development of a bill market in America. "A field," he says, "in which the vast resources and enterprise of America are making fairly slow progress is one which we in India cannot enter successfully without much antecedent development."

The Federal Reserve Banks opened on November 16, 1914. In spite of the abnormalities of war and disturbed world credit conditions, "the amount of financing now done through the bill market is larger than the amount carried on through the long established commercial paper market."§ At the end of 1926 there were about 577m of commercial paper outstanding, whil bills amounted to 750m, though th commercial paper market was more than 50 years in age and the bill market an infant of

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* This section is largely based on *The Discount Market in London*, by H. Greengrass, 1930.

† Davar, *Commerce*, March 14, 1931.

§ "That it would be exceedingly difficult to start a new Exchange Bank at the present time, except under the aegis of some of the important finance houses already established in a strong position in India." Keynes, *Ibid.*, p. 208.

* Burgess. *The Reserve Bank and the Mon Market*, p. 140.

† *The New Era*, July 1929, p. 842.

"We must have before us a carefully graduat scheme of banking development with an eye to t successive assumption of tasks in direct proporti to our growing banking strength. If I may s so the assumption and development of forei exchange business can only form the final st of our banking progress."

§ Burgess, *Ibid.*, p. 127.

12 only. A comparison between the size of the London and American bill markets affords more interesting results. In 1923 there were at most about 900m of sterling bills outstanding as against 1050m of dollar bills.

That there are 'serious difficulties' to be overcome is admitted by Burgess, but still he is of opinion that "the rapid progress that the bill market has already made in a little over 12 years, justifies confidence in its future." Another equally great authority, Mr. Goldenweiser, says that if the "accomplishment of the Federal Reserve system has not come up to the most sanguine expectations of the framers of the Act, it is because credit conditions there materially differ from England.*

Japan saw the advent of modern banking only in 1872, when the National Bank Act was passed. In 1880, the first Japanese exchange bank, *viz.*, the Yokohama Specie Bank was founded under a special charter from the Government, others followed soon, but still the Yokohama handles more than 50 per cent of the total business. Before this time foreign exchange business was in the hands of Dutch, British and other foreign bankers. In 1882 the Bank of Japan was founded as the central bank, 'one of its aims being to assist the foreign exchange banks, especially the Yokohama Specie Bank.'† It is extremely important to keep in mind that while there is no general market for discounting foreign exchange bills, the Bank of Japan has assumed, single handed and sometimes almost heroically, the whole responsibility for financing exports and imports. The bank has especially helped the Yokohama Specie Bank in financing the foreign trade. Of course, exchange banking in Japan has many serious defects, but some constructive work has been done, the foundation has been well and truly laid. If defects there are—even the English system is not quite free from defects—they can be rectified.*

Nor is the negative standpoint of Sir J. C. Coyajee supported by English banking history. Modern deposit banking did not exist much before 1833. The state of the new joint-stock banks was 'scandalous,' still the English people did not wait to 'graduate' in ordinary banking before the 'assumption and development of foreign exchange business.' The prospectus of the Bank of India of 1836, the first English banking scheme for India, shows that it was intended to do London exchange business along with others. Another plan followed in 1840. The Oriental Bank, originally started in Bombay in 1842, moved its head office to London in 1845, and was granted a Royal Charter in 1851. The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China applied for Royal Charter in 1852. The Chartered Bank of Asia (afterwards the Mercantile Bank of India Ltd.) was incorporated at about the same time. The National Bank of India was established in 1863.

The above study of the development of exchange banking in foreign lands makes it abundantly clear that nations did not wait to acquire experience before embarking in exchange business, but that they gathered the necessary experience as they worked. This was rightly so, as efficiency is not something which we can go out and buy. It does not come in packages with directions for use. It is more like a plant; that is, it is something that grows.

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* Goldenweiser, *Federal Reserve System in Operation*, p. 57.

† Before the war loans on foreign bills formed about 40 to 50 per cent of total loans; during the war 60 to 80 per cent.

* This section is based on Furuya, *Japan's Foreign Exchange and her balance of International payment*, pp. 41-44, and K. Maeda, *A Study of Yen Exchange*, p. 57.

# PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN GERMANY

### By GOPAL HALDAR, M. A.

FOREIGN visitors passing through the Ruhr district of Germany in the spring of 1923 would often come across this direction inscribed in large letters on the walls of shops and factories of that beehive of German industry: *Ruhig bleiben*—"keep quiet." This meant not the quiet of ignoble submission, but the silence which falls upon everyone who is engaged in a struggle too tense for words or fussy demonstration. Ever since January 11, when, following a technical default in the payment of reparations, French and Belgian troops, accompanied by guns and armoured cars and tanks, had entered the Ruhr to extract payment from defaulting Germany, a grim war of wills had been going on in that region between the unarmed population and the French and Belgian invaders. The German Government, unable to resist the invasion by force of arms, issued a declaration that it "raises a solemn protest before the whole world against the violence which is thus being committed on a defenceless people." It further declared that "it cannot defend itself against this violence; but it has no intention of accommodating itself to this breach of peace, or of actually co-operating, as is suggested to it, in Franco-Belgian designs. It rejects the proposal . . . and so long as the unlawful situation created by this violent incursion into the centre of Germany's economic life continues and so long as its actual consequences are not removed, Germany is not in a position to make deliveries to the Powers which have brought the situation about." In order to give effect to this decision to offer passive resistance to the invaders, the German Government issued orders prohibiting all German citizens from rendering any assistance to the invaders on pain of severe penalties and undertook the financial support of all officials, miners, workers and others who would lose their jobs or be expelled from the area by the French and the Belgians for obeying the mandate of the German Government.

## THE GERMAN RESISTANCE

BUT the people of the Ruhr required no mandate or sanctions from the German Government to be induced to offer passive resistance to the invaders. Outraged in their deepest feelings by the sudden and unjust invasion by the French and Belgians, the disciplined people of the Ruhr had by themselves found a channel for their resentment in a spontaneous movement of total and unqualified non-co-operation.

This movement, as described by the French themselves, took the form of passive resistance and consisted

> in rejecting collaboration in any shape or for with the French and Belgians, in refusing their demands, in not complying with any of the orders, in leaving them to their own resour while, if necessary, yielding them possession of t field at the points where they presented themselv The mining and metallurgical industrialists refus to appear at the summons of the Commission Engineers to answer their questions, to supp them with information, to satisfy their requisitio and even to open to them the doors of th establishments. The postal, telegraphic a telephonic employees refused to make any comm nication to the French or the Belgians, to transm their letters, to sell them stamps and so on. T railway employees refused to run the tra necessary for the troops or to make room in t stations for the occupying authorities. The Germ officials of all ranks affected to be unaware of t presence of the French and Belgians; th furnished them with no assistance and no expla tions; they declined all requisitions and ord The newspapers refused to publish any docume whether notices, *arretes*, instructions or ordina which emanated from the Allied authorities.
>
> (*Un An d'Occupation*, pp. 14-1

What the carrying out of this program meant in actual fact can only be realized fr the accounts of eye-witnesses of that gr struggle. One of them, the distinguis English journalist Mr. Hugh F. Spen sent an absorbing description of the strug to *The Nation and the Athenaeum,* then edited by Mr. Massingham and a determined opponent of French militarism. This account, which deserves to be read in full by everyone desirous of understanding the mood and the spirit of the German people, can only be quoted in extracts here.

"I stood this morning," he wrote in March 1923 from Essen, "at the top of the tall tower of Krupp's great factory, which gives a wide view over serried rows of broad-backed workshops to the heart of the old town of Essen with its mediaeval church towers and narrow winding streets...Through glasses I can trace narrow ribbons of steel that in link after link bind the multifarious activities of this great industrial region together. There is not a train to be seen.

Blue-coated figures in steel helmets with rifle and bayonet, accompained by machine-gun and tank, march and counter-march through the streets of the Ruhr towns, mounting sentries over public buildings, now grasping at this, now at that, arresting, imprisoning, expelling mayors and policemen, officials and humble workmen. Yet life on the Ruhr is apparently going on as it did before the invader came....Only those links of steel that run in manifold curves through the land no longer echo to the rumble of wheels, save when some train with food supplies comes in, or, rarer still, when a train with coal goes out. Otherwise hardly any material is going out, and hardly anything in the way of material comes in.

### BOYCOTT OF THE INVADERS

"For all their fine martial appearance there is something ghost-like about the soldiers, for not an eye is lifted, not a head is turned towards them as they pass through the crowd. It is as if the townspeople had made up their mind that the blue-coated figures were not there. If the French speak to anyone, he will not answer. If they enter a shop, the man behind the counter pays no heed. The soldiers must take what they want, for no one will sell to them. They cannot buy a cup of coffee; they must commandeer hotel and restaurant before they can be fed, and no German, except a few blacklegs, will serve them. Why should the people share their food and goods with the invader?...

"I was told this morning of a strange scene in a shop which two officers entered to buy some chocolate. The tradesman made no reply to their polite request to be served, but continued to attend to his German customers, and when they hurriedly went out, he still made no sign that he was aware of the invaders' presence. They expostulated, grew angry, and finally taking what they wanted, left some thousand-mark notes on the counter, and departed. The shopman took the paper money, tore it in shreds and threw it into the street. Had he served the officers, there is no doubt that his shop would have been wrecked by Germans.

"The boycott which this story illustrates was invented by the hard-headed, determined, but, above all, quiet-minded workers of the Ruhr (who are so different from the easy-going Rhinelanders) as their most effective weapon of resistance. 'Ruhig bleiben' is their motto, and this precept, which adorns so many walls, they have faithfully kept......

The Ruhr Worker is proud to think that he is making history, that his peaceful resistance will be remembered as a triumph of right over might. He hopes that it may set a lesson to the world of the undying strength of the human will in a struggle with militarism. Yet beneath the yearning for the triumph of a great principle I detect a sharper note. Through all my conversations with the workers I hear the voice of the miners' leader who, in grave tones and with set face, said to me, as he pointed to the array of tanks in the square of Bochum, on the day of the funeral of the young man who was shot by the French there: "Lieber tot wie sklav." (Better dead than slaves).

Mr. Spender proceeds :

"Before the occupation a train with coal for France, Belgium and Italy left the Ruhr every twenty miuutes in the course of a day. The French in seven weeks have not got more than a day's supply by force. They cannot work the railways. They dare not go into the mines. If they load the coal from the pit-heads by force there are no wagons to take it out. They had better not try....

"By night these towns on the Ruhr, robbed of their natural defenders, stir uneasily. Their streets are dark, for the French take what coal they can move. I have seen coal carts solemnly conducted under an escort with fixed bayonets through the streets of Essen. At night no one feels safe. There are lawless soldiers about, and bad characters. In the streets death may come from the stray bullets of some scared patrol. At home, a knock at the door may prove the summons for arrest by a corporal's guard. The law of the suspect is in force, and the modern tumbril, the motor-lorry, hurries its victims into prison or exile. Newspapers are suppressed or heavily censored....

### EXTORTION OF MONEY BY THE INVADERS

"In Gelsenkirchen the Oberbürgermeister showed me today a number of depositions from the inhabitants of the town and others claiming restitution for the money which had been stolen from them in streets, when the French soldiers held up passers-by to search their pockets, for the fine which was levied on the town. Gelsenkirchen was the scene of an affray between some German policemen and some French officers who, driving into the town at night, refused to pay any heed to an order to light their lamps. The Germans say that one of the officers drew his revolver and fired at the Schutzmann; the French say that the police opened fire first. There were casualties on both sides, and the town was placed under martial law and heavily fined. It refused to pay, and after raiding the Town Hall the soldiers tried to extract what they could from the pockets of people in the streets. The French authorities had the grace to say that this robbery under arms was due to the mistaken zeal of an officer, and some of the money was returned...

### THE INVASION OF BOCHUM

......they have invaded Bochum, a large mining and manufacturing town. They seized the railway station and various public buildings, with the usual result that all the railwaymen walked off, and all the post-office officials ceased work. Once again they were faced with the maddening problem of discovering how the signals and points worked, for the Germans before they left had altered the numbers of the levers and disarranged the delicate mechanism of control....Proceeding to the Rathaus they politely asked the mayor to provide them with furniture, motor-cars, and other necessaries. The mayor refused, and so did all the town councillors, who assembled in the Town Hall like Roman senators of old. They were all arrested and taken to the Court House in Wilhelmsplatz, a great crowd following. Here a tragic incident took place which I fear will occur with greater frequency as the French soldiers grow more impatient and nervous. A sentry, pressed by the crowd, and thinking that one of his friends was being molested, fired, killing a young workman and wounding two others. The same night a company of soldiers sacked the Chamber of Commerce, forced open the safes which contained the salaries of the employees, and took out all the furniture. They drank all the wine they could find, looted the cigars, and threw about the archives of the Chamber in utter confusion, wrecking the telephones and slashing the portraits of two Bürgermeisters. A bust of Bismarck had left a dent in the floor, as a reminder of the iron strength of its forehead as it was hurled from its pedestal.

## THE METHODS OF THE OCCUPYING POWERS

THE French and the Belgians were faced with a peculiarly difficult situation. They had at first decided only to send "a control commission of engineers with necessary powers to supervise the action of the Kohlensyndikat to ensure the strict application of the programmes fixed by the Reparation Commission and to take all measures required to secure the payment of reparations." Though this mission, called the "Mission Interalliée de Contrôle des Usines et des Mines" (M. I. C. U. M.), was accompanied by two French infantry divisions and one cavalry division and a Belgian detachment under General Degoutte, the French and Belgian Governments disavowed any intention of "proceeding at the moment to operations of a military nature or to an occupation of a political character." But passive resistance on the part of Germany rendered any such restricted operation absolutely futile. The Mission was therefore entrusted from the very first with wide powers for supervising the distribution of coal and for imposing severe sanctions on the personnel of the German administration and the representatives of the industrial groups and traders. Immediately upon entering the Ruhr area, General Degoutte proclaimed a state of siege in the newly occupied territories, required the German civil authorities to take their orders from the French military headquarters and demanded the surrender of all arms and munitions in private hands. Infractions of these orders were to be punished severely. It has already been seen in what manner the German people replied to these demands, and the Kohlensyndikat, against whom the Mission was to take the most stringent measures, at once removed to Hamburg.

In the face of this novel kind of opposition, the French and Belgian Governments decided to act quickly and with determination. They extended the area of occupation from Essen to Bochum, cut the Karlsruhe-Basel line, and occupied the river-ports of Wesel and Emmerich to enable them to complete the customs cordon which they were setting up against the unoccupied territories with the intention of separating Germany from the heart of her coal area. In the Rhineland, where matters had so far been proceeding smoothly, the occupation had its natural repercussions. The temper of the people under the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission was rising, and the Commission, now practically the instrument of the French and Belgians, began to increase the stringency of the control by forging new Ordinances (Nos. 131, 132, 133, 134, 140, 144, 146, 147, 156). "The intention of this policy," observes Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee, "was to assimilate the status of the Rhineland to that of the Ruhr and to weld the two areas into a single province under Franco-Belgian domination."

As the struggle intensified, the sufferings of the German people in the Occupied Territory also became more and more cruel. We learn on the authority of the French High Command that in Ruhr alone within twelve months "the Allies had killed 76 persons and wounded 92, either in reply to acts of aggression or in order to exact respect for their passwords ; . . ." To this should be added the heavy toll of "Separatism" which came later, and that of the clashes in the Rhineland. Expulsion was the order of the day : from January to November, in Ruhr alone, 147,020 German citizens were expelled, of whom 46,292 were State officials with their families. Imprisonment and fines and "stiff sentences" by court martials and "exemplary punishments" became too commo

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to be examples any more. Of this there is no more striking illustration than the preposterous case of the Directors of the Krupp's, which astounded the whole civilized world. On a charge of obstructing the Army of Occupation and disturbing the public peace they were condemned to sentences varying from fines of 100 million marks to ten or fifteen years' imprisonment. On a similar charge, the Burgomasters of Essen had been awarded 2 years' imprisonment with a fine of 5 million marks, and that of Oberhausen imprisonment for three years only. By the end of February every city and town in the Ruhr had lost its Chief Burgomaster, with four exceptions.

The war on the economic and industrial front was equally severe. Payments in coal had ceased and the industrialists refused to hand over the coal-tax to the French. The French retort was the manning of the German customs offices by a Franco-Belgian personnel and the raising of a customs barrier, preventing the despatch of coal to the unoccupied territories. Stocks accumulated in the mines and factories of the occupied area, and an embargo was placed on them; as all that could be despatched to France had already been sent there as reparations, all funds belonging to coal-mines were seized on account of the unpaid coal-tax, and finally with its own personnel the M.I.C.U.M. took over nine mines to maintain production.

## SEPARATISM, THE TRUMP CARD OF THE FRENCH

We come now to a very important aspect of the foreign occupation of the Rhineland—the Separatist movement. Up till 1923, Separatism, which had its leaders in Dr. Dorten and Herr Matthes, was "neither representative of the local German population nor an important factor in international affairs." In the British zone it was non-existent, in the Belgian and French zones it died a natural death as soon as foreign support was withdrawn.

Its rise is accounted for by two factors: the disorganization of the German administration in the Occupied Territory as a result of the occupation and the encouragement and support given to the Separatists by the French authorities. As the note of November 10, 1923 of the German Ambassador in Paris explains:

> Owing to the mass expulsion of officials, especially the leading officials without exception, the administrative machinery is already shattered. Moreover, in almost all localities the population has been robbed of its leaders, since the policy of expulsion has not spared the heads of political parties and of the trade unions. Any enlightenment of the population has been impossible for months owing to the crippling of the entire non-Separatist Press by the most severe administration of censorship, the standing suppression of many newspapers, and the disallowance of all meetings not convened by the Separatists.

French support in other forms was also given liberally to the Separatists. Though M. Poincaré repeatedly assured that the "Separatist movement was a quarrel among Germans in which France had no desire to take part," everybody knew who stood to gain if this agitation succeeded, and everybody could ascertain the facts and draw his own conclusions from them. Thus, though fire-arms had been prohibited in the Occupied Territory to German nationals, the Separatists were permitted to carry them and even to form military organizations. Arms confiscated from the German citizens were given over to the Separatist bands, and the arms of the Separatists taken away from them by the German police were restored to them by the French. The Franco-Belgian railway organization readily supplied the Separatists with transport, and railway stations were placed at their service as bases of operations. The marches of the Separatists into towns were frequently preceded by the disarming of the German police by the French authorities who forbade their use against the Separatists, and French troops screened the latter in actions. Interventions on behalf of the Separatists in order to enable them to gain their objective, or to frustrate any attempt at expelling them were very frequent. The authorities also put pressure upon the German administration to work under the Separatist regime, issued free railway passes and rations to the Separatists, countenanced the expulsions and deportations carried out by them, and forced the people to accept the Separatist paper money.

The French, seeking to create dissensions within the ranks of the German nation and to enlist support for themselves had of necessity to depend upon the lowest and the most debased elements of the population. The Separatists were the dregs of the Rhineland population, and their record in the year 1923 was a reflection of their composition. They chose Düsseldorf, the headquarters of the French general commanding the Army of Occupation, as their first point of attack. On September 30, the *Régie* poured forth on the town some three to four thousand Separatists, who were hailed by the citizens with the suspension of all ordinary everyday work, and who replied by opening fire on the German police. The invaders, however, had the worst of it in the action. It was a severe check and could be overcome only with better organization and encouragement from external sources. This ensured, they attempted a *putsch* on Coblenz, Bonn, Wiesbaden and Trier, all of which were occupied in the course of a week (21st-26th Oct. 1923). But the Separatists had only a short hour of glory—Dr. Dorten and Herr Matthes quarrelled for power, and the leaders had neither administrative capacity nor the good sense to appreciate its necessity. So, in spite of foreign support, the inflated bubble burst, and by February, 1924, Separatism outside the Palatinate was dead and buried. In the Palatinate it secured a new lease of life from the support of General de Metz, chief delegate on the Rhineland Commission. At Kreistag on October 24, he declared the Palatinate to be an autonomous state. Discredited elsewhere, the Separatists were carried by the *Régie* into the Palatinate. Towns and villages were occupied, and the bands were not peaceful company. Reports show that the villages fared the worst under these disreputable bands, for they feared nothing—not even the publicity in the press of non-friendly allies. The Separatist reign of terror brought reaction in its train. The French found the game played out. As a result of personal enquiries, Mr. Clive, the British Consul-General for Bavaria and the Palatinate, sent on the 21st January, 1924, a severe report pricking the bubble, and by January 10 the Rhineland Commission appointed a Committee to liquidate the Separatist regime and reinstate the old Bavarian administration. Now burst the popular fury against the Separatists—wherever they remained they were expelled. At Pirmassens on February 12 the Committee had to lay siege to the town and hold its prominent citizens in hostage for a considerable time. But the Separatist agitation had failed, and the Committee put the finishing touches to it. Until the retirement of General de Metz, however, Separatism had an indefatigable ally, but the London Conference of August, 1924, gave Germany the power to bring to book all persons guilty of high treason.

### THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE MOVEMENT

FOR six months the German Government and the German people stood their ground. But the disastrous downward trend of the mark and the internal situation in Germany compelled them to yield at last. On September 27, passive resistance was officially abandoned by the withdrawal of all decrees and regulations relating thereto. On November 23, the Ruhr industrialists were compelled under duress to sign an agreement with the M. I. C. U. M., and on December 1, the *Régie* made its peace with the German State Railways. The negotiations between the two Governments, however, remained abortive till the signing of the Dawes Report, which found a way out of the *impasse*.

It is interesting at this point to cast up the balance of the movement which ended with an apparent defeat but ultimate victory for the Germans. The heroic record of these six months showed them what unarmed resistance could do even in the face of the most ruthless employment of military force. The economic consequences of this movement were, however, disastrous. It meant the complete exhaustion of Germany and almost the complete ruin of the Ruhr area and untold suffering for its population. They could never retrieve what they had lost. On the other hand, the French were also not the gainers. While they complimented themselves on their ability to work the mines and the railways, the very purpose for which this fateful move had been made,—the "productive pledges" of M. Poincaré, remained unfulfilled. The French authorities estimate the Ruhr and Rhineland gross receipts for the year at 1,329,195,000 francs and the gross expense (for occupation) at 850,000,000 francs, leaving a balance of 479,195,000 francs. These figures have been challenged as exaggerated. Anyway, it is admitted even by the French that the reparation delivery of coal received by France and Belgium during 1923 under the new régime amounted to no more than 25 to 30 per cent of the receipts during the preceding year.

Thus, as an economic proposition, both the ocupation and the passive resistance proved to be failures. But the Ruhr episode ended with an abiding moral victory for an unarmed people, though during the struggle world opinion, to which Germany appealed, like God, stood substantially for the side of the heaviest battalion. In this "unarmed war" there was ranged on one side the military power, the bayonets, the guns, the tanks, the armoured cars and machine-guns of France, and on the other, a people with their quiet determination not to submit to the invasion of their rights. Mr. Spender has remarked that the idea of passive resistance in the Ruhr had its roots in the character of the workers and needed little dictation from Berlin; that it was founded on respect for the moral law—for the people of the Ruhr were pacifists and anti-militarists to a man. The Ruhr worker has the right to be proud and to think that he had made history, that his peaceful resistance will be remembered as a triumph of right over might. He has truly set a lesson to the world of the undying strength of the human will in a struggle with militarism.

As regards the Separatist movement, it is but a familiar device. France has not played this game for the first time in history, nor, for all we know, for the last time. Yet the fate of Separatism in the Rhineland would stand as a warning to all future German sectionalists. It ought to give them pause to think and ponder well whether after all it would be worth while to play the fool, or, to use a better epithet perhaps, the traitor.

# BOOK REVIEWS

**Books** in the principal European and all Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

### MODERN INDIA

*A co-operative survey. Edited by Sir John Cumming. There are seventeen contributors including the editor. There are among them three ex-governors of Indian Provinces, one ex-general, one ex-resident, several ex-members of the I. C. S., and so on. Pp. 304+viii, and some maps. Cloth. Oxford University Press. Price 3s. 6d. net. Reasonably priced.*

### NATIONHOOD FOR INDIA

*By Lord Meston, K. C. S. I. Pp. 112+viii. Cloth. Oxford University Press. Price 5s. net. Price too high for a small book printed in big type.*

We do not feel called upon to review in detail these two books of imperialistic propaganda. Not that it would be very difficult to expose their tendenciousness and inaccuracies, their *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, and their conscious or unconscious glorification of British rule and Britishers and the conscious or unconscious depreciation of India and Indians. The reasons are different. The writers of these books are free men free to write whatever they believe to be true or want others to believe to be true. On the other hand, we are not free men politically, not free to write what we believe to be true and of whose truth we can give convincing proofs. The ordinary laws and the present extraordinary ordinances of British-ruled India are such that truth-telling is very risky. It would have been worth taking such risk if any useful purpose could have been served thereby. But it is not necessary for enlightening educated Indians to review such books—for they know the truth; and the number of our British readers is so small and Britishers are so little open to conviction as regards the seamy side of their rule and exploitation of India that it would be practically lost labour to write much for their information.

We do not want to concern ourselves much with matters of opinion. Let us take some figures given by Sir Harcourt Butler in the first chapter of *Modern India*. Therein he writes: "The Hindus who observe caste number about one hundred and seventy millions, the Muslims eighty millions, Hindus not in caste seventy-five millions, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, and Parsis twenty-four millions." As the total comes up to 349 millions, Sir Horcourt's figures obviously relate to the census of 1931, according to which the population of the whole of India (including Burma) is 352,986,876. By "Hindus not in caste" Sir Harcourt evidently means the 'depressed' castes including the 'untouchables'. But is he such an ignoramus as not to know that the 'depressed' castes also "observe caste." Let that pass, however. The preface to *Modern India* is dated 15th September, 1931. The revised totals of the population in India at the recent census were published in the *Gazette of India* on the *19th* September, 1931. But Sir Harcourt being a big British man may have got his figures earlier from the census office. The officially published figures, however, do not contain any caste statistics. If they were ready before the 19th September last, why were they not published on that date along with the other census statistics? If they were not ready, wherefrom did Sir Harcourt get his figures? It is stated in Vol. I of the Census of India 1921 that the term "depressed classes" "has no final definition, nor is it certain exactly whom it covers." Conjectural figures are useless. It is extremely difficult to say which castes are 'depressed.' The division of Hindus into those who "observe caste" and those who are 'depressed' is mostly conjectural, and is due at the present time to a sinister motive underlying the conspiracy between the separatist Moslems and other 'minority groups' and British imperialists to understate the number of Hindus and minimise their importance. But let us take the latest official figures, though they are an overestimate. They are to be found on page 40, Vol. I of the Simon Commission Report, which warns the reader that the figures "are an estimate" and that in most provinces "there is "wide margin of possible error." There they are stated to form 19 per cent of the total population of British India (excluding Burma), according to the census of 1921. At the recent census this percentage cannot have increased ;—most probably, owing to the efforts of social reformers and other causes, it has decreased. And this percentage is substantially the same in British and Indian India. The total population of the whole of India (minus Burma) is 338,321,258. 19 per cent of this figure is 64,281,039. Sir Harcourt says the figure is 75 millions. There is much difference between 75 and 64 millions. Again, according to the recent census the total Hindu population in India (*minus* Burma) number 237,756,215. If from this 170 million caste Hindus (Sir Harcourt's figure) be deducted, we get 67,756,215 as the number of those "not in caste." There is much difference again between 75 millions and this figure. So Sir Harcourt is unreliable as regards his figures.

Regarding army expenditure General Sir George Barrow writes : "It is often objected that the expense of the Army represents an excessive proportion of the expenditure of government in India. The figure usually quoted, 43 per cent, is, however, misleading, as it is based only on the central budget, which nowadays is separate from the provincial budgets. The correct proportion is approximately a quarter of the central and provincial budgets combined." Granted. India has no navy worth the name, and no air force comparable to even much smaller organized nations. Yet, according to General Barrow, India spends 25 per cent of her central and provincial budgets on defence. France spends 21.9 per cent on defence (war, navy, air and colonies), Germany 5.1 on army and navy, Great Britain 13.8 on army, navy and air forces, United States 16.5 on army and navy, and Italy 23.6 on army, navy and air forces. So, even assuming General Barrow's dictum to be correct, India is compelled to spend an exorbitant amount on defence.

In *Nationhood for India* Lord Meston attacks Hinduism both directly and indirectly, though he has little accurate knowledge of it. According to him Hinduism is "the least eclectic of cultures," and it cares little about philanthropy ! The cloven foot appears when in writing of child marriage Lord Meston omits to mention that it is the British Government which opposed all legislation against it until somehow a *Hindu reformer* succeeded in getting a moderate law against it enacted. The author also fails to record how great has been the relaxation of the *pardah*. On p. 36, the author writes thus about communal riots : "Unless the tumult is encouraged or allowed to spread, the law can pretty quickly be enforced." Who encourage the tumult or allow it to spread ?

### THE PROBLEM OF FEDERALISM

*A Study in the History of Political Theory. In Two Volumes. By Sobei Mogi. With a preface by Professor Harold Laski. Royal 8vo. Two volumes, pp. 1144. Cloth, gilt letters. 36s. net per set of two volumes. George Allen and Unwin Limited, London.*

As a federal constitution for India is at present one of the important topics of discussion in India and Great Britain, it is necessary for both British and Indian statesmen and publicists to understand what federalism means in theory and has meant in theory and practice during many a century in many countries. This elaborate and scholarly work will help greatly in such acquaintance with the subject, and will, therefore, be considered a timely publication, though it has not been published with that object. It is a comprehensive and critical survey of the historical ideas of federalism as a form of state organization, and their application in practice. Professor Laski rightly observes in his preface that in this work "Mr. Mogi has traversed ground which it is unlikely any scholar will travel again, at least in quite the same way." The book is divided into three parts, dealing with the history of American federal ideas, the history of British federal ideas, and the history of German federal ideas. In the first part, before treating of modern federalism in the United States of America, the author has given an account of the origin of the federal idea, Grecian federalism, the rise of the Roman Empire and of various subsequent developments in Europe. He has also dealt with the influence of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on modern federalism.

So far as the different types of ancient and modern occidental federalism are concerned, the author's treatment of the subject is elaborate and adequate. But he has not told us whether there were any types of federal organization in oriental countries. So far at least as India is concerned, we find that in *Hindu Polity* (Butterworth & Co., Calcutta) Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has briefly dwelt upon federal councils, federal States, and federal imperialism as existing in ancient times in this country. It would be good if Mr. Jayaswal were to give a more adequate account of federalism in ancient India in a separate essay or pamphlet.

### THE INDIAN PEASANT UPROOTED

*A study of the human machine. By Margaret Read, M. A. (Cambridge). With a foreword by the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, D. C. L., LL. D., Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Crown 8vo., pp. 256 + xiv and four illustrations. Cloth. 6s. net. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., London.*

Mr. Whitley says in his foreword that Miss Read has taken the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, with its formidable eighteen volumes of evidence and retranslated them into terms of individual lives. This has made her narrative interesting, whereas "a blue-book is necessarily dull and dry." The characters in her book are with one or two exceptions men and women interviewed by the Commission during their visits to factories, mines and plantations." The circumstances in which they are depicted are taken either from the evidence or from the author's own experience during a period of residence in this country. Miss Read's is a useful book, full, too, of human interest.

### SOME RESULTS OF THE CENSUS IN BARODA

*By Satya Vrata Mukerjea, Census Commissioner, Baroda State, Crown folio. Pp. 94 and many maps and diagrams.*

Mr. Mukerjea is to be congratulated on the prompt publication of this volume. In it he discusses the results of the recent census in Baroda in a scholarly way. All the usual items of a census are dealt with. It is encouraging to learn that the number of literates in the State has increased over 59 per cent, male literates by 53 and female literates by 93 per cent, though there is a vast amount of illiteracy still to liquidate. For of persons of the ages of 5 and upwards only 209 per thousand are literate.

### THE MADRAS STATES DIRECTORY

*1931. The Pearl Press, Cochin. Rs. 5.*

It is a pictorial reference book of statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the five Madras States of Travancore, Cochin, Pudukkotai, Banganapalle and Sandur. The book is well got-up and contains a mass of useful information, properly arranged.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, CALCUTTA, 1930

*M. P. Gandhi, 135, Canning Street, Calcutta.*

This volume, with its index alone covering 12 pages, shows that the Chamber takes a keen and active interest in all matters relating to customs, finance, industry and labour, law and legislation, marine topics, railways, and public affairs in general. Numerous are the subjects on which it has addressed Government, commercial bodies, etc. Great credit is due to it for its activity.

The roll of members of this Indian Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta shows that most of them hail from outside Bengal, Bengalis forming a very small proportion. From the year of its formation up to 1931, no Bengali has been its president. It has representatives on the body of Calcutta Port Commissioners, on the Bengal Nagpur Railway Advisory Committee, on the East Indian Railway Advisory Committee, on the Commercial Panel of the Railway Rates Advisory Committee, on the Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on the Bengal Conciliation Panel, on the Bengal Pilotage Dues Committee, and on the Board of Apprenticeship Training—numbering fourteen in all, but not one of them is a Bengali. These facts show Bengali business capacity in an unfavourable light. There is no question that the Bengali has been beaten in the race for making money and serving the public by industrial and commercial avocations. For this he is certainly to blame. He need not try to throw the blame on others, even if any other party be to blame to some extent.

### THE NATION'S VOICE

*Being a collection of Gandhiji's speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of the sojourn (September to December, 1931). Edited by C. Rajagopalachar and J. C. Kumarappa. Printed and published by Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatta at Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 340+viii, with a very attractive portrait of Mahatma Gandhi. Half Khaddar and thick boards. Price not mentioned.*

### MAHATMA GANDHI AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ

*Edited by B. Sen-Gupta, M. A., and R. Chowdhury with Foreword by Ramananda Chatterjee. Modern Book Agency, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-6.*

These are very timely publications. The first gives in a handy form all the speeches delivered by Mahatma Gandhi in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's activities while there. This account contains, of course, all that Gandhiji said on public and semi-public occasions during the outward voyage from India and in various places in England. It is altogether a very interesting and informing volume.

The second book, which is illustrated, is edited by Mr. B. Sen-Gupta, the Calcutta Editor of the Free Press of India and Mr. R. Chowdhury of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, and contains all the important documents and speeches from the Lahore Congress up to the conclusion of the second Round Table Conference relating to the political situation.

R. C.

### INDIAN PROHIBITION MANUAL

*By C. Rajagopalachar. Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu (South India). Price 4 as. 60 pp.*

This is an excellent handbook on the subject of total prohibition adapted to Indian conditions. It explains the nature of alcohol, its relation to health and morals; pricks the bubble of such theories as that of 'moderate doses' and 'gradual reduction' (which, as in politics proper, by merely putting off the real solution, makes it all the more difficult of achievement); shows by means of figures the amazing national waste on intoxicants and puts forward appropriate points for platform speaking in a concise and handy form. It graphically presents to the reader that the funds from land revenue and income tax and the money spent on education, added together, fall far short of what the people waste on drink and drugs. Such treatment of the subject is bound to strike the reader's imagination and is therefore of sterling value from the point of view of propaganda. We recommend this manual to the notice of all well-wishers of India who are interested in the question and we feel sure that its very moderate price will make it possible for all temperance workers, however humble, to buy a copy and profit by its perusal.

Priyaranjan Sen

### THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

*A critical study of the Round Table Scheme, by an Indian Nationalist. Published by The All India Book Depot, University Road, Allahabad. Price 6 as.*

This pamphlet of 58 pages is the result of a very careful study of all the available literature on the work of the first Round Table Conference in the light of a wide knowledge of modern constitutions and constitutional questions and an intimate acquaintance with Indian conditions. It contains a thoughtful contribution to the discussion of the Indian constitutional problem at this juncture and ought to be read by every one interested in its right solution.

The views expressed by the author are, as a whole, constitutionally sound, permeated with the nationalistic spirit and above all dominated by common sense and practical considerations. The author has made valuable suggestions in each case—including the communal problem—which deserve careful consideration. In a short compass the author has discussed almost all the fundamental problems of the Indian constitution and has set forth the various constitutional issues clearly. The pamphlet deserves wide publicity.

Gurmukh N. Singh

## HISTORY OF SULTAN ALAUDDIN KHILJI

*By Sultan Hameed Warsi, M. A., L. L. B., Etawah; pp. 95, published by Rai Rahib Ram Dayal Agarwala, Allahabad, 1930.*

We welcome this short biographical sketch of Sultan Alauddin Knilji from the pen of Mr. Warsi who is evidently a lawyer. It is high time that brilliant Muslim graduates outside the walks of the academy should also come forward with original contributions to the history of medieval India in order to balance the inevitable bias of non-Muslim writers in interpreting the lives and actions of India's Muslim rulers. Mr. Warsi's book is certainly not a finished product of mature scholarship. His literary equipment and industry are not commensurate with his ambition. His study seems to be confined to the works of Ziauddin Barani, Amir Khusru and Ferishta. He is altogether in the dark about the importance of numismatics and archaeology as sources of history. Among modern works he has not consulted indispensable books like Professor Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's *Advent of Islam into Southern India*. His indifference to geography is deplorable and as such it is hopeless to study movements of the Sultan and the campaigns of his generals. Siwana (a Jodhpur fortress on the Gujrat border), is spoken of as a fort "situated on an eminence 100 miles from Delhi" (p. 28) without mentioning the direction. Either Mr. Warsi has not visited Delhi or he must be sadly unimaginative; because it is otherwise difficult to account for his silence on the lofty Alai Darwaza and the unfinished Minar of Alauddin which do not escape the notice of even indifferent sight-seers.

Mr. Warsi has a peculiar fancy for making unwarranted changes in the names of well-known historical personages; *e. g.*, Queen Raziya's lover Yaqut made Yaqub (p. 5.); Ahmad Chap as it apparently reads, is meaningless, it is given a meaning by changing Chap into Habib on the alleged authority of Ferishta in preference to that of Ziauddin Barani (p. 5, foot-note); Sanga Deo and Sankan Deo on p. 33 are useless variants for the name of the Deogarh prince Shankar Dev. The author has quoted in Persian a price-list of articles without giving a full English translation. The price quoted therein seems absurd, *e. g.*, sugar selling 1½ *tanka* (Rs. 2-4 annas according to Mr. Warsi, foot-note, p. 59) whereas wheat sold 7½ *jitals* (about 3½ annas), per *maund*. We do not know whether "Banat" (p. 62) *i. e.*, brocade was ever sold by weight at the rate of 2½ *tankas* in the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khilji. We suspect that either the author's inadvertence or the printer's devil is responsible for turning *"Nabat" i. e.*, sugarcandy into brocade.

We should now discuss a few original remarks of the author, *e. g.*, "Later on the Emperor was *raised to the prestige of Divinity* and came to be known *Zil Ullah*." The author has cited no authority for such a startling statement, and we doubt if there is any at all. Arabia and Islam knew no Zil Ullah till the Iranian theory of divine right of kings was imported by Persian converts. Zil Ullah means "Shadow of God" in the same sense as Adam was spoken as the Image of God. In almost every page of the Mughal Court historians, the Emperor is called Zill-i-Sobhani. Even Alauddin himself entertained no idea of raising himself to the prestige of *Divinity*; his highest ambition of early years having been to make himself the prophet of a new cult of sword with the help of his four Ansar-like companions, as Zia Barani says. The author concludes his book by comparing Alauddin with Napoleon Bonaparte, and the effects of the Khilji revolution on Indian society with those of the French Revolution in Europe. Mr. Warsi says that like Napoleon, Sultan Alauddin deserves to be called "the peasants' emperor." Is it because Sultan Alauddin expressly ordered his tax-gatherers to take away everything from the peasants leaving only enough corn and *dahi* (curd) to suffice them from year to year? "Like the French Revolution, the Khilji revolution had transformed the society of Hindustan. The idea of social distinctions was practically lost." (P. 93). The Khilji revolution was not such a great event as Mr. Warsi thinks. There is nothing like social revolution in the rise of the low-born slaves and eunuchs to importance in the State. If the French Revolution is to be compared with anything, it must be only with Islam itself as Burke declared in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Mr. Warsi's attempt to explode the Padmini myth is certainly creditable, and he could learn more about it from Gaurishankar Ojah's monumental work *Rajputana ka Itihas* (pp. 493 ff.)

We have indulged in a lengthy review of a small book because its hero Alauddin Khilji is a unique character in history worthy of careful study. Mr. Warsi's book in its next edition will certainly fill a pressing need if only he cares to rewrite it in the light of the most up-to-date researches.

K. R. QANUNGO

## LANCASHIRE AND THE FAR EAST

*By Freda Utley, M.A. (London). Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pages 595; Price 15s. 1931.*

This study on the cotton industry is the result of the investigations carried out under the auspices of the Ratan Tata Research Studentship held by the author at the London School of Economics. The statistical and other information was collected during a fairly long sojourn in Japan which afforded unusual opportunities to the writer for studying at close range factory management and conditions of labour.

The importance of the cotton industry cannot be exaggerated and its development is of equal interest. At the close of the 19th century Great Britain was heading the list of textile manufacturing nations, possessing more cotton spindles than all the rest of the world put together. A set-back of considerable importance is registered a quarter of a century later. In 1927 Great Britain had only 57,548 out of a total of 164,616 spindles, *i.e.*, more than one-third of the world's cotton spindles. Yet Great Britain retains still the leadership in textile production; she spins a larger proportion of fine yarns than any other country.

The development and expansion of the industry in Japan presents a most wonderful achievement. Japan had 2,414,000 spindles in 1913, in 1930 she had 6,836,516 spindles. But what price has been paid for this marvellous development? The chapter on labour conditions in the Japanese mills gives the answer to this question. In spite of the improvements which seem to have been made in the conditions of the workers, factory girls are in a most pitiable condition. The writer quotes a song which is sung by girls at work and which reveals the true state of things:

"Our home is dark with poverty
Though I am only twelve years old
They sold me to a joint-stock company;
I slave in the factory for a few pennies."

"The majority of the girls in the mills are very young, having come straight from the elementary school to the factory at the age of twelve or fourteen. They know little of their rights. They know they have been contracted to the factory, and frequently believe they must stay out their two or three years. Moreover, their parents are in bitter need of their earnings; there is the threat of starvation at home to keep them at work, however bad the conditions imposed upon them. Only when they have been a certain time in the factory do they dimly begin to realize the need to combine with the other girls and the men to improve their conditions. When they are fully conscious of this and ready to act, it is frequently the case that they are already worn out in health and their contracted period of work is up; they go home, and a new lot of little serfs takes their places" (p. 165.)

The textile industry in its relation to India is studied in all its aspects. Chapter X opens with the statement that "the decline in British exports is to be explained under three main headings; increased production by the native mill industry, Japanese competition, decreased *per capita* consumption by the Indian people" (p. 250). The author arrives at the conclusion in regard to Japan's competition in Indian trade after a careful study of statistics that "for the present the principal rival of Britain is Japan, and I consider that Japan and China (meaning principally the Japanese mills in China) will come in the next two or three years to hold a far greater share of the Indian trade even than at present" (p. 261). As to the second factor, it is stated that "the Indian mills now produce more than double the quantity of goods produced before the war, and the amount of trade lost by Lancashire to the Indian mills is greater than the total amount of Japanese goods now imported into India. Put in another way India accounts for about 76 per cent of Britain's loss on the pre-war figure, and Japan for 20 per cent. At the same time the production of India's handlooms, far from decreasing, has actually increased in comparison with pre-war figures" (p. 277).

The extent to which the poverty of the Indian masses affects the industry is the subject of chapter XII. The facts quoted make a most painful reading. The total consumption of cloth is said to be now much the same as in 1913-14 in spite of millions that have been added to India's population. Clothing is one of the primary needs of mankind, the other two being shelter and food. The fact therefore that India's millions are able to spend less in clothing than they spent in pre-war days points to increased poverty.

"In England most people imagine that British rule in India has brought increasing prosperity to the mass of the people, but the facts of the case prove exactly the opposite, as can be incontrovertibly shown by the disclosures of the various Royal Commissions which have investigated different aspects of Indian life and by the independent research work done in various parts of the country, no less than by the unmistakable evidence of her declining *per capita* consumption of clothing. It is this fact of increasing poverty among the vast peasant population of India which affects Lancashire far more than increased production by the Indian mills or increasing Japanese competition. I have accordingly devoted two chapters to the examination of the economic position of the Indian people and the causes of their poverty."

The writer commenting on the part played by the Government in the development of the industry says: "The history of every country has shown that modern industries can be developed only with the active assistance of the Government in the shape of subsidies, protection and orders, and in India none of this assistance has been forthcoming. The most striking contrast to India is offered by the development of Japan during the last sixty years—a development rendered possible only by the whole power of the State being used to assist the development of capitalist large-scale industry. In India orders for Government stores were always, up to the time of the war, placed in England. In India there was no possibility of the Indians carrying out an independent customs policy. Moreover, the Indian Government looked with disfavour on attempts to encourage industrial development" (p. 337).

The writer has scathing comments on the policy of the Government, which she blames for a large portion of India's poverty. A great array of facts are brought to prove her contention. The book cannot be put aside as "hot-wind" or "gas-bag." The facts will have to be challenged and as most of them are from Government reports and Royal Commissions, the task will not be an easy one.

It is greatly to be desired that the book will find wide circulation in England and specially in Lancashire so that the true state of things will be appreciated.

## LECTURES AND NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE AND OTHER DRAMATISTS

*By S. T. Coleridge. Oxford University Press: London. 1931. Pages 298.*

## LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS

*By Lord Houghton. 1931. Pages 282.*

Of the first of these reprints, it would be presumptuous on our part to comment or to criticize. Admirers of Coleridge, as well as those of Shakespeare and other dramatists, will be glad that the lectures are being placed within the reach of the less gifted in the possessions of the world. About the second, we can only register our feelings of sadness which the letters of John Keats leave in our hearts. What a tragic life! What a loss to the world!

P. G. BRIDGE

## SRI MADHWA

*His life and doctrine. By C. R. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., Prabhakara Press. Udipi. 1929. Pp. 2+159.*

A really handy and excellent volume has been published from Mangalore. Twenty-two years back we had of course Padmanabhachar's elaborate book on *The Life and Teachings of Sri Madhwacharya*. Krishna Swami Iyer was a pioneer in this field. The work of the author is absolutely different from both its predecessors in respect of its scope and mode of treatment. We are glad to note that in a popular work like this no abstruse question has been touched, only the most important questions have been selected and treated in the most popular method. The work is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with Madhwa's life and the second with his doctrine. The second part gives a bird's-ey view of the outlines of the entire doctrine. The philosophical discourses being far from heavy and dull are interesting throughout. Each of the conclusions of Sri Madhwa has been stated lucidly and with reasons why and how they were arrived at. The appendix gives a list of Sri Madhwa's thirty-seven works. The transliterations of proper names are out of date.

Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan

## MANU AND YAJNAVALKYA

*A comparison and a contrast : a treastise on the basic Hindu Law by K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law. Butterworth & Co. (India) Ltd. 1930. Calcutta. Pp. XXIV+331.*

This treatise consists of the Tagore Law Lectures delivered by the author in 1919.

A jurist of international fame like Joseph Kohler of the University of Berlin and editor of *Archiv fur Rechts und Wirtschafts Philosophie*, applauded Mr. Jayaswal's writings as marking 'a new stage in the history of the study of Indian law.' We hope that someday Kashi Prasad Jayaswal will be honoured as the Joseph Kohler of modern India. There is no doubt now that he has opened an altogether new line of research which will continue to encourage ever fresh batches of workers in the same field and to develop ever new schools of Hindu polity and historic jurisprudence of which he is a veritable pioneer.

The historic background of Hindu jurisprudence is supplied by the author in and through the first three chapters of the book : Hindu law before the code of Manu, the date and origin of the code of Manu and the date and character of the code of Yajnavalkya. Those who are accustomed to accept the conclusions of Bühler and Jolly will find plenty of things in these chapters to unsettle their set theories. The age of the Dharmasutras and of the Dharmasastras have been fixed after a most painstaking scrutiny of all the available materials, old and new. In his comparison between Manu and Arthasastra, in establishing a doctrinal affinity between Manu's code and the Gita and in discovering *Sumati Bhargava* as the author of the current Manu's code, Mr. Jayaswal appears at his best as an antiquarian and historian of Hindu Law. Then as a constitutional lawyer he scores in his analysis of the theory of sources and administration of law as well as in establishing the constitutional norms of Manu and Yajnavalkya in the fourth and fifth chapters. Then follows six organically composed chapters on applied jurisprudence—Law as it is understood by the general public : The law-court and pleading (ch. VI), Law of Evidence (ch. VII), Criminal Law (ch. VIII-IX) and Contract (X-XI) form nearly one-third of the volume that will be appreciated and quoted by professional lawyers for generations to come. None but a practising lawyer of Mr. Jayaswal's experience could have disentangled and deduced so many brilliant principles of our juridical life, from the chaotic mass of our ancient texts often so desperately conflicting and tantalisingly fragmentary. His historic intuition is unfaltering and when we watch Mr. Jayaswal struggling with supreme composure and self-confidence with those jarring atoms of 'fancies and facts' and invariably coming out triumphant by establishing the truth, we feel that a jurist is indeed born, not made! The last two chapters on Family Law and miscellaneous topics finally give us some of his maturest findings and reflections and we cannot help quoting, while congratulating the learned author, his pregnant words at the end of his epoch-making *Hindu Polity*:

> "The constitutional progress made by the Hindu has probably not been equalled, much less surpassed by any polity of antiquity. The great privilege of the Hindu at the same time is that he is not yet a fossil : he is still living with a determination which a great historian (Duncker) has characterized as a tenacity which bends but does not break. The golden age of his polity lies not in the past but in the future. His modern history begins with the 17th century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Sudra, the helot of the ancient Hindu, preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin (who welcomed and encouraged it), when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshipped with hymns composed by a Muhammadan, when Ramadasa declared that man is free and he cannot be subjected by force, and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Sudra in attempting to found a State."

Kalidas Nag

## DIABETES MELLITUS AND ITS DIETETIC TREATMENT

*By Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retired)., Edited and Published by Dr. L. M. Basu, Allahabad, 1930, 15th Edition, price Rs. 2, pp. 160.*

This little book is the work of the versatile writer, the late lamented Major B. D. Basu. That the book has run through fifteen editions is a sufficient index of its popularity. Within the compass of this little volume the author has been able to put together a surprisingly large amount of material collected from many workers on this subject. The illuminating and thought-provoking comments of the writer on the different aspects of the problem of glycosuria make the book intensely interesting reading. It is a pity that the writer had not had the opportunity of proving some of his conclusions by hospital and laboratory experiments. As a result of this the evidence sometimes seems to be unconvincing. The relationship between blood pressure and glycosuria has not been definitely established. The author's view that glycosuria is a symptom of intestinal toxaemia certainly deserves consideration. The chapter on treatment is full of interesting suggestions. The author has always kept in view the peculiarities of the Indian dietary on the one hand and the requirements of the Indian patients on the other. The book is certainly an important contribution to the difficult problem of diabetes in India.

G. Bose

## SWADESHI DIRECTORY

*Published by the Allahabad Swadeshi League. Price 3 as.*

A useful guide-book for everyone who is interested in Indian manufactures. A number of errors seems to have crept in, which, we believe, will be rectified in the next edition. For instance, Britannia Biscuit Co. or Begg Sutherland & Co., N. W. Soap Co. etc., which are British, have been included in the directory. Similarly, the Bengal Immunity Co., Ltd., who manufacture vaccines and sera, have been included under manufacturers of musical instruments ! But these are only minor defects.

Nirmal Kumar Basu

### SPIRITUAL LIFE

*By A. H. Jaisinghani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. With a foreword by T. L. Vaswani and an introduction by the author.*

The book deals with the following subjects which speak for themselves : What is Spirituality ; Religion and Spirituality ; The New Revelation ; Science and Progress ; The Concomitants of Spiritual Life ; Beauty and Spirituality ; Forms and the Spirit ; and Methods and Realization.

We are very glad to find that the author, like the so-called religious men and their name is legion, has not been in search of religion by advising to shun the world as *maya*, or the door of the hell, but he has sought God in the world instead and I hope he has been successful. He has said these pregnant words in the *introduction*: "The realization of the One is the purpose of our being. But as the One is reflected in the Many, it is to be sought through them. The Many should be regarded as the gateways of the One." We are quite at one with his standpoint. We are glad the author has written the book and we wholeheartedly recommend the book to the respectful attention of those who are really interested in a healthy religion.

Dhirendranath Vedantavagis

## BENGALI-PORTUGUESE

### MANOEL DA ASSUMPCAM'S BENGALI GRAMMAR

*Facsimile reprint of the original Portuguese with Bengali translation, and selections from his Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary. Edited and translated, with introduction, by Professors Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M. A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (London) and Priyaranjan Sen, M. A., Calcutta University. Calcutta University Press. Pp. xii + 137, Crown 4to. Cloth. Price not mentioned.*

This is an important and scholarly work. The Bengali grammar in Portuguese reprinted in it was written in 1734 and published in Roman characters in Lisbon in 1743. It, therefore, shows how Bengali was spoken and written two centuries ago—particularly in the eastern parts of Bengal. It also contains selections from the author's Bengali-Portuguese vocabulary. The work of translation from the Portuguese has been done by Professor Priyaranjan Sen. The valuable introduction containing, among other things, a brief history of printing in India, is from the pen of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

R. C.

## MARATHI

### RAJDHANI RAYGAD

*By Vishnu Vasudev Joshi (Rajguru and Co., Poona) Pp. 158 + vi, two maps and three pictures. Re. 1.*

This little book consists of two parts, a history of the fort and a guide for visitors to it. The life of Shivaji naturally gives our author occasion for much gush and uncritical and irrelevant writing. For instance on p. 55 foot-note, he swallows Keluskar's fanciful theory that in November, 1679 (the time of the sack of Jalna), Aurangzib had entered the Deccan with treasures, while in point of fact the Emperor arrived at Aurangabad on 22nd March 1682, or more than two years afterwards. The book has been padded out with some trivial information and useless poetry. The material portion of it could well have been condensed into half the present size and then served as a useful guide-book. If the historical portion is ever revised by the author he should carefully utilize the English Factory records, which are available in print, and other authentic sources of information.

J. Sarkar

**जन्माचा बंदिवास** *Life-imprisonment by Mr. V. V. Joshi, Price Rs. 2.*

The book may be classed as novel with a purpose and as such it should be read not only as a work of art but as an essay on the necessity of dissolution of marriage in the Hindu society illustrated with a large number of examples, where the fetters of marriage become unbearable to the weaker sex, who alone in Hindu society are bound by them. Mr. Joshi has taken every concievable case of the incompatibility of wedded life and has effectively handled it. His style is somewhat quaint as he very frequently indulges in archaic expressions and words only found in old *Bakhars* and often lapses into Gujeratized Marathi. The interest in the manifold plot however helps the reader to glide over the stumbling-block of the style and the novel makes a delightful as well as interesting reading.

**किर्लोस्कर** *by Mr. Joshi, M. A. and Dr. Sathe, Price Re. 1.*

The book deals with the life and work of Mr. Kirloskar, the dramatist. Prior to Kirloskar the condition of the Marathi stage was far from being attractive to the cultured mind. It was he who first introduced several reforms, which raised the Marathi stage to its present condition.

The authors are congratulated on their admirable attempt to write a history of the Marathi stage.

**धार्मिक इतिहास** *Religious History of ndia by Mr. G. R. Sane. Price Rs. 2.*

This part of the book gives an outline of the development of religious thought in India since the times of the Vedas. Different doctrines of the different sects are treated cursorily with due respect to their founders.

The style of the author is beautiful and full of force. His peculiar way of addressing the reader is very common in current Gujerati literature.

**लजपत राय** *An Autobiography and Life of Lala Lajpat Rai. Price Rs. 2. Pages 300.*

This is the 97th publication of the *Bharat Gaurav Granth Mala*, a well-known series of Bombay. The book is hastily prepared. Instead of Lalaji's brother's name his own name is mentioned on page 1 Numerous dates and months are given without indicating the year. Words like *Bilayat* (motherland) are wrongly used. The book tells the readers that Lalaji was the issue of an intermarriage, as father was a Jain while his mother had come from a Sikh family. It is impossible to find out from this book when Lalaji went to and returned from Europe. Some sentences seem to be incorrect gramatically, but the information supplied in them is new to Marathi readers.

V. S. WAKASKAR

## GUJARATI

### DAMPATI SHASTRA

*By Thakkur Narayan Visanji of Bombay. Card Board. Illustrated. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1931)*

The author has considered the reasons of a happy and an unhappy married life from different points of view and has read about 11 Sanskrit, 43 English and American, 3 Bengali, 5 Hindi and 5 Marathi books on the subject of Sexuology before venturing to write this work. He has grasped the essentials of this important topic very well and expounded them in a practical way. As is usual with him, he never makes a statement without quoting his authority in original. He has, with his admirable equipment for this task, been able to produce a good book, indeed.

### AKHARI FESLO, PARTS I & II

*By Natwarlal Maneklal Dave. Pp. 158 and 395. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board, Illustrated. Price Annas Eight and Annas Twelve respectively (1931).*

"The Last Shot" : This is how Mahatma Gandhi regards his present effort to obtain Swaraj for India. Both the parts of this book give a continuous history of the movement, since the time when at Gauhati at its 41st session the Congress changed its demands from self-government to independence, till the time when Gandhiji went to the Yeraveda prison. It is a compilation of the speeches, writings and articles of Gandhiji himself and of others who always remain near to him, like Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal, and others. The famous march to Dandi and the innumerable incidents in connection with it, are given here in detail, and altogether we find it a very useful compilation, cheap for the price.

### AVDHOOTI ANAND

*Published by A. N. Modi, of Nadiad, printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 181. Price Re. 1 (1931).*

Brahmachari Sri Pandurang, who is known as Rang Avadhoot, who left service and lived as a Sanyasi at Nareshwar on the banks of the Nerbada has composed a large number of *Bhajans* (devotional songs and religious verses) which have been collected and published with the title of *Avdhooti Anand* by the present publisher. He was a follower of Dattatreya and hence the songs bear the colour of that creed. They are written in Gujarati and Hindi, and show good signs of inspiration and learning. *Ushah Prarthana* or matutinal songs (*Prabhatiya*) and *Atma chintan*, both by this same Swami, fully keep up the spirit of the larger work.

K. M. J.

# PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

## DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

### GANDHI-WILLINGDON CORRESPONDENCE

The Gazette of India for January 16, 1932 publishes the text of the telegraphic correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and the Government:

POLITICAL
*The 14th January, 1932.*

No. S.—118.—The following correspondence is published for general information :

1. *Telegram from Mr. Gandhi to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 29th December, 1931.*

I was unprepared on landing yesterday to find Frontier and U. P. Ordinances, shootings in Frontier and arrests of valued comrades in both, on top of Bengal Ordinance awaiting me. I do not know whether I am to regard these as indication that friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you as to course I am to pursue in advising Congress. I would esteem wire in reply.

2. *Telegram from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, to Mr. Gandhi, dated the 31st December, 1931.*

*No. 306-C.*—His Excellency desires me to thank you for your telegram of the 29th instant in which you refer to Bengal and United Provinces and N. W. F. P. Ordinances. In regard to Bengal it has been and is necessary for Government to take all possible measures to prevent dastardly assassination of their officers and of private citizens.

2. His Excellency wishes me to say that he and his Government desire to have friendly relations with all political parties and with all sections of the public and in particular to securing co-operation of all in great work of constitutional reforms which they are determined to push forward with minimum delay. Co-operation, however, must be mutual and His Excellency and his Government cannot reconcile activities of Congress in the United Provinces and N. W. F. P. with spirit of friendly co-operation which good of India demands.

3. As regards United Provinces you are doubtless aware that while the Local Government were engaged in devising means to give all possible relief in the existing situation, the Provincial Congress Committee authorized a no-rent campaign which is now being vigorously pursued by Congress organizations in that province. This action on the part of Congress bodies has compelled Government to take measures to prevent a general state of disorder and spreading of class and communal hatred which campaign, if continued unchecked, would inevitably involve.

4. In North-West Frontier Province, Abdul Gaffar Khan and bodies he controlled have continuously engaged in activities against Government and in fomenting racial hatred. He and his friends have persistently refused all overtures by the Chief Commissioner to secure their co-operation and rejecting the declaration of the Prime Minister, have declared favour of complete independence. Abdul Gaffar Kh has delivered numerous speeches open to no oth construction than as incitements to revolution and adherents have attempted to stir trouble in tribal ar The Chief Commissioner with the approval of H Excellency's Government has shown utmost forbearan and to the last moment continued his efforts to secu assistance of Abdul Gaffar in carrying into effect wi the least possible delay, the intentions of His Majest Government regarding constitutional reforms in t province. The Government refrained from taki special measures until activities of Abdul Gaffar Kh and his associates and in particular open and intensi preparation for an early conflict with Governme created a situation of such grave menace to peace province and of tribal areas as to make it impossib further to delay action. His Excellency understan that Abdul Gaffar Khan was in August last ma responsible for leading Congress movement in provin and that volunteer organizations he controlled we specifically recognized by All-India Congress Committ as Congress organizations. His Excellency desires m to make it clear that his responsibilities for peace an order make it impossible for him to have any deali with persons or organizations upon whom rests th responsibility for activities above outlined. You hav yourself been absent from India on the business o Round Table Conference and in light of the attitu which you have observed there, His Excellency i unwilling to believe that you have personally an share in responsibility for or that you approve o recent activities of Congress in the United Provinc and North-West Frontier Prevince. If this is so, h is willing to see you and to give you his views as t the way in which you can best exert your influen to maintain a spirit of co-operation which animat proceedings of Round Table Conference, but His Ex cellency feels bound to emphasize that he will not prepared to discuss with you measures which Gover ment of India with the full approval of His Majesty Government have found it necessary to adopt Bengal, United Provinces and North West Fronti Province. These measures must in any case be ke in force until they have served purpose, for whi they were imposed, namely preservation of law a order essential to good Government. On receipt your reply, His Excellency proposes to publish th correspondence.

3. *Telegram from Mr. Gandhi to the Private Se tary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 1st January, 1932.*

I thank His Excellency for wire in reply to m of 29th instant. It grieves me. For His Excelle has rejected in a manner hardly befitting his h position, an advance made in friendliest spirit. I h approached as seeker wanting light on questions w

I desired to understand Government version of very serious and extraordinary measures to which I made reference. Instead of appreciating my advance, His Excellency has rejected it by asking me to repudiate my valued colleagues in advance and telling me that even if I become guilty of such dishonourable conduct and sought an interview, I could not even discuss these matters of vital importance to the nation.

In my opinion, constitutional issue dwindles into insignificance in face of ordinances and acts which must, if not met with stubborn resistance, end in utter demoralization of nation. I hope no self-respecting Indian will run risk of killing national spirit for a doubtful contingency of securing a constitution to work which no nation with a stamina may be left. Let me also point out that as to the Frontier Province, your telegram contains a narration of facts which, on face of them, furnish no warrant for arrests of popular leaders, passing of extra-legal ordinance, making life and property utterly insecure and shooting unarmed peaceful crowds for daring to demonstrations against arrests of their trusted leaders. If Khan Saheb Abdul Gaffar asserted the right of complete independence, it was a natural claim and the claim made with impunity by the Congress at Lahore in 1929 and by me, with energy put before the British Government in London. Moreover let me remind the Viceroy that despite knowledge on Government's part that Congress mandate contained such claim, I was invited to attend London Conference as Congress delegate. Nor am I able to detect in a mere refusal to attend Durbar an offence warranting summary imprisonment. If Khan Saheb was fomenting racial hatred, it was undoubtedly regrettable. I have his own declarations to the contrary made to me, but assuming that he did foment racial hatred, he was entitled to open trial, where he could have defended himself against accusation. Regarding United Provinces, His Excellency is surely misinformed, because there was no "no-rent" campaign authorized by Congress, but whilst negotiations were proceeding between Government and Congress representatives, the time for collection of rents actually arrived and rents began to be demanded. Congress men were therefore obliged to advise tenants to suspend payment pending the result of negotiations and Mr. Sherwani had offered on behalf of the Congress to withdraw this advice if the authorities suspended collections pending negotiations. I venture to suggest that this is not a matter which can be so summarily dismissed as your wire has done. Controversy in the United Provinces is of a long standing and involves well-being of millions of peasantry known to be economically ground down. Any Government jealous of the welfare of the masses in its charge would welcome voluntary co-operation of a body like the Congress which admittedly exercises great influence over the masses and whose one ambition is to serve them faithfully and let me add that I regard the withholding of payment of taxes as an inalienable ancient and natural right of a people who have exhausted all other means of seeking freedom from an unbearable economic burden. I must repudiate suggestion that the Congress has slightest desire to promote disorder in any shape or form.

As to Bengal, the Congress is at one with the Government in condemning assassination and should heartily co-operate with the Government in measures that may be found necessary to stamp out such crimes. But whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasured terms the methods of terrorism, it can in no way associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and acts done thereunder, but, must resist within the limits of its prescribed creed of non-violence, such measures of legalized Government terrorism. I heartily assent to the proposition laid down in your telegram that co-operation must be mutual but your telegram leads me irresistibly to the conclusion that His Excellency demands co-operation from the Congress without returning any on behalf of Government. I can read in no other way his peremptory refusal to discuss these matters which, as I have endeavoured to show, have at least two sides. Popular side I have put as I understand it, but before committing myself to definite judgment, I was anxious to understand the other side, *i.e.*, the Government side, and then tender my advice to the Congress. With reference to the last paragraph of your telegram, I may not repudiate moral liability for the actions of my colleagues, whether in the Frontier Province or in the United Provinces, but I confess that I was ignorant of the detailed actions and activities of my colleagues whilst I was absent from India, and it was because it was necessary for me to advise and guide the Working Committee of the Congress and in order to complete my knowledge, I sought with an open mind and with the best of intentions an interview with His Excellency and deliberately asked for his guidance. I cannot conceal from His Excellency my opinion that the reply he has condescended to send was hardly a return for my friendly and well-meant approach, and if it is not yet too late, I would ask His Excellency to reconsider his decision and see me as a friend without imposing any conditions whatsoever as to the scope or subject of discussion and I, on my part, can promise that I would study with an open mind all the facts that he might put before me. I would unhesitatingly and willingly go to the respective provinces and with the aid of the authorities study both sides of the question and if I came to the conclusion after such a study, the people were in the wrong and that the Working Committee including myself were misled as to the correct position, and that the Government was right, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in making that open confession and guiding the Congress accordingly. Along with my desire and willingness to co-operate with Government, I must place my limitations before His Excellency. Non-violence is my absolute creed. I believe that civil disobedience is not only the natural right of people especially when they have no effective voice in their own Government, but that it also is an effective substitute for violence or armed rebellion. I can never, therefore, deny my creed. In pursuance thereof and on the strength of uncontradicted reports supported by recent activities of the Government of India to the effect that there may be no other opportunity for me to guide the public, the Working Committee has accepted my advice and passed resolutions tentatively sketching a plan of Civil Disobedience. I am sending herewith text of resolution. If His Excellency thinks it worth while to see me, operation of the resolution will be suspended pending our discussion in hope it may result in the resolution being finally given up. I admit that correspondence between His Excellency and myself is of such grave importance as not to brook delay in publication. I am, therefore, sending my telegram, your reply, this rejoinder and the Working Committee's resolution for publication.

[*Text of Resolution of Working Committee referred to above.*]

The Working Committee has heard Mahatma Gandhi's account of his visit to the West and considered the situation created by the extraordinary Ordinances promulgated in Bengal, United Provinces and the Frontier Province and by the actions of the authorities including the numerous arrests made among those of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mr. Sherwani and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and by the shootings in the Frontier Province of innocent men resulting in many deaths and many more being injured. The Working Committee has also seen the telegram from His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the telegram sent by Mahatma Gandhi to him. The Working Committee is of opinion that these several acts and others of lesser gravity that have taken place in some other provinces and the telegram from His Excellency seem to make further co-operation with the Government on the part of the Congress utterly impossible unless the Government policy is radically changed. These acts and the telegram betray no intention on the part of bureaucracy to hand power to the people and are calculated to demoralize the nation. They also betray want of faith in the Congrees from which co-operation is expected by the Government. The Working Committee yields to no one in its abhorrence of terrorism on any account whatsoever resorted to by individuals such as was recently witnessed in Bengal but it condemns with equal force terrorism practised by its recent acts and Ordinances. The Working Committee marks the deep national humiliation over the assassination committed by two girls in Comilla and is firmly convinced that such crime does great harm to the nation especially when through its greatest political mouthpiece—the Congress—it is pledged to non-violence for achieving Swaraj. But the Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the Bengal Ordinance which seeks to punish a whole people for the crime of a few. The real remedy lies in dealing with the known cause that prompts such crime. If Bengal Ordinance has no justification for its existence the Ordinances in the United Provinces and the Frontier Province have still less. The Working Committee is of opinion that the measures taken by the Congress in the United Provinces for obtaining agrarian relief are and can be shown to be justified. The Working Committee holds that it is the unquestionable right of all people suffering from grave economic distress as the tenantry of the United Provinces is admittedly suffering to withhold payment of taxes if they fail as in the United Provinces they have failed to obtain redress by other constitutional methods. In the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sherwani, the President of the United Provinces Congress Committee, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Working General Secretary of the Congress, who were proceeding to Bombay to confer with Mahatma Gandhi and to take part in the meeting of the Working Committee, the Government have gone even beyond the limits contemplated by their Ordinance in that there was no question whatsoever of these gentlemen taking part in Bombay in a no-tax campaign. In the United Provinces—so far as the Frontier Province is concerned on the Government's own showing there appears to be no warrant for either the promulgation of the Ordinance or the arrest and imprisonment without trial of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his co-workers. The Working Committee regards the shootings in that Province of innocent and unarmed men to be wanton and inhuman and congratulates the brave men of the Frontier Province upon their courage and endurance and the Working Committee has no doubt that if the brave people of the Frontier Province retain their non-violent spirit in spite of the gravest provocations their blood and their sufferings would advance the cause of India's independence. The Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to institute a public and impartial enquiry into the events that have led up to the passing of these Ordinances the necessity of superseding the ordinary courts of Law and Legislative machinery and the necessity of several acts committed thereunder. And thereafter if a proper enquiry is set up and all facilities are given to the Working Committee for the production of evidence it will be prepared to assist the enquiry by leading evidence before it. The Working Committee has considered the declaration of the Prime Minister made before the Round Table Conference and the debates in the Houses of Parliament and regards the declaration as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand and places on record its opinion that nothing short of complete independence carrying full control over the defence and external affairs and finance with such safe-guards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of the nation can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory. The Working Committee notes that the British Government was not prepared at the Round Table Conference to regard the Congress as representing and entitled to speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole without distinction of caste, creed or colour. At the same time the Committee recognizes with sorrow that communal harmony could not be attained at the said conference. The Working Committee invites the nation therefore to make ceaseless effort to demonstrate the capacity of the Congress to represent the nation as a whole and promote an atmosphere that would make a constitution framed on a purely national basis acceptable to the various communities composing the nation. Meanwhile the Working Committee is prepared to tender co-operation to the Government provided His Excellency the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the Ordinances and its recent acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future further negotiations and consultations to prosecute the Congress claim for complete independence and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives, pending the attainment of such independence. The absence of any satisfactory response from the Government in terms of the foregoing paragraph the Working Committee will regard as an indication on the part of the Government that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi pact. In the event of a satisfactory response not forthcoming the Working Committee calls upon the nation to resume civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes under the following conditions and illustrative heads :—(1) No province or district or tahsil or village is bound to take up civil disobedience unless the people thereof understand the non-violent nature of the struggle with all its implications and are ready to undergo sufferings involving loss of life and property—(2) Non-violence must be observed in thought, word and deed in the face of the gravest provocation, it being understood that the campaign is not one of seeking revenge or inflicting injuries on the oppressor but it is one of converting him through self-suffering and self-purification—(3) Social boycott with the intention of inflicting injury on Government Officers, police or anti-nationalists should not be undertaken and is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of non-violence—(4) It should be borne in mind that non-violent campaigns are independent of pecuniary assistance therefore there should be no hired volunteers but their bare maintenance and maintenance of the dependents of poor men and women who might have been imprisoned or killed is permissible wherever it is possible. The Working Committee, however, expects workers in the cause to continue the struggle even though they might have to suffer privations—(5) Boycott of all foreign cloth whether British or of other countries is obligatory under all circumstances—(6) All Congress men and women are expected to use handspun and handwoven khaddar to the exclusion of even cloth manufactured in the indigenous mills—(7) Picketting of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops should be vigorously conducted chiefly by women but always so as to ensure perfect non-violence—(8) Unlicensed manufacture and collection of salt should be resumed—(9) If processions and demonstrations are organized only those should join them who will stand *lathi* charges or bullets without moving from their respective places—(10) Even in non-violent war boycott of goods manufactured by the oppressor is perfectly lawful inasmuch as it is never the duty of the victim to promote or retain commercial relations with the oppressor. Therefore boycott of British goods and concerns should be resumed and vigorously prosecuted—(11) Civil breach of non-moral laws and of laws and order injurious to the people wherever it is considered possible and advisable may be practised—(12) All unjust orders issued under the Ordinances may be civilly disobeyed.

### 4. *Telegram from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, to Mr. Gandhi, dated the 2nd January, 1932.*

*No. 3-S.*—His Excellency desires me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of 1st January which has been considered by him and his Government.

They much regret to observe that under your advice the Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution which involves general revival of Civil Disobedience unless certain conditions are satisfied which are stated in your telegram and the resolution.

They regard this attitude as the more deplorable in view of the declared intentions of His Majesty's Government and Government of India to expedite the policy of constitutional reform contained in the Premier's statement.

No Government, consistent with the discharge of their responsibility, can be subject to condition sought to be imposed under the menace of unlawful action by any political organization, nor can the Government of India accept the position implied in your telegram that their policy should be dependent on the judgment of yourself as to necessity of measures which Government have taken after the most careful and thorough consideration of the facts and after all other possible remedies had been exhausted.

His Excellency and his Government can hardly believe that you or the Working Committee contemplate that His Excellency can invite you, with the hope of any advantage, to an interview held under the threat of resumption of Civil Disobedience.

They must hold you and the Congress responsible for all the consequences that may ensue from the action which the Congress have announced their intention of taking and to meet which Government will take all necessary measures.

### 5, *Telegram from Mr. M. K. Gandhi, to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 3rd January, 1932.*

Thanks your wire even date. I cannot help expressing deep regret for decision of His Excellency and his Government. Surely it is wrong to describe honest expression opinion as threat. May I remind Government that Delhi negotiations were opened and carried on whilst civil disobedience was on and that when pact was made civil disobedience was not given up but only discontinued. This position was reasserted and accepted by His Excellency and his Government in Simla in September last prior to my departure for London. Although I had made it clear that under certain circumstances Congress might have to resume civil disobedience Government did not break off negotiations. That it was made clear by Government that civil disobedience carried with it penalty for disobedience merely proves what civil resisters bargain for but does not in any way affect my argument. Had Government resented attitude it was open to them not to send me to London. On the contrary my departure had His Excellency's blessings. Nor is it fair or correct to suggest that I have ever advanced the claim that any policy of Government should be dependent on my judgment. But I do submit that any popular and constitutional Government would always welcome and sympathetically consider suggestions made by public bodies and their representatives and assist them with all available information about their acts or ordinances of which public opinion may disapprove. I claim that my messages have no other meaning than what is suggested in last paragraph. Time alone will show whose position was justified. Meanwhile I wish to assure Government that every endeavour will be made on part of Congress to carry on struggle without malice and in strictly non-violent manner. It was hardly necessary to remind me that Congress and I its humble representative are responsible for all the consequences of our actions.

H. W. EMERSON.
*Secretary to the Government of India.*

## MR. VITHALBHAI PATEL'S STATEMENT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 2nd R. T. C.

Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, ex-President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, issued the following statement on the results of the second Round Table Conference to the Press on his arrival at Bombay from Europe on December 28, 1931, which was circulated by the Associated Press of India:

I should like, in the first place, to explain the meaning and implications of the White Paper, and next to state how far the national demands as embodied in the resolution of the Karachi Congress have been conceded.

At the close of the first Round Table Conference the Prime Minister announced the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to India, and the White Paper now issued at the close of the second Round Table Conference merely reaffirms that policy without any modifications.

It is significant that the White Paper ignores altogether the most important document, namely, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which secured the co-operation of the Congress to the Round Table Conference.

Those who maintained that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was an advance on the declaration of the 10th January 1931, must have been thoroughly disillusioned. The words in the pact 'in the interest of India' by which Congressmen swore till yesterday have not even been mentioned in the White Paper.

### CONDITIONS IN THE WHITE PAPER

According to the policy outlined in the White Paper, India is to have responsibility at the centre if, and only if, the Central Government and the Central Legislature are constituted on an All-India Federal basis. Even so, the responsibility is to be subject to the following conditions :

(1) Defence and external affairs are to be reserved to the Governor-General.

(2) Control over finance is to be subject to such conditions as would ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State, and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India.

(3) The relations of the princes to the British Government are to remain with Crown.

(4) There must be no unfair economic or commercial discrimination against the British trader.

(5) The Governor-General must be granted the necessary powers to enable him to fulfil his responsibility for securing the observance of the constitutional rights of the minorities. He must also have the power to enable him to fulfil his responsibility for ultimately maintaining the tranquillity of the State.

It is true that conditions No. 3 and No. 4 have not been expressed in the White Paper ; but the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons makes specific mention of them. Mr. Baldwin, leader of the Conservative party, in his speech, also made it clear that there was no difference of any kind between what Sir Samuel Hoare said and what was contained in the White Paper and the Secretary of State's speech was the White Paper and the White Paper was his speech.

Mr. Baldwin further explained that Mr. MacDonald spoke for 20 minutes and Sir Samuel Hoare for 40 minutes, and therefore the former could not have covered all the ground, the latter had done.

Reading the two declarations together with the debate in the House and the report of the Federal Structure Committee, there can be no doubt whatever that the principle of control at the Centre foreshadowed in the White Paper is subject to all the conditions I have just briefly enumerated.

### CONGRESS RESOLUTION

### WHITE PAPER REJECTS EVERY DEMAND

I now state the National demands, as embodied in the Karachi Congress resolution. They are:

1. Complete independence, and, in particular,
2. Complete control of defence,
3. Complete control of external affairs,
4. Complete control of finances,
5. India's right to secede at will,
6. Examination of the debt position of India by an impartial tribunal to ascertain how much of it is justly chargeable to the new Government of India, and how much must be shouldered by the British Government.

The Congress mandate also gave power to its delegate at the R. T. C. to accept such adjustments as "may be demonstrably proved to be in the interest of India."

I have no doubt that any impartial reader of the White Paper and the Congress resolution will come to no other conclusion than that the White Paper rejects every demand made by the Congress.

Reservation of national defence and external affairs in the hands of the Governor-General means the rejection of the Congress demand for complete independence even in that limited interpretation of the phrase, namely, "voluntary patnership with Britain."

### INSULT ADDED TO INJURY

In his speech in the House of Commons the Prime Minister goes further and adds insult to injury when in answer to some interruptions, he more than once declares that there is no intention to give independence and that India does not want it, in that it agrees to the reservations regarding defence and external affairs.

In the opinion of the Prime Minister, therefore, the Congress demand for the control of defence and external affairs, is not a national demand, but the view expressed by some other British-Indian delegates that in the present circumstances the two subjects should not be entrusted to a Minister responsible to the Indian Legislature, represents India's demand. The mentality underlying this statement explains why the Conference has failed to consider the demands of the Congress seriously.

Throughout the deliberations of the conference the Congress was regarded as one of the many parties representing India, and it was never recognized, or perhaps conveniently forgotten, that the Congress represented an overwhelming majority of the people of India.

### CONTROL OF FINANCES ILLUSORY

With defence as a reserved subject, the control of finances, apart from other conditions sought to be imposed by the White Paper, becomes illusory inasmuch as 45 per cent of the central revenue is expended on the military.

If we add to this, the huge amount representing the salaries and pensions of persons appointed by the Secretary of State, together with interest on debt, and similar charges, very little indeed would be left for the legislature to vote upon. Even so the White Paper, by imposing two other conditions, namely, that suitable provision should be made in the constitution as would effectively insure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State, and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India, renders even that limited control of finance still more farcical.

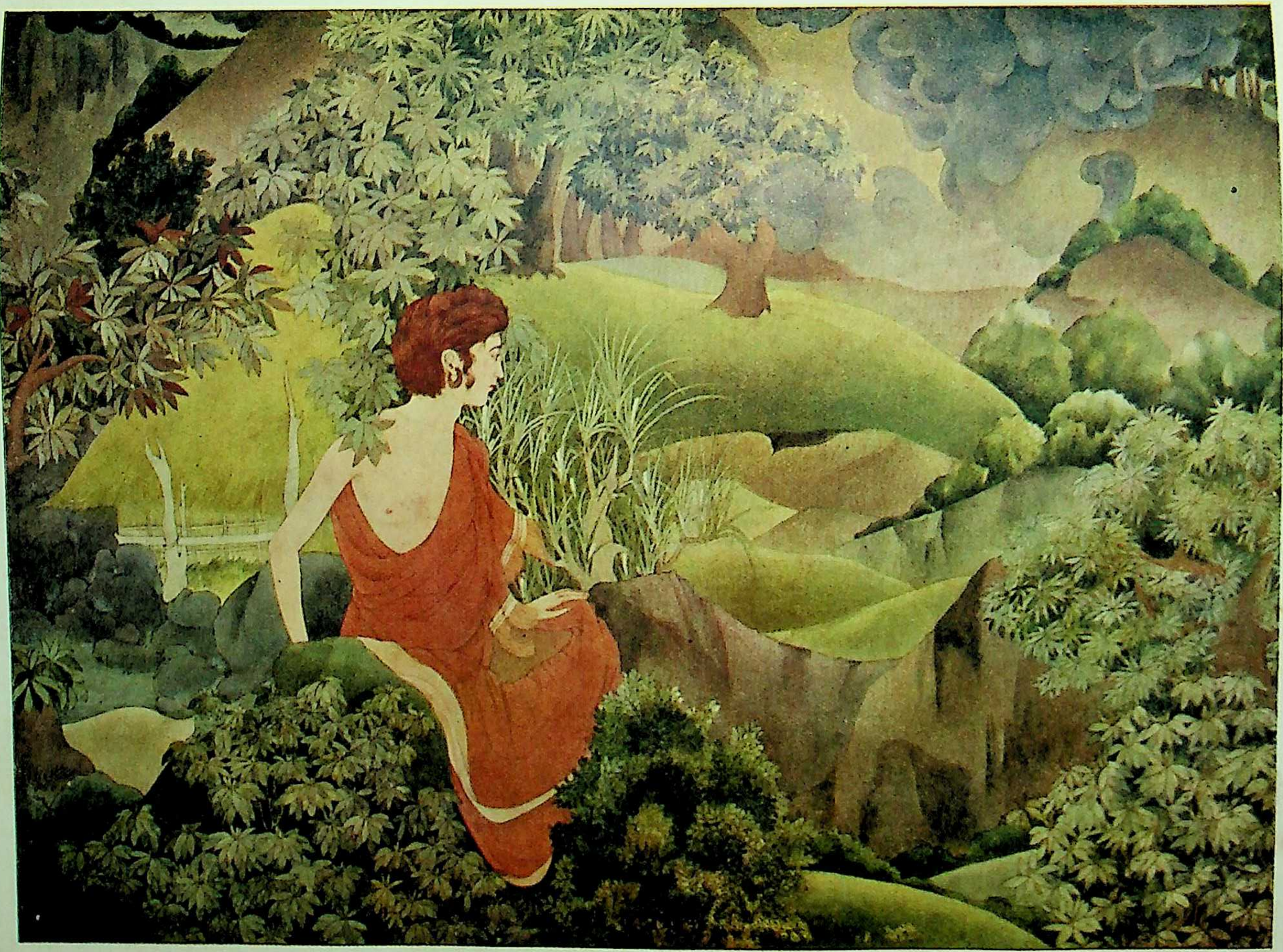
What self-respecting Indian would be prepared to hold the portfolio of Finance under the new Government with these humiliating limitations ? It is, therefore, quite clear the Congress demand for the control of finances has been rejected.

### EXAMINATION OF DEBT POSITION

The next demand of the Congress for the examination of the debt position of India, was not even discussed at the Conference. But there can be no doubt that the White Paper, by imposing a condition that the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State are to be effectively guaranteed, rejects this claim.

### INDIA'S RIGHT TO SECEDE

The last and the most important claim of the Congress is India's right to secede. This was



THE BANISHED YAKSHA

By Sailendra Nath De

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

and could not be raised, as India's claim to be admitted into partnership with Britain was refused.

As if these conditions, which reject every demand made by the Congress, were insufficient, the White Paper imposes other conditions before His Majesty's Government would be prepared to recognize the principle of responsibility at the centre.

### DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN NATIONALS AND NON-NATIONALS

I should like to refer to one of them at this stage. The first R. T. C. decided upon the following formula at the suggestion of the British delegates in regard to India's right to discriminate between nationals and non-nationals

"At the instance of the British commercial community, the principle was generally agreed to that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British commercial community, firms and companies trading in India, and the rights of Indian born subjects, and that an appropriate convention based upon reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of guaranteeing these rights."

Public opinion in India strongly protested against this serious curtailment of the right of India's future Parliament, and Mahatma Gandhi made it clear on behalf of the Congress that any constitution which in any way impaired the power of the future legislature of India to discriminate against non-nationals, when it considered it necessary to do so in the national interest, was not worth having, and would not be acceptable to the Congress.

Some Indian members of the R. T. C., in defending their attitude, relied upon the word, "generally" in the formula and contended that this word left it open to the legislature to discriminate in exceptional cases.

The second R. T. C. extended the scope and purpose of this recommendation in a variety of ways. The improved recommendation dropped the word "generally", gave protection not only to the British traders, but to all subjects of the Crown; not only against legislative discrimination, but also against administrative discrimininination, not only in regard to trade, but also in regard to taxation, holdings of property and a host of other matters.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, I shall quote the words of that recommendation.

"The Committee are of opinion that no subject of the Crown who may be ordinarily resident or carrying on trade or business in British India, should be subject to any disability or discrimination, legislative or administrative by reason of his age, descent, religion or place of birth in respect to taxation, the holding of property, the carrying on of any trade, profession or business, or in respect of residence or travel."

I hardly need add that the new constitution is to make provision vesting in the Governor-General the power to take such measures as he may consider necessary to maintain the peace and tranquility of the country.

### TRANSITION PERIOD
### IS IT GOING TO BE FIVE YEARS OR FIFTY YEARS ?

We have been told that, after all the so-called reservations and safe-guards are meant to apply only during the period of transition, and that a few years are nothing in the lifetime of a nation. Neither in the White Paper nor in the report of the Federal Structure Committee do we find the period of transition specified. Heaven only knows whether it is going to be five years or fifty years.

Mr. Baldwin, in his speech in the House, in reply to a query from Mr. Wardlaw Milne, stated that nobody could say how long the transitional period would last. He further added that it would last as long as it was the will of Parliament it should last, and if and when the constitution was set up, nothing in that constitution would be relaxed without the assent of Parliament.

It is thus clear that all talk that the new constitution would automatically lead India to its cherished goal, or that the period of transition would be brief, is merely moonshine.

### VICEROY'S EXTRAORDINARY POWERS

It has also been argued that the extraordinary powers to be vested in the Governor-General would by convention fall into disuse, as has been found to be the case in self-governing Dominions. This is not the view of the British Government, and we know to our cost that such extraordinary powers have been and are being exercised with vengeance by the Governor-General in India.

I have endeavoured to show that the second R. T. C. has failed. A third conference has no doubt been promised, and several committees will shortly be set up to work out some of the details of the scheme. But neither the third conference nor any of the committees will be entitled to override the express terms of the declaration. They will be bound to work within the four corners of those terms, and can have no power, for instance, to recommend the transfer of control of defence or foreign affairs or the grant of any other demand of the Congress, which have been categorically refused by the declaration.

### SERIES OF INSULTS

I repeat that the Conference has failed, and that British diplomacy has, at any rate for the time being, triumphed all along the line since the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which, in my opinion, was the masterstroke of that diplomacy. From the day of that truce up to the present, it has been one long and painful chapter of a series of insults and humilations for Congress and Congress men, both in India and in England.

Whilst the authorities in India have all along treated the truce as a scrap of paper, as can be demonstrated by instances too numerous to mention, the Congress and its leaders have consistently and earnestly endeavoured to secure the strict observance of its terms by the people.

### CLEVER MANOEUVRING
### IMPRESSION CREATED IN INTERNATIONAL WORLD

At the R. T. C. the British Government played their cards so well that our delegates were drawn into a discussion of the communal problem and other details before the Conference could come to grips with fundamentals. As a result of this clever manoeuvring, to which, unfortunately our delegates were willing victims, the impression created in the international world has been that the British Government is all willing to give freedom to India, but India's people are so hopelessly divided amongst themselves that they do not know what they want, and therefore the continuance of British rule is a the more necessary in their own interest.

Mahatma Gandhi, no doubt with the best of intentions and in the larger interests of the country, pocketed insults and humiliations hurled at him from various quarters, and continued to serve on the Conference. He had gone to London with a firm determination to make every endeavour to turn the Truce into a permanent settlement, and in order perhaps, to create an atmosphere for that purpose, he sometimes made statements, both in and outside the conference, tantamount to substantial concessions to Princes, Britishers and others. In fact, I often felt that Mahatmaji's attitude in this respect was hardly consistent with the spirit of the Congress mandate. The British statesmen interpreted this attitude of Mahatmaji as weakness on the part of the Congress, and the Conference failed.

### PREMATURE TRUCE

The fact is that the truce was premature. It did not recognize the Congress claim to speak and negotiate on behalf of the whole of India. Its terms were vague and indefinite. Even so, the words, "safe-guards and reservations in the interest of India" were definite enough if the British Government seriously intended to act upon them and turn the Truce into a permanent settlement.

The Truce was an agreement between the Congress on the one hand, and the British Government on the other, and though no express provision was made as to what was to happen in case the two parties did not agree on the question whether a particular safe-guard was in the interests of India or not, neither party could claim that its own view shall prevail ; and that the matter must by common consent be referred to an impartial tribunal.

If this procedure had been adopted, there was a reasonable chance of a settlement. But the truth is that, having induced the Congress to give up its campaign of civil disobedience, the boycott of British goods, etc., the Government felt themselves safe and secure and thought they could ignore and even defy the Congress, which they have successfully done.

Perhaps this is all to the good of the country. On this occasion it looked, to the great mortification of the youth of the country, as if India was too anxious to be admitted into equal partnership with Britain and Britain unceremoniously rejected that claim. Next time the position would be reversed. England would be too anxious to have India as a partner and India would be unwilling to accept that position.

On this occasion, India was represented by the nominees of the British Government. Next time their places would be occupied by delegates chosen by the Indian people. On this occasion, the venue of the Conference was London. The next time it would be Delhi.

### IDEA OF FEDERATION
### REAL ISSUE COMPLICATED AND SIDE-TRACKED

I should like to say a few words on some features of the proposed Federal Executive and the Federal Legislature. To my mind, the Federation of the Princes and the commoners is unthinkable. Even so, it would take years for such a federation to materialize. In the meantime, forces in favour of the introduction of provincial autonomy are bound to make headway. The Prime Minister has already hinted that the decision for a comprehensive scheme dealing with both the Central and Provincial responsibility is not irrevocable. A Parliamentary bill for the introduction of some sort of provincial autonomy relegating the comprehensive scheme to the background is, therefore, not outside the range of possibility.

I have always maintained, since the idea of Federation was first mooted, that we should have a constitution for British India alone to start with, leaving the door open for the Indian States to come in, if and when they choose to do so.

Those who initiated the idea of Federation have successfully complicated and sidetracked the issue confronting the country and have made their solution almost impossible. The British Indian delegates, in their anxiety to start some sort of constitution going, have made compromises and concessions to the Princes, with the result that the constitution of the Federal Legislature, as finally recommended by the Committee, is ten times worse than the constitution under which the present Assembly has been working. Even if complete control of defence, external affairs and finance is conceded, I am certain that the legislature so constituted would not be in a position to carry into effect any of the progressive ideas the Congress has in view.

Does Mahatma Gandhi really think he can get that legislature to repeal the Salt Tax or reduce the military expenditure to any appreciable extent? Is such a legislature likely to vote in favour of a reduction of troops, either British or Indian, or of the pay and pension of high officers of the Government ?

If, therefore, the expenditure of the Central Government could not be reduced, how are we, with full provincial autonomy, going to carry into effect our ideas of prohibition and of reducing the land revenue to half ?

Indications are not wanting to show that India is fast heading toward agrarian revolution, and the only way to save the situation is to invest the starving workers and peasants with responsibility for carrying on the administration of the country as best as they can. Instead, the Round-Tablers, by agreeing to a constitution which provides for 80 out of 200 to the nominees of the Princes in the Upper House, and 100 out of 300 in the Popular Assembly, besides special representation of zemindars, trade, commerce, etc., would virtually hand over the administration of the country to a combination of Princes, zemindars and their capitalist allies.

If I had a choice, I would any day prefer the present Assembly being invested with further powers than agree to have a constitution such as is now proposed. No wonder, therefore, that in addressing the House of Commons the other day Sir Samuel Hoare stated : "Indeed, I go so far as to say that I believe that a Government set up under such conditions as I mentioned might very well be a stronger government than the Government we have got in India at the present time."

If the Princes, however, "agree to have the fundamental rights of their people embodied in the constitution, and to the establishment of a Supreme Court for the enforcement of those rights and to the representation of the people on the Federal Legislature, under the same franchise as the people of British India, one might be inclined to consider the idea of Federation.

The fact, however, remains that the princes are not yet in a mood, for reasons into which it is unnecessary to enter, to do anything of the kind. The sooner we give up the idea of federating with the Princes and go ahead with British India, the better for all concerned. But the British Government would not have it. Apart from other conditions and limitations, His Majesty's Government are not prepared, the White Paper declares, to recognize the principle of responsibility at the centre unless and until the Central Government and the Central Legislature are constituted on an all-India Federal basis.

### BRITAIN'S ATTITUDE

In this view and the position in which the Congress finds itself today, a renewal of the fight for freedom seems to be inevitable.

The participation by the Congress in the R. T. C. has once more demonstrated, if such demonstration were necessary, that argument, justice and reason have no place in Britain's dealings with India. We must, therefore, be prepared to create conditions in India which would make it impossible for Britain to resist our demands, except at the risk of very serious consequences to herself. We must demonstrate that we have the capacity, the strength and the determination to do so. No other method would yield any tangible result.

I am not in favour of exploring any further avenue for negotiation with the Government. If personal entreaties by Mahatmaji in Downing Street and at St. James's Palace did not avail, no further appeals by him, however earnest, from a distance of 6000 miles, can do any good.

In spite of what Mahatmaji says, I venture to think that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, was a blunder and has sufficiently harmed our cause.

Gandhiji's presence and activities in England have hardly enhanced the prestige of the Congress. On the contrary, the proceedings of the R.T.C. have left the world wondering whether there is any substance in the claim hitherto made by the Indian National Congress that it represents an overwhelming majority of the people of India, and that at its bidding millions of people are ready to suffer and sacrifice for the freedom of the country.

We must regain this lost ground in world opinion. Let us wait and see what lead the Congress gives to the country.

In view of what has happened at the last conference, the Congress might perhaps consider it advisable to devote its attention exclusively to the solution of the communal problem before launching a fresh campaign. The morale of our people is splendid and they are awaiting the orders of the Congress.

Some sentences in the last section of Mr. Vithalbhai Patel's statement have been omitted, as the followers of the Congress have been led to to do what he said it would be necessary for them to do.

## THE NEW ORDINANCES

These Ordinances may be divided into two groups, the first consisting of the Bengal Ordinance for the suppression of terrorism, which is Ordinance No. 11 of 1931 and was issued on Nov. 30; the U. P. Ordinance for dealing with the "No-Rent Campaign" in that province, which is Ordinance No. 12 of 1931 and was issued on Dec. 14; and the three Ordinances issued for the North-West Frontier Province, Nos. 13, 14 and 15 of 1931, issued on Dec. 27. The second group consists of the Ordinances issued on January 4, to deal with the Civil Disobedience movement throughout the country.

### THE BENGAL, U. P. AND FRONTIER ORDINANCES ARREST AND DETENTION

On examining the first group of Ordinances, one notes at once a general resemblance amonst them. The Frontier Ordinances, however, while repeating many of the provisions of the Bengal and U. P. Ordinances, contain others which make them more drastic in various ways. The Frontier Ordinance No. 13, like the Bengal Ordinance, gives power to any officer of the Local Government, authorized in its behalf, to arrest without warrant any person who is believed to be acting, or likely to act, "in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or peace," and "in so doing, he may use any means that may be necessary." But while, under the Bengal Ordinance, the arrested person may be detained for a period not exceeding 24 hours—which is bad enough—the man in the Frontier Province may be detained for 15 days, or even, if the Local Government so directs, for two months. As there is no provision in the Ordinance against the re-arrest of the same person for detention for another period, it would apparently be open to the Local Government or its officers to release him nominally and immediately put him back in prison, and thus keep him in custody for an indefinite period.

### INTERNMENT AND EXTERNMENT

The U. P. Ordinance gives power to the Local Government to order any person not to remain or reside in any specified area, or to remain and reside in any area or to conduct himself in such a manner, or abstain from such acts, as may be specified. Any such order will remain in force for not more than one month, unless the Local Government, by a special order, direct otherwise.

The aforesaid Frontier Ordinance repeats these provisions, which are very similar to the powers given to Local Governments during the war under the Defence of India Act, except for the fact that the period of internment provided in the Ordinance cannot be indefinite; but as in the case of the provisions for arrest and detention, the power to intern a person in any area may be exercised repeatedly and any number of times.

### COLLECTIVE FINES; OCCUPATION OF PLACE OR BUILDING; REGULATION OF TRAFFIC

The Bengal, U. P. and Frontier Ordinances, all of them provide for the Local Government requiring the owner or occupier of any land or building to place it at the disposal of the Government for its use; all of them provide for the imposition of a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area, the local Government having power to exempt any person or any class of persons in that area from the fine, and also to apportion the fine among the inhabitants. The local Government, in all the three provinces, has also been given power to prohibit or limit access to any place or building, controlled by the Government, or railway administration, or a local authority, or any place in the vicinity of any such building or place. Both in the districts of Bengal where the Ordinance is in operation and the Frontier Province, the District Magistrate may prohibit or regulate in any way he likes traffic over any road, pathway, water-way, or bridge.

### SEARCH, SEIZURE, ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS

Another feature which is common to the Ordinances for all the three provinces is the power by which any Magistrate may order searches of any place and seize anything found there. It is stated that he can do this, when he has reason to believe that in that place an offence or an act prejudicial to the public safety or peace has been or is about to be committed, or that preparation for the commission of such an offence or act is being made. But, obviously, this reason is given only for the guidance of the Magistrate and gives no protection whatever to the public.

Another special provision of the Frontier Ordinance is that the District Magistrate may depute a police officer to attend any public meeting, or meeting open to any class of the public, even if it be held in a private place ; in other words, any meeting whatsoever.

### CONTROLLING AND CUTTING OFF SUPPLIES

The Frontier Ordinance No. 13 has certain provisions for controlling the supply of commodities, which do not find a place in the other Ordinances. The Local Government may require any trader to make a return of his stocks, orders and contracts, and give information as to prices, customers and dealings. The local Government may prescribe the conditions under which such commodity may be sold, including the maximum price at which and the persons by whom and to whom such commodity may be sold. Thus it may prohibit if it wishes to do so, the sale of any necessity of life to persons belonging to particular organizations. Congress men or "Red-shirts" may be deprived thus of food or any other commodity essential for their living.

### CONTROL OF COMMUNICATIONS

Another feature of the Frontier Ordinance which is unique is that the District Magistrate of any district will have power to control the operation of any post, telegraph, telephone or wireless stations, and intercept any message or article. He may require accommodation to be provided on any railway or tram for for any passenger or goods, and also require that any specified persons or classes of persons or goods—such as, for instance, persons wearing a particular badge—shall not be carried by any railway or vessel. He may exclude or eject any passenger from any train or vessel ; stop or prohibit the stopping of trains or vessels at any station ; in short, except for obedience to the orders of the Local Government, he will be the supreme autocrat within the district, exercising authority even over the services controlled by the Central Government.

### CONTROL OF PUBLIC UTILITY SERVICE AND VEHICLES

There is another provision of the Frontier Ordinance No. 13, which calls for special mention. The Local Government, in order to secure continuance of any public utility service, may require the owner or person in charge of the service to take or abstain from such service as may be specified in orders given to him. If such owner or person disobeys any order, the Government may assume control of such service, thing or establishment.

The U. P. Ordinance provided for control of vehicles in the province. A similar power is given to District Magistrates in the Frontier Province by the Frontier Ordinance. Any person owning a vehicle is required to take such orders therewith for such periods as may be specified in orders given to him.

### COMPULSORY HELP

A common feature of all the three Ordinances is that any landholder, officer, village headman, servant of a local authority or teacher may be required to assist in the maintenance of law and order and protection of property. The Frontier Ordina provides also for enrolment of private gentlemen Special Constables.

### INSTIGATION TO NON-PAYMENT

The U.P. Ordinance was specially designed check the "No-rent" campaign, and, therefore, penalized the instigation by any person or cla of persons or a press not to pay or to defer payme of any notified liability, the phrase including lan revenue, land-rent and other dues to the Government. Ordinance No. 14, applying to the Frontier Province, repeats these provisions.

### UNLAWFUL ASSOCIATIONS : CONFISCATION OF THEIR FUNDS

Ordinance No. 15, applying to the Fronti Province, is directed against associations declar to be unlawful ; under the powers given by th Ordinance, the local Government may notify a place which, in its opinion, is used for the purpo of an unlawful assembly, and then take posses of the notified place. It may declare forfeited a articles found in that place, which, in the opini of the executive officer, may be used for the purp of the unlawful association, presumably even su articles as paper, pen, water-bottles and beds. A person who enters a notified place without permis will be committing criminal trespass and the offe is proclaimed cognizable and non-bailable : not o this, but the local Government obtains power e to confiscate any monies, securities or credits u or, in the Local Government's opinion, intended be used for the purposes of an unlawful associat No proceeding under this Ordinance can be cal in question by any court.

### FINING PARENTS FOR BOYS' MISDEMEANOU

The U. P. Ordinance provided for the impos of a fine on the guardian or a parent of a yo person who acts in a manner prejudicial to t public safety or peace. That power will be enjo by the Frontier Government also, and, in both provinces, if the parent or guardian fails to the fine, he or she will be liable to be committed prison.

### SEDUCTION OF OFFICERS ; SPREADING OF RUMOURS

There are provisions in Frontier Ordinance No. against inducement of any public servant to dis or fail in his duty, against dissuading any pe from entering the military or police service, ag dissemination of any rumour which the pe concerned has no reasonable ground to believe true, if the rumour is likely to cause fear or alar hatred or contempt towards any public serva class of people.

### SPECIAL COURTS

Like the Bengal Ordinance, the Frontier Ordi No. 13 provides for Special Courts, but under categories instead of two: (1) Special Judge Special Magistrates, (3) Summary Courts. A Sp Judge, like the Special Tribunal in Bengal, need a memorandum only of the substance of the ev of each witness. He will not be bound to ad any trial and may dispense with the attenda any witness at any stage if the witness misbeha causes delay or obstruction. It is not necessary here in detail into the powers of these different courts.

### COMPENSATION

The Bengal Ordinance had provided that, in case of property being taken possession of by the Government, such compensation should be given as it might consider proper. But the Frontier Ordinance provides in such cases for the constitution of an arbitration tribunal by the Local Government for the award of the compensation. In that sole respect, the latter Ordinance may be said to be an improvement upon the first among the group which has been considered above.

### ORDINANCES TO DEAL WITH THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN

The Governor-General has issued four Ordinances to cope with the civil disobedience campaign. They are all dated January 4. The first Ordinance is called the Emergency Powers Ordinance, which is extended to the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies only, for the present; the second is the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, which is to be extended immediately to all provinces; the third is the Unlawful Associations Ordinance, which is apparently to be brought into force everywhere; and the fourth is called the Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance, also to operate throughout the country.

The first of these Ordinances, the Emergency Powers Ordinance, follows the general lines of the Frontier Ordinance No. 13, reviewed above. It provides for arrest and detention of suspected persons; for the control of their movements; for taking possession of buildings and places; for prohibiting or limiting access to certain places; for regulating traffic; for controlling the supplies of commodities of general use; for regulation of means of transport; for control of public utility services; for requiring the assistance of certain persons; for making searches; for tampering with public servants; dissemination of false rumours; imposition of collective fines; and dissemination of extracts from proscribed documents; and the creation of Special Courts divided into three categories. All these powers, it will be noted, are similar to the powers given to the local Government and its officers under the Frontier Ordinance. One section of the Ordinance makes an addition to the recent Press Act, under which a Press may be dealt with for bringing into hatred or contempt the Government, or the administration of justice in British India or an Indian Prince or Chief, or any class of His Majesty's subjects, or for putting any person in fear or causing annoyance to him, or for encouraging or inciting any person to interfere with the administration of the law or maintenance of order, or to refuse or defer payment of any dues or to induce a public servant of a local authority to fail in his duty.

The Unlawful Instigation Ordinance is on the lines of the U. P. Ordinance and the Frontier Ordinance for the purpose.

The Unlawful Associations Ordinance repeats the provisions of the similar Ordinance applying to the Frontier, by which the local Government may forfeit any monies, securities or credits, used or intended to be used for the purposes of an Unlawful Association, declared as such by the local Government, without its action being called into question by any Court. If any Association, in the opinion of the Governor-General, interferes with the administration of law and order or constitutes a danger to the public peace, he may, by notification, declare such an association to be unlawful. The place used by an unlawful association and movable property found therein may be taken over by the Government.

The Fourth Ordinance penalizes picketing, including even loitering at or near a house, or dissuading any person from approaching or dealing at any place of business "by words or gestures, or even otherwise." Boycotting, which is defined as refusal to deal or do business or supply goods, "on terms on which such things would be done in the ordinary course," is also an offence. Another clause of this ordinance penalizes the performance of mock-ceremonies, resembling any ceremony associated with or consequent upon death.

*The summary of the recent ordinances given above has been reproduced from* NEW INDIA.

# INDIANS ABROAD

## INDIAN CONFERENCE IN MALAYA— —INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

### All-Malayan Indian Conference.

With the main object of securing an Indian representation in the Federal Council, a group of Indians from all parts of the Malay Peninsula met at the Kuala Lumpur town hall in the latter part of 1927. The meeting was convened under the auspices of the Selangor Indian Association of which Mr. S. Veerasamy, the well-known Kuala Lumpur lawyer, was the president It was that meeting from which emerged the first All-Malayan Indian Conference which has today become a powerful organization of the Indians in Malaya. It could be safely said that though Mr. Veerasamy is the founder, the energy and ability of Mr. K. A. Narayan, its general secretary, has much to do with the success of the organization. For over two decades Mr. Narayan has done much for the Indian cause in Malaya, especially in the state of Selangor, in his capacity of vice-president of the Selangor Indian Association. He has the power of writing as well as the ability to speak, and with his organizing abilities he has been a tower of strength to the Malayan Indian Conference ever since its inception.

The second conference met at Ipoh in 1928. Here, too, Mr. Veerasamy presided. The gathering was largely attended by Indians from all parts of Malaya. A number of resolutions were passed to the effect that Indian children in Malay needed better schools and wider educational facilities, the labourers ought to be paid living wages, a workmen's compensation act was needed and the steamship lines should provide cleaner and healthier accommodation for the Indian deck passengers to Malaya and back.

The third Conference met at Singapore and was presided over by Mr. Abdul Cader who represents the Straits Settlements Indians in the Singapore legislative council. This was a very important session because it had all the features of a big conference. Mr. R. Jummubhoy, a leading Indian business man of Singapore delivered an admirable address as the President of the Reception Committee.

Mr. Abdul Cader's presidential address contained, among other things, a strong plea for establishing settlements for Indian labourers, on the lines followed in Burma.

As usual, a number of resolutions were passed. But they were mere "resolutions", even the one asking for the publication of an Indian daily newspaper failing to matrialize.

All these three years, the Indian Conference in Malaya has been passing resolutions and asking for the mercy of the British administrators to feed the "hungry needs" of the Indian comminity. But the fourth year's conference which was held at Telok Anson in 1931 broke the tradition of "favour-seeking." At this session, Dr. N. K. Menon of Penang presided.

The presidential address of Dr. Menon is the best speech an Indian has ever delivered in Malaya on the Indian question. The Indians in Malaya need no longer suffer from inferiority complex and it is time to speak out |and speak boldly what they want, as they have the same right in Malaya as the other communities. India's connection with Malaya is about 2,000 years old and we have strived not a little to shape the destinies of the country. Dr. Menon wants his countrymen to find their place in the sun in Malaya on terms of equality with the Chinese, or Malays. Indians in Malay should give Dr. Menon all encouragement to carry on the good work he is doing, both as a member of the Indian Immigration Committee and as a leader. The more the All-Malayan Indian Conference is strengthened, the greater will be the benefits to the Indian community in Malaya.

### Indians in Mauritius

I shall briefly sketch the status of the Indians here settled, which is quite different from that of the Indians of S. Africa or other colonies. Here they enjoy the same civic and civil rights as any other citizen without distinction of caste or creed. We are governed by a common law. There are no laws of exception affecting or giving advantages to any one community in particular. We live under a regime of liberty, equality and fraternity, the motto of the French, the first settlers in the Island.

In justice and fairness we must confess that we do not think that Indians in any part of the the world enjoy the same rights and privileges as we do in all the spheres of life.

The Indians have made a very rapid advancement in all the branches of agriculture, commer and in other professions, liberal and clerical, but unfortunately we anticipate that this advancement will be checked, if it is not actually to suffer a set back, owing to economic problems.

It is specially on this point of economic difficulties that I must lay stress and appeal to you for active propaganda in India, to impress upon our Indian business men to help, not as philanthrophists but as business men, the Indian agricultural community here, until it tides over its present economic difficulties.

Mauritius depends solely on the sugar industry, all efforts made towards encouraging some subsidiary industries having proved fruitless. Sugar industry has been and will remain the staple industry of this colony, in spite of all the adversities that it encounters now and again. Low prices of sugar are recorded on account of world over-production, which is entirely independent of our control. All sugar producing countries are uniting their efforts to limit production by international agreements to the level of consumption in order to maintain a normal price for this commodity. The Chadbourne plan agreed upon last year by all the sugar exporting countries does not up to now seem to have been able to cope with the situation. Other efforts are still being made. We hope that, in the near future, their result will manifest itself, but in the mean time the Indian planters of Mauritius will have vanished unless some sort of help is forthcoming from somewhere.

The Indians who form the vast majority of the population of this country—275,000 out of a total population of about 400,000 souls, have been the fortune builders of its inhabitants. Little by little they started acquiring freehold land by means of small-instalment payments when big estates were being parcelled out, with the result that little by little, year after year, with their thrift, hard work and economy they became in 1921 owners of about 47 p. c. of the total land under cane cultivation in this island. They also owned other lands which were planted with vegetables, and also orchards. They were the golden years when the colony knew a time of progsperity unparalleled before.

But unfortunately bad years followed very closely on the good ones and have continued up to now. The riches then acquired have all been lost, the land in many cases was abandoned, in others it was mortgaged heavily. The inevitable result is that the debtors have been unable to pay back the mortgagees who have had the lands seized, sold and purchased for the mortage value.

Today we to note that the acreage belonging to Indians has greatly decreased. They own only 52,740 acres against 80,150 acres in 1922 and this acreage too will be further reduced by the next year, as the Indian planters have no funds to carry on their cultivation nor can they obtain funds from brokers or banking institutions to enable them to finance their crop.

The *modus operandi* for financing crops can be briefly summed up as follows:

The majority of the Indian planters runs their estates with borrowed money. At a certain period of the year they draw up a budget showing their total expenditure for the coming crop which they submit to their "bailleurs de fonds."

The "bailleur de fonds" is usually a financial agent who has a substantial amount of cash and who at the same time enjoys a good credit at the local banks. The planter gives to his bailleur de fonds, as security, the authority for selling the sugar he produces. After having sold th sugar realized by the planter, his bailleur de fonds debits him with all the money he took to work his estate at an agreed rate, besides charging his brokerage of ½ per cent. The commission varies between 1 to 2½ per cent of the gross proceeds of his produce, and interest is 1 per cent above the bank rate. The account is made up at the end of the year and the planter receives whatever balance is due to him, or if the balance is a debit one he has to furnish a good security to his bailleur de fonds.

In view of the foregoing which clearly exhibits the situation of the small planter with regard to his financing agent, I can only appeal to rich business men in India who wish and who care for the betterment of Indians abroad, to delegate an agent or proxy who could study the local conditions personally and start an institution which would advance against first-class securities wherein their interests will be fully safe-guarded. It is no philantrophic act that is being sought from wealthy Indians; it is a purely business proposal that is put to them.

Indian business men will, while doing business, do their duty in helping a declining Indian population who by its preseverance has upheld the dignity of the Indian and raised him from the coolie status to that of a planter holding his own against all vicissitudes of life and the tyranny of the other communities.

I am sure that this appeal of mine will not fall on deaf ears in India. So long as Mauritius Indians could manage their own affairs, they never sought any help frem India, but today the situation is very precarious, dangerous I may say. Hence they appeal in their sad plight for help from their Indian brethren, and this also for a temporary period.

R. Gajadhar

# *INDIAN PERIODICALS*

## CURRENTS OF INDIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT

### The Cycle of Change

Scientific inventions are being used by the powers that be to keep down the weak all the world over at the present moment. But should the disinterested scientist give up his pursuits in despair on that account? The world is changing and changing rapidly, and those who break their heads on a certain issue will disappear from the scene in no time. The work of the scientist will remain for ever and do good to mankind—because the world is ultimately guided not by the self-seeking many, but by the rare few who by their dedicated lives have given new impetus to human aspirations. India of yore taught people restraint along with science, and therefore saved the world from many ills it is now heir to. Sir J. C. Bose, F.R.S., in a dissertation in the *Indian Review* advances this view in the following extracts:

> In the pursuit of Truth, though science is neither of the East nor of the West, but international in its universality, yet India, by her habit of mind and inherited gifts, handed down from generation to generation, is specially fitted to make valuable contributions in furtherance of knowledge. The burning Indian imagination, which can extort new order out of a mass of apparently contradictory facts, can also be held in check by the habit of concentration. It is this restraint which confers the power to hold the mind in pursuit of knowledge in infinite patience.
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> The material advances secured by science have, no doubt, brought great accessions of power and wealth. There has been a feverish rush, even in that realm, for exploiting applications of knowledge, not so often for saving as for destruction. In the absence of some power of restraint, civilization is now trembling in an unstable poise on the brink of ruin. Some complementary ideal there must be to save man from that senseless rush which will end in disaster. He has followed the lure and excitement of some insatiable ambition, never pausing a moment to think of the ultimate object for which success is to serve as a temporary incentive. He forgot that far more potent than ruthless competition is mutual help and co-operation in the scheme of life. In the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, the motive power is to be found not in personal ambition, but in the effacement of all littleness, and in the uprooting of that ignorance, which regards anything as gain that is to be purchased at another's loss. No vision of truth can come except in the absence of all sources of destruction, and when the mind has reached the point of rest.
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> In the pursuit of investigations I came upon a mysterious Cyclic Law of Change, which is manifested in organized life and its diverse manifestations. Inertness may thus pass into a climax of activity which is perilously near its antithetic decline. This basic change puzzles us by its seeming caprice in the cycle of life and death, not only of individuals but also of nations. We fail to see things in their totality, and erect barriers that keep kindreds apart. Even science, which attempts to rise above human limitations, has not escaped the doom which limited vision imposes. We have caste in science as in religion and in politics, which divides one into conflicting many. The Law of Cyclic Change follows us relentlessly even in the realm of thought. When we have raised ourselves to the highest pinnacle, through some oversight we fall over the precipice. Men have offered their lives for the establishment of truth; a climax is reached after which the custodians of knowledge themselves bar further advance. Those who fought for liberty, impose on themselves and on others the bond of slavery. Through centuries men have striven to erect a mighty edifice in which Humanity might be enshrined; through want of vigilance the structure crumbles into dust. Many cycles may have to be gone through before man can establish a destiny which is above change.
>
> We need not, however, be discouraged by temporary aberrations of man, but we should be inspired by the nobility of his aspirations. It is not by passivity but by active effort that we can serve the world in better ways. The strong has thus taken the burden of the weak, a common sorrow having filled his life with pity and compassion. And in his ceaseless struggle for the cause of the weak and disinherited, he will win his own true freedom.

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### A Plea for Flood Insurance

Sir P. C. Roy was, as far as we can remember, once called by Mahatma Gandhi a Doctor of Relief Works. So, what he says as regards the best mode of giving relief to flood-striken Bengal deserves mention. To escape the hardship of the visitations of earthquakes Japan has organized earthquake insurance, and the doctor, through *Insurance World*, invites the experts to ponder whether a flood insurance scheme cannot be floated on similer lines in Bengal. He says:

> Earthquakes and floods are visitations that bid us to be on the alert. They afflict us to rouse us up and to cast our eyes deep into the future. It is true, as the poet says, that when the call of the destitute and the homeless comes, the heart of our countrymen where dwelleth God as the eternal spring of cour

and love, responds and money pours in thousands in the hands of the relief committees. But even then the sum does not seem adequate. It comes out of the little saving of the middle class men mostly and as such it is a precious gift; and as such it has brought tears in my eyes many a time but it has made me ponder over the matter too.

When the great earthquake and the consequent tidal wave devastated part of the little island of Japan and destroyed two of its prosperous cities, it was the insurance companies that were the most helpful in reconstructing the cities and making good the damages. Again, the havoc created by the great earthquake in New Zealand was fought with the money received from amongst others the insurance companies which contributed the most.

These countries have now taken up earthquake insurance: farmers and agriculturists in various parts of the world are insuring their crops and produce against damages caused by hails and storms, they are studying all these problems and are basing the solutions on actuarial science. They know that small contributions from many a thousand people paid regularly in happy times constitute a fund large enough to help a considerable area under distress. If we can start some such flood insurance scheme in Bengal, basing it on actuarial science, then when these periods of distress come the money put by the zemindars, agriculturists and other business men, combined with the voluntary subscriptions raised from people, will soon relieve the extreme distress and bring in happy, smiling prosperity again.

From behind the doors of my laboratory I send out this idea of mine to the world outside for the public and specially the Indian insurace companies to consider and to find out whether it is a feasible theory to be successfully worked out in practice.

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## Self-government in Schools

Relation between the teacher and the taught is far from satisfactory, specially when the aspirations of the latter clash with the interests of the former. Student movements and youth leagues everywhere are viewed with awe by the interested parties. To keep up the relation intact between the teacher and the taught and to train the boys and girls as responsible citizens, the educationists of the West have introduced a mode of self-government in the school. Educationists and teachers of our land who are still kept at arm's length by their pupils, will, we hope, lose no time to take a leaf out of what is being done over there. We make the following extracts from an article under the above caption by Mr. T. S. Venkatarama Iyer, appearing in *The Scholar:*

In England and elsewhere, in consequence of the great urge for freedom in education, there are, however forward-looking institutions which secure for their children a good measure of self-government in reality. Some twenty per cent of the members in a class constitute a managing committee, the members of which are elected by their fellow-pupils the members being obliged to vacate their seats in case they fail to carry out the mandate of the class in respect of the task entrusted them. This committee generally transacts all the work that falls to a teacher in the ordinary school, except of course, that part of it which pertains to actual teaching. Besides, from time to time, it enacts rules and measures which, in its opinion, are necessary for a proper administration of the internal affairs of a school in so far as they relate to the welfare of the pupils.

What now are the advantages that are likely to accrue from such a system of school government? In the first place, it gives an excellent training to all the children of the school in the improvement of the social and moral side of their character. Gradually, the child is made to realize that his interests are closely linked up with those of the community; and the pupil gets to know, that in a highly intricate and complex system of modern society, the member who solely subserves his own narrow and selfish ends very often finds himself thwarted at almost every turn and comes to grief. The spirit of service is fostered, and the child receives that training in social co-operation which makes him responsive to the aims of society when he grows up.

Secondly, it provides a proper outlet for the pupil's energy and activity, which, when, offered no desirable scope, often breaks out into the various forms of naughtiness with which we are all familiar at school. "The naughtly boys are those," says Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, "who have a special gift of energy which the whole spirit of discipline in respectable society could not wholly still into absolute passivity." The introduction of self-government is, therefore, calculated to eliminate the naughty element and give a right direction to the child's energy.

Another aim of self-government is to secure for the child practical experience in citizenship. Though, in America, such a training is sought to be given by the inclusion of social subjects, especially in the curriculum of secondary schools, the device by itself cannot touch even the fringe of the problem, unless it is supplemented by practical training in administration through self-government. The machinery of administration can best be learnt only by practice, not from books on civics or theoretical lesson on citizenship.

Fourthly, self-government is conducive to the development of a genuine sense of responsibility to a degree which is scarcely ever reached in the ordinary forms of school administration; and the value of it cannot be over-estimated, if we remember that the influence which it brings to bear on the perfection of the pupil's character is enormously great.

Again, problems of juvenile delinquency may easily be solved if the children themselves are entrusted with the administration of their own affairs. There are children who by constant repression are turned into refractory pupils; and these really find it easy to pull on in a self-governing school, for they have no longer any conflict with authority: they may pursue their old ways but, when they find that it meets with no encouragement from their comrades, they fall into line along with the rest. They learn by experience that law is not an arbitary thing, but a means of securing the interests and aims of the society of which they are members and in which they are themselves interested.

Above all, self-government offers that free and unfettered scope which is essential to the development of the child's character in its highest sense and fits him to take his place in the community as an efficient and capable member and to make his contribution to the difficult task of governing the community in the light of the valubable experience he has gained at school.

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## The Onward March

The editor of *The Prabuddha Bharata* dismisses the myth that our progress is due solely to contact with the West. He says:

> When we compare the present awakening in India with that in other nations of the world which have been showing the pulsation of a new life, we find a great significance. Whereas in other nations—even in an Asiatic country like China, people in their awakened consciousness are showing a spirit of great revolt against religion, in India religious revival has been the harbinger of the new awakening. For, in the last century, when the nation passed through the greatest crisis, Indian religion, though it suffered a little shock, soon gained strength, and it was in the field of religion first that people were self-conscious. From religion, in a sense, came the self-confidence which is now pervading other fields of activity. Beginning with Rammohan Roy, in Debendra Nath Tagore, in Keshab, Dayananda down to Swami Vivekananda—in all the religious reformers we find the same spirit of national consciousness working silently or explicitly—no matter that in some of them Western influence played such a great part that they could not make a common cause with the people in general. But on the whole in all the religious movements we find that the spirit of India was in revolt against an undue foreign aggression. And that spirit is working in wider fields and diverse activities in the present century. Consequently the soul of India will ultimately remain safe though there may be some outward manifestation of changes.
>
> As such it behoves all Indians to join, help and encourage all movements which are likely to accelerate the speed of the country in her onward march. And we hear the mighty voice of one who was as if consuming with his love for India, still resounding in our ears:
>
> "The longest night seems to be passing away, the sorest troubles seem to be coming to an end at last, the seeming corpse appears to be awakening and a voice is coming to us. Like a breeze from the Himalayas, it is bringing life into the almost dead bones and muscles, the lethargy is passing away, and only the blind cannot see, or the perverted will not see, that she is awakening, this motherland of ours, from her deep long sleep...None can resist her any more, never she is going to sleep any more; no outward powers can hold her back any more; for the infinite gaint is rising to her feet."
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> Is there any one amongst us who disbelieves it?

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## Co-operation in Bengal

Co-operation has thriven in other lands and there is no reason why it should not be so in our country if proper attention is paid to it. Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea has sought to get at the root of the apathy of the people towards co-operation and suggests the following remedies in a speech delivered at the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Conference, reproduced in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal*.

> Coming to remedies, the first suggestion that I wish to make is that the control of Government should be relaxed. I do not blame the Government for having exercised so long a fairly tight control over the co-operative movement. It was Government which started the movement and it was not unnatural for Government to feel that the responsibility for conducting the movement in the proper manner lay on its shoulders: But there is another side to this question. The people have not yet felt that the movement is entirely their own. There is a tendency not only on the part of the illiterate masses but also of the educated community to regard the co-operative movement as a part and parcel of the ordinary machinery of British administration in India; there is a tendency, in fact, to regard the Co-operative Department as a Government Department not very different from the other Government Departments. Now, it is very desirable that the control of Government should be reduced to a minimum in order that the people may feel their own responsibility for the proper management and efficient supervision of the co-operative societies. In holding this opinion I have the support of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee which recommends that official control should be gradually slackened. The late Mr. Henry Wolf, a great authority on co-operation, observed shortly before his death that the great need of the hour was the "gradual de-officialization of the movement." When, however, I urge a relaxation of control on the part of Government I do not mean that the Government should cease to have any connection with the movement whatsoever. What I mean is that there should be less of control and more of guidance, less of dictation and more of persuasion, less of domination and more of sympathetic assistance.
>
> The second point which I wish to emphasize in this connection is that there is a great need for the diffusion of co-operative education in this province. As I have already said, one of the principal drawbacks of the movement arises from the fact that the people have an insufficient understanding of the true essentials of co-operation. But proper arrangements, I am sorry to say, have not yet been made for the diffusion of co-operative education. Until this is done, and unless this matter is taken in hand without any further delay, I am afraid it will be difficult to carry on the co-operative movement along proper and healthy lines.
>
> Another urgent need of the movement is that the officers who have to manage and control the Co-operative Department should be properly trained. The time has come when the question of training can no longer be neglected. We should prepare a good curriculum for the proper instruction of the officers of this Department. Persons seeking employment in co-operative societies should be compelled to undergo practical training and to pass examinations in methods of banking, in the general principles of rural economics, in accountancy, and generally, in the theory, ideas, and practice of co-operation. If this is done, we shall be able to command the services of men who will be able to give an impetus to the movement and prevent the slackness which has been so noticeable in recent years.
>
> Lastly, I should like to emphasize the need of primary education for the masses of the people. Without the introduction of a system of compulsory and free primary education. I do not think it w

be possible for the co-operative movement to make that progress which we all desire.

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## Equality and not Protection for Women

We welcome the nationalistic standpoint *The Stridharma* has taken, regarding women's special representation on Indian legislatures. It says editorially :

Our readers might remember that the Women's Indian Association has entered a strong protest against the inclusion of a clause "To give protection to women labourers" in the declaration of fundamental rights formulated by the Karachi Congress. Consistently with that attitude, it has signed the joint memorandum of the All-India Women's Organization on the women's place in the future constitution submitted to the Round Table Conference by the three important All-India bodies of women. It is clear from that document that Indian women have placed "Equality and Equal rights and Equal opportunities between the sexes" above every thing else and are prepared to forgo any temporary advantage or weakening or humiliating privileges for the attainment of a higher and a loftier privilege. Women of India, in our opinion, are perfectly justified in the stand they have taken to obtain their rights. Women in this country have so far been receiving every encouragement and support from their men folk for their entry into public life. In fact, women's movement in India has been first set on foot, nursed and largely helped by men themselves. The women's demands for civic and political rights have met with good response from every quarter. We would advise the younger generation of women to read the booklet published by our Parsi sister, Lady Herabai Tata of Bombay on the history of women's franchise in India. It will be interesting for them to know that the Native State of Travancore first admitted its women into the legislature and Dr. Poonan Lukose of Travancore was the first woman councillor, nay, the first woman minister in that State ; then Madras and other provinces in British India followed the good example of Travancore. It was an easy work for the Indian women to secure franchise as compared with their European sisters. Spain granted franchise to its women only the other day and France is still in the background. In fact, some European countries have not yet granted citizen rights to their women, while the Indian men in spite of the illiteracy of the mass have welcomed their women into the public life as their equals and colleagues.

In India, Universities and colleges are open to women and so also all professions. Our womens it on the Senate, Syndicate and the Academic Council and on the Educational Councils. Many women are serving as Honorary Magistrates. At the recent election, many of our sisters have been successfully returned to the District Municipalities, Local Boards, to the general and to the reserved seats. We do not see that sex antagonism and sex rivalry that is so characteristic of the Western public life. *The Vote* reported of a case in London that when a woman was made the Head-mistress or the Superintendent of a school, all her men subordinates and colleagues resigned resenting the appointment of a woman as their head, while in India a woman had occupied the place of a Deputy Speaker in the previous Council and had presided over that august body by the unanimous consent of the House. When such is the state of things, we do not understand why one of the delegates at the Round Table Conference has pleaded for special representation or reservation for women in the new constitution which we all desire to be a fully responsible government.... The District Congress Committees in many provinces have elected women to those bodies. Again during quiet and normal times, women have presided over national assemblies in India. During our visit to the villages in South India, we have noticed that illiterate village folks, when they find a capable and learned woman, welcome her and give her a place of honour and responsibility. Therefore, it must be plain to our readers that women of character and capacity will have no difficulty to find their way into the public bodies for serving their community and their country. Certainly we are averse to fill the seats on such important bodies with women simply because they are women, as such women will be only depriving the country of the service of capable men and will bring no honour to their sex. Therefore, when every woman is made eligible for a vote and secures that citizen right in her own person, it is of paramount importance that our women should learn how to exercise that political power to advance their cause and to get rid of their disabilities. It will certainly not be justifiable for any section, whether of men or women, to demand equality, equal rights and equal opportunities and in the same breath to ask for concessions and favours which certainly denotes an inferiority complex. That is why the thinking and the leading women of India have refused to support the demands for reservations or special representations as they have nobly and rightly set their heart upon a larger and a higher privilege, namely—*equality and equal rights* between the sexes and for all.

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## The Economic Crisis

Depreciation in value of silver is, according to Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, at the root of the present economic crisis in the world. Eastern countries like Persia, India and China where silver currency obtains, is growing poorer day by day so much so that their purchasing power has almost dwindled. He discusses the matter in *The Mysore Economic Journal* and suggests a way out in the following extracts :

The depression through which the world is passing at present is said to be a record one. That it should be so bad in spite of the development of scientific and mechanical researches that have taken place during the last half century and more, to assist human industry, should give serious food for thought. What with developments in steam, hydro-electric, electrical and air transport, the world, one would have thought, would be a more compact and a closer unit than it has proved to be during the last two years. With all the bounty of Nature in various countries the extraordinarily sad spectacle has to be witnessed that whilst food grains and other necessities of life are available in plenty, the wherewithal to buy these things is denied to a large section of humanity. Willing hands cannot get employment and, so desperate have some become that it is seriously suggested that some of the products of Nature should be actually destroyed in order to help the purchasing power of those who hold the balance. Surely this would appear to be a suicidal policy ; but the one lesson of all this is that there is something fundamentally and vitally wrong in man-made science of finance and currency, which is at the bottom of the world's present malady. If some more sensible and less selfish method of distribution of wealth and credit could be devised it cannot be said that there are more food grains and other necessities of life than are required by the present population of this world. To this end, I strongly suggest the problem of the silver holdings of the world as one remedy. The other, and, perhaps, a more lasting, and, certainly, a more useful step, would be the recognition of food grains and other necessities of life, *of a certain standard*, as the real currency reserves of the various countries, but this takes me on to a different topic which I need not develop here.

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### Leisure-using

Mr. C. E. M. Joad is contributing thought-provoking articles to *The Aryan Path* on the use of leisure by civilized peoples. How best we can utilize the recreation is the theme of the present discourse. He says:

> Effort and endeavour have been, as I suggested in my previous article, the law of life's development in the past. Biologists speak of this law as the struggle for existence on the physical plane has been largely transcended ; we no longer fight one another with tooth and claw for the available food supply, and although the crudely physical competition with our fellows has been superseded by a struggle in the economic field over wages and prices, this is carefully restricted to business hours. When they are over, we think that we are entitled to relax and to take our ease ; our leisure, we feel, should be free from struggle. This belief is delusion. In all ages men who have had the opportunity to try every kind of life, combined with the energy and the talents to give the more exacting lives a fair trial, have seemed to reach agreement on this one point, that the only things which can give permanent satisfaction are the employment of our best faculties at their highest pitch, alternating with the recreation of the mind in music and art and literature and the conversation of our friends.
>
> Now, what I wish to suggest is that life has now reached a stage at which the appropriate field for effort and endeavour lies not in the world of matter but in the world of thought. Not only is it the case that effort in the world of thought is as real and as existing as effort in the world of matter, but life has now reached a stage at which such effort alone is permanently satisfying, so that, just as the urge of life once drove men to acquire new qualities of physical skill and to lay up fresh reserves of physical endurance in the struggle against nature, so it now finds its most appropriate expression in the effort to paint a picture or to remodel a social system to realize life imaginatively in fiction or to grapple with the problems of existence. Thinking, which is the knowledge of objects of thought, is now the appropriate activity of normal, educated men, just as the apprehension of objects of value in artistic creation and mystical contemplation is the privilege of the race's most advanced representatives.
>
> My suggestion is that boredom is a menace, because we habitually seek our occupations at a lower level of activity than that for which life has now fitted us; that we fail, that is to say, to live up to the challenge of our most recently evolved faculties. We are like children, who will insist on playing with toys that they have outgrown. It is time that we discarded our toys, and remembering that it is only children who identify reality with what they can see and touch, occupy ourselves with the exploration of the non-material world of thought and the cultivation of the world of value. The pursuits of Shaw's Ancients in the last play of the "Back to Methuselah" Pentateuch afford a good example of what will, in my view, be the occupations of the leisure of the future and a hint to the wise in the present.

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### Why not give Jesus a trial?

The good Christians all the world over have discovered Jesus in Mahatma Gandhi who practises non-violence like the Mesiah. Mr. Y. Panduranga Rao has raised the above plea in *The Young Men of India, Burma & Ceylon* and says:

> While the Christian is resting in peace in his little Goshen, like a mole in the pit, the spirit of Jesus is flooding the plains of Hindustan. Mahatma Gandhi has risen in holy wrath, as Moses of old and is leading India to the goal of freedom through methods unknown to the Christian world and the silent hum of his spinning wheel is shaking the world of machinery to its foundations. India has demonstrated to the unbelieving "Christian World" the unlimited potentialities of the Sermon on the Mount and has breathed the breath of life in the erstwhile dead image of Jesus. This image has taken possession of the soul of India at its vital centre and is driving the chariot of Indian freedom to its appointed destiny. The odium of hatred is giving place to love and non-violence. Untouchability is giving way to fraternal relations. The Indian peasant has begun to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge and is shaking off the chains of ignorance and poverty. The spinning wheel is vieing with the hearth in the Indian home. The tegmen of artificiality and luxury is pealing off giving place to simplicity and contentment. More than all these the women of India have been stirred from their forced slumber and are being revealed in their full stature and grandeur in the radiant sunshine of Indian renaissance. "The greatest hour of Christianity would have struck" said Fosdick, "when the Religion of Jesus takes the centre of the scene in place of religion about Jesus." One could hear this hour striking in India now, unexpected and surprising as this may seem to the West.

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### Facts of Life

Fact is often more thrilling than romance. What Mr. Roerich from the remoteness of the Himalayas writes to the *Dawn* has been reproduced in *The Kalpaka*. This will go a long way to prove the above dictum.

"In the remote Himalayas some newspapers reached us. In one we read that over 2,000 bank the United States had discontinued operations. Another informs us of the failure of a powerful bank in Switzerland. The third announces the closing of banks in Germany, Austria and Hungary. And finally comes the news of the abandoning of the gold standard.

"Well, well! Let us remember what we wrote ten years ago of heaps of valueless banknotes in the full meaning of this word. Is it not time to remember the narratives from the first revolutions in Germany and Russia; when people who had huge fortunes in paper money, realized suddenly to their horror that their assumed treasures were in fact but of paper; when instead of spending money on printing labels for beer-bottles, the brewers preferred to glue on to their bottles banknotes of high denominations. And in our collections are still German postage stamps of 20,000,000,000 German Reichsmarks face value. Whither to go further?

"These are not fairy tales, but facts of life. Yet even during these times of paper-disaster good old Rembrandt never betrayed the collectors. And it never entered anyone's head to label beer-bottles with original creations of artists. Thus even during the most difficult times the human spirit never forgot the true and irrepeatable values of mankind. Perhaps humanity remembered these values dimly as if in a dream, overcoming with difficulty the entire heritage of prejudice and ignorance, but still it did remember them and even most desperately negative characters, although remaining silent, never dared to oppose that which constitutes the whole meaning and purpose of human life."

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## Conservation of Nervous Energy

Mr. D. Le. Carrelio Morgan contributes a useful article on "Training for Athletics" in *The Tennis and Sport Illustrated*. What he says regarding the training of the athlete applies equally to the man in the street who wishes to have a good physique. We quote the following:

Nervous energy is something everyone can build, increase and conserve, no matter how weak or frail he or she may be. To be quite frank, one must learn, especially in the early stages of training, to use as little energy as possible. One must take things easier. Don't rush about so much besides, don't let jumpy people upset you. Work, walk, talk, eat, read and so on, leisurely.

In particular, take plenty of time over your meals and be sure to thoroughly masticate every morsel of food; by so doing. you conserve nervous energy which is usually taken up by the digestive organs in dealing with a mass of unmasticated food. A mixed diet which includes a fair amount of fresh meats, vegetables and fruits, is the best for energy building. Don't starve yourself, but at the same time do not on any account overload your stomach; use discretion, and you can't go wrong.

Next to energy conservation, and which is equally important is *perfect elimination*. Note that I have italicized perfect elimination, because partial daily elimination of waste matters is just as detrimental to the general health as irregular elimination. This trouble, however, can soon be eradicated by including in the dietary such articles as prunes soaked overnight in olive oil and taken first thing in the morning. Again, the regular drinking of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 pints of either cold or warm water every day between meals is a splendid health measure and acts powerfully against constipation (the enemy of mental and physical efficiency). However, I would advise taking fluid in small quantities at frequent intervals during the day, thus avoiding distending the stomach.

Obtain at least 8 hours' sound sleep every night. Late hours and lack of sufficient sleep is everything but conducive to a state of radiant health, and certainly this is a point no real athlete can afford to overlook. It is common knowledge that in sleep the body is rebuilt and recharged with new energy for the coming morrow.

Those who wish radiant health and efficiency to stamp themselves with the title athlete in every sense of the word, should rigidly adhere to the above marks, for by doing so one lays down the foundation of a splendid athletic career.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## WORLD AFFAIRS FROM THE WORLD'S PRESS

### Who Runs the United States ?

The Manchurian crisis proved that Japan has two sets of rulers, the civilian government and the military authorities, the first of which is powerless before the second. The New York *Nation* reveals the same state of affairs with regard to America, and discloses how the Navy is systematically overriding the President in naval affairs. The *Nation* adds that the case cited by it is no sporadic case of insubordination.

Who runs this Republic—the navy men or the Executive ? We had thought this question settled long ago. The founders of this country, with their deep-seated hatred of the ships and sailors and soldiers of His Majesty King George III, certainly believed that they had decided the issue once and for all. But today it is pretty clear that the navy thinks it directs the government, that it does not recognize the President as the Commander-in-Chief and proposes not only to pay no attention to his wishes and programme but openly to defy them. For that is what is now taking place. The annual report of the Secretary of the Navy calmly ignored the President's policy in that it was a well-considered plea for the enlargement of the navy which the President seeks to check. Now Rear Admiral Upham, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, has made a report to the Secretary in which he declares that the new operating plan of the navy, insisted on by President Hoover, "will inevitably result in materially lowered training and efficiency, and in the event of war would be of the gravest consequence"; that it means "the serious impairment of the strength of the navy as an arm of the national defence."

This plainly raises the whole question of who is to run the navy. The President has just given his word to the Congress that the navy has never been in a higher state of efficiency and that this situation will continue. The Rear Admiral's statement is plainly a direct challenge which will further fan the flames of Mr. Hoover's unhappy controversy with the Navy League, which he should have ignored as beneath his contempt. The way out would be prompt action by the man in the White House. If Mr. Hoover had a normal amount of backbone, Rear Admiral Upham would be detached from the Bureau of Navigation—always a hotbed of intrigue—and Secretary Adams's resignation would be reposing in the archives of the Administration. For the simple truth is that, whether he is in this case mistaken or not the responsibility is Mr. Hoover's under the Constitution, that he has the clear right to demand loyalty of his subordinates and to dismiss them if they cannot give him that loyalty in fullest measure. That an Executive may be over-ruled by Congress is always possible since that is provided for, but the idea that the President may be over-ruled at any time by any of our too numerous admirals, or by his Secretary of the Navy, is just a little bit too much.

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### The Reformer's Programme in America

*The Literary Digest* gives the following information in one of its recent issues :

Twenty thoroughbred race-horses attended a banquet recently given to a racing man in New York City. The most celebrated horse there stood in the spotlight, held by his equally celebrated owner. Leaders in the city's life were present, and others nationally known sent their regrets.

This, *The Literary Digest* says, led a friend of the editor of *The Christian Leader* to approach him with a request to take a stand against this extravagance. The editor, however, did not consider this very urgent :

Instead, he prepared a list of things he would rather single out for attack first. Many, of course, will disagree with him on some of the things recorded.

But it is an interesting list :

"The reception which Europe gave to Mayor Walker as a representative American.

"The secret graft and the corruption of judges in the city of New York.

"Our long delay in adhering to the World Court.

"The attitude of many whites and some Negroes to the Negro race.

"The tabloid press; the sex movies; the godless churches.

"Drunken legionnaires who characterize Professor Macintosh as an undesirable American.

"One-hundred-per-cent Americans who patronize bootleggers.

"Government by State troopers and mine police in many industrial districts.

"College boards who dismiss professors and lie about the reason.

"Sons of immigrants who talk about sheenies and wops.

"Radicals who see nothing good in America, and mossbacks who see nothing good elsewhere.

"The cry of overproduction in a world where double consumption is called for.

"Six or eight millions out of work, with the work of the country not half begun.

"Money madness, social snobbery, intellectual snobbery, moral hypocrisy."

The editor says he could make quite a list if he really set himself about it. But he explains that his is a more constructive job.

"Our way, however, is not the way of the denouncer. There are so many more competent to denounce. There are so many more busy at the job.

"Our way is to point out the noble things happening, and to describe the good people at work."

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## Professor Whitehead's Philosophy

Dr. Edward Menge sums up the philosophy of Professor Whitehead in *The Catholic World.*

Professor Whitehead's philosophy is a direct descendent of that of Professor William James who held that physical objects and the ideas of them are but the same thing considered in different relations, as for instance, the same fire which may physically destroy a house may also mentally suggest a danger to its inhabitants.

In summing up Professor Whitehead's philosophy, one may say that he is attempting to reverse the older order of the primary and secondary qualities of things, that he is attempting to use everything which modern mathematics, physics, psychology, philosophy and biology have contributed to the modern world of thought, and that he wishes to bring his philosophy as much into dynamic terms of events and of development—of process—as physics has done in introducing the theory of points of energy.

Professor Whitehead has been influenced by the biological concept of the philosophy and "unity of the organism," by Bertrand Russell's Logic of Mathematics, by Professors William James' and John Dewey's Pragmatism, by Professor John Waston's Behaviourism, by Professor C. Lloyd Morgan's Emergent Evolution and by Professor Einstein's doctrine of Relativity. He has tried to set aside space and time and put in their place "process," that is, happenings—events.

Professor Whitehead protests against the "representationism" which philosophy inherited from Locke and Descartes and he protests against the "bifurcation" of nature into two systems—that of the physical and the other, not directly known, but "which is the by-play of the mind."

The world in Whitehead's philosophy is a world of events, of continual happenings, and the simplest event into which the total event which is the "passage of nature" can be resolved he calls "situations" into which the "eternal objects" like green and sweet, which are not events, make 'impression.' Thus the perception of sense objects implies a multiple relation into which enter the "percipient event" which is a bodily state, the "situation," the "eternal object" and the surrounding conditions.

An interesting corollary follows. Since space and time are simply the relations between events, they are logically inferior in rank to the events themselves.

Whatever may be thought of the final value of Professor Whitehead's work, it must be admitted that he has taken all of the controversial points appearing in contemporary scientific philosophy and has tried to unify them in terms of energy, so that no matter how much future philosophers may admire or condemn him, they will, nevertheless, be obliged to take his work into consideration if they want students to know what they are talking about.

One fact, I think, is all too often forgotten by our philosophers and that is the emotional and temperamental make-up of the group of people for whom a philosophy is written. Professor H. B. Torrey ("Modern Scientific Thought and its Influence on Philosophy") has called attention to Poincaré's comparison of the Gallic and Anglo-Saxon genius. "Characteristic of the one is a feeling for form, for symmetry, for logical completeness, for finality; characteristic of the other is the feeling for substance, development, function, change. For the one, truth lies in the result; for the other *in the process.* One is represented by the deductive, the other by the inductive type of mind."

Scholastic philosophy is built upon a Latin background of logical necessity, and it is just for this reason that the Anglo-Saxon mind trained in other ways of thought needs a new interpretation put into modern scientific English words and above all into English modes of thought if it is to be understandable to the students of secular universities. We, whose background lies in the Latin thought of the past, are interested in a destination, the Anglo-Saxon is an intellectual gypsy interested only in travelling.

Whatever the future may have in store for Professor Whitehead, he has written a book that is important—very important, and though he has poured much old wine into new bottles and relabelled it, he has the courage of his convictions and is willing to rest his ultimate in God, even though that God may not be ours—and it is a long way from being ours.

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## The Results of the Second Round Table Conference

The achievements of the second Round Table Conference are generally regarded by Indian opinion as entirely negative. This Conference has demonstrated clearly that Britain will under no circumstances concede the essential demands of the Congress. In spite of this, however, Mr. Richard B. Gregg argues, in an article contributed to *Unity,* that it has achieved some useful results. He also admits that it has been an immediate failure. But he says:

> Nevertheless, the Conference has not been wholly barren. The attendance of Gandhi in London and the events there have accomplished certain results which will prove to be of great value to the eventual securing of a rightful place for India in the world. The knowledge of the outside world about the details of events in India since the spring of 1930 is meagre. Enough has been told to stimulate world curiosity and imagination, but both knowledge and the necessary preliminaries for knowledge have been largely lacking. The general assumption in the outside world has been that the British were such successful rulers all over their empire that probably their estimate of people and events in India was correct. But now enough has happened to weaken that assumption. World opinion changes very slowly, but it is now changing in respect to India.
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> First of all, the Conference has made clear to all the world that the other Indian delegates and the British delegates regard the Indian Congress with Gandhi at its head as the most powerful single political factor to be reckoned with in India. The fact that the Government deems it advisable to pit against the Congress, or at least take advantage of, not only its own power but also the communalist Moslems, the communalist untouchables, the Indian Princes, the European community in India, and the Anglo-Indians,—all this seems a clear tribute to the power of the Congress. The great efforts made by Lord Irwin to secure the Delhi agreement constitute a similar admission. The attitude of all the

delegates, both British and Indian, toward the Mahatma at the Conference meetings, and the attitude of people at private meetings with him have the same meaning. All the world can see now that the earlier British assertion that the Indian National Congress is a "negligible handful of intellectuals" is not true.

Secondly, the passage of months since the Delhi Truce have proved to world opinion that the Indian National Congress has discipline, patience, reasonableness, confidence in its chosen representative, and a sense of responsibility. Gandhi's attendance at London has showed the world that the Congress and its leaders are reliable,—are men who stick to their word.

Thus world opinion now realizes that India is more united and more effective politically than British statements for many years had led the world to believe. It is now clear that the Simon Report was badly mistaken in paying such slight attention to Gandhi and the Nationalist movement. Hence it would seem that both British and world opinion can now place less reliance upon the statements of Sir John Simon in relation to India. Looking back for only two years over the files of such British journals as the London *Spectator*, *The Round Table*, *The New Statesman The Nation Athenaum*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the London *Times*, *The Saturday Review*, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, *The Contemporary Review* and many others, one thing is clear. All leaders, sections and parties of British opinion, with the possible exception at times of the Independent Labour Party, have steadily underestimated the power of Gandhi and of the Indian Congress; have underestimated the growth of the general desire for greater control of Indian affairs by Indians of all sorts; have overestimated the extent and depth of divisions among the various groups in India. These are mistakes natural to an alien ruling people. These mistakes still continue. But because of these mistakes over so long a period, world opinion henceforth will accept British assertions about Indian affairs with more caution and doubt. The British allegation that Indians are not fit for self-government now seems to the world open to question. There has been displayed some evidence to the contrary.

From time to time in the past, British journalists, politicians and former Government officials have stated or implied that the Indian National Congress is hasty, impatient, violent of speech, unwilling to negotiate, intransigent, weak, irresponsible, wild, impractical, lacking in foresightedness and statesmanship. If there was any hope that the second Round Table Conference would prove these allegations true before the eyes of the world, that hope has been disappointed. These British allegations have failed to materialize.

Gandhi's contact with the British working classes both in London and in Lancaster has won their hearts. His long talk with the large assembly of Labour members of Parliament brought cheers from them at the end. His private talks with thoughtful and religious middle class people have gained their regard and even reverence. Both British opinion and world opinion respect Gandhi and the Congress more than ever before. All this will make it more difficult for Britain to remain united against India as the struggle proceeds. It may help to lighten or shorten whatever sufferings India may yet have to undergo in the winning of her freedom.

The second Round Table Conference has lessened prejudice against India, gained her more respect, aroused more interest, removed barriers, and thus laid the foundation for greater understanding and sympathy and moral support for Indian freedom.

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### Are the Japanese Militaristic?

The Japanese have been supposed to be one of the most militaristic nation in the world. But the youth, even in Japan, are turning away from war. Mr. Frank H. Hedges writes in *The World Tomorrow*:

One of the "facts about Japan" accepted and believed by the world at large is that the Japanese are a militaristic people. More than ten years of intimate contact with Japanese in all walks of life—from prince to 'rikisha coolie, from political leader to day labourer from high army officer to army conscript—compel me, however, to think otherwise. This contact has come about in the course of a decade of newspaper experience in Japan, supplemented by the desire to learn all I could about the people among whom I was living.

In my opinion there is scarcely a Japanese living who would not willingly and with a strong sense of pride risk his life in warfare if he thought his country demanded it. I am equally convinced that an overwhelming majority of the Japanese today are opposed to war except as a last resort, and that, when it becomes a personal problem, ninety-nine out of hundred will choose the path of peace.

During the past half-dozen years I have questioned at least a hundred Japanese youths, nearing the age of twenty, as to whether or not they wished to go into the army or navy. Two of them answered, "Yes." All the others were emphatic in their denial, although they acknowledged themselves ready to serve in case there was no honourable way of avoiding it.

The militarists have lost steadily in influence since the close of the Washington Conference. The late Baron Giichi Tanaka felt it necessary to resign his commission as a lieutenant-general in the army in order to become a president of a political party and eventually to ride into the premiership. Up to a couple of decades ago he would have found this commission an asset in politics; today it is an impediment of which the statesman must rid himself.

Each year as the time for examinations for conscription nears, scandal after scandal appears. Boys will be found to have mutilated themselves in some minor way in order that they will be exempted. Priests will accept money for prayers that this or that particular son may be exempted. The significance of such cases lies, of course, in the fact that they are indicative of the general attitude, but not of the general practice, toward serving in the army or navy. City boys return to their country homes for examination, hoping that the lads who have remained on the farms will be in better physical condition than they and so will be accepted in their place.

These are the "militaristic Japanese." Whenever that phrase is used, there comes to my mind the picture of the ninety-eight boys who did not want to go into the army in contrast to the pair who did; the picture of the navy high officer changing from uniform into civilian clothes before stepping out on the street; the picture of my own office boy who is now with the army and who writes to me in his peculiar and broken English:

"I am serving in the army without any trouble, so please feel easy though this matter is not your case. The services and rules in the army are not so severe but I feel how much more merry at your office now. At first I could not take my food because it was so different from one which I used had been taking, but now I am accustomed to take it and even feel delicious. About my bed, it was too narrow at first and could not get asleep at all, but now it is all right to me, taking a sound sleep owing to the daytime's toil."

That boy will come back when his twenty months' service is up. He will not re-enlist, and when he votes he will vote to reduce the army and the term of conscription. He is only one of the "militaristic Japanese" of the present generation, but his like is multiplied by millions.

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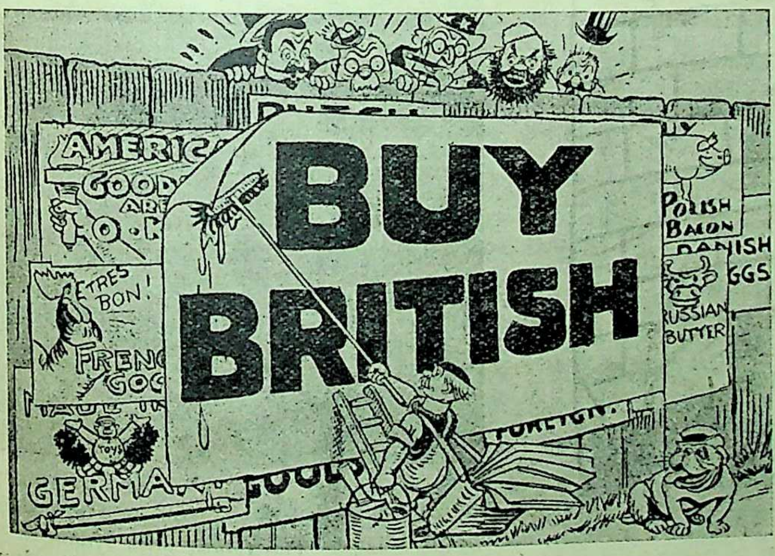
## Two Kinds of Leisure

The advent of machinery and the industrial age has brought to forefront the question of human leisure. In course of an article, published in the *Harper's Magazine*, Mr. Floyd H. Allport makes an equiry into the problem of leisure in the new age. He makes a distinction between the older and the new type of leisure and asks whether the latter will be worth having.

Here, then, are the two ideals of leisure. The biological method, familiar to us in the past, is slow, humble, effortful, and compliant with nature rather than ascendant over it. The technological programme, proposed for the future, is heroic and imperious toward nature. The one prospect offers the immediate enjoyments of nature ; the other the pleasures fabricated by the machine. The one invites us to a participation in the creation of beauty ; the other pours upon our senses a flood of variegated, though sometimes beautiful, sensations. The one encourages reflection and knowledge for its own sake ; the other standardizes intellectual training for practical ends. The one gives us science, the other technology. We mingle, upon the one hand, with whole personalities living in face-to-face communities ; while upon the other, we are immersed in powerful, impersonal organizations and meet our fellows only in those segmental relationships into which specialization has divided life. In biological leisure, sport has meant the development of the body through the movement of its parts. The sport of the machine age means the movement of the body as a whole through space. The one values the acquisition of the strength and skill of our bodies, the other the power and intricacy of our machinery. Biological leisure develops interests bound up with the satisfaction of organic needs, a leisure intergrated with life. Technological leisure tends toward external pleasures detached from life as biologically conceived. The one way has led successive generations of men from infancy to their estate as learning and thinking creatures, and had given a zest to those vital activities for which we are organically endowed. The other forsakes this struggle for adaptation and leads us into an environment where human nature has little chance of showing itself as anything different from a mechanical pattern of events. The one method has developed individuals, the other machines. The one plan, though commonplace, is tried and sure ; the other, abounding in high adventure, assumes our ability to become more than men, and stakes the whole security of mankind upon that one magnificent but perilous wager.

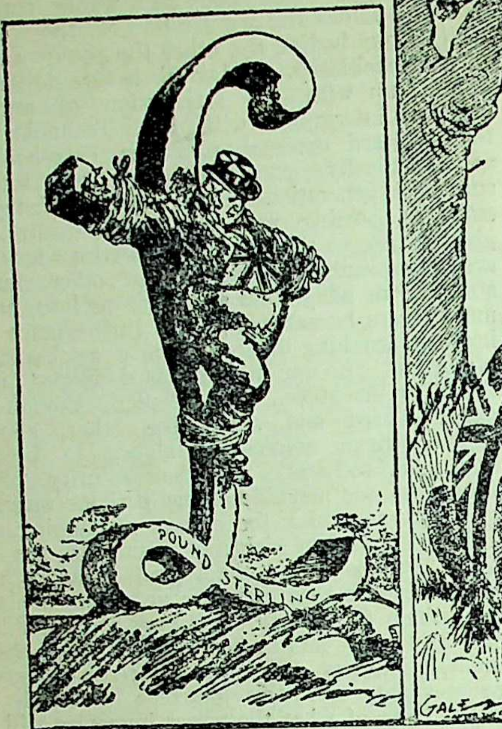
Some may think the counsel of clinging stubbornly to the old ideal of biological leisure is too conservative. Perhaps the technological leisurist was right in assuring us that there are unknown realms ahead into which the human spirit may soar once we have cast aside our limitations. But is the champion of modern industry and invention ready to assume the responsibility for this outcome ? Can he give us any inkling of what the newer humanity will be like ? In spite of the cocksureness of most of our industrial leaders, I do not believe that they have even begun to face the problem intelligently. Their threadbare slogan, "training for leisure time," shows that they still regard the matter merely as the filling in of an idle period. The notion that, by the aid of night classes and adult extension courses, they can, from their present perspective, train workers for this unknown leisure is purely gratuitous. Having put vacant time into life, they imagine that they can put life back into the vacancy they have created. But it will not be a question merely of finding new occupations to fill the free spaces in life as we now know it. We must discover what this new life will be for the sake of which our leisure shall have been won.



REACTIONS TO "BUY BRITISH"

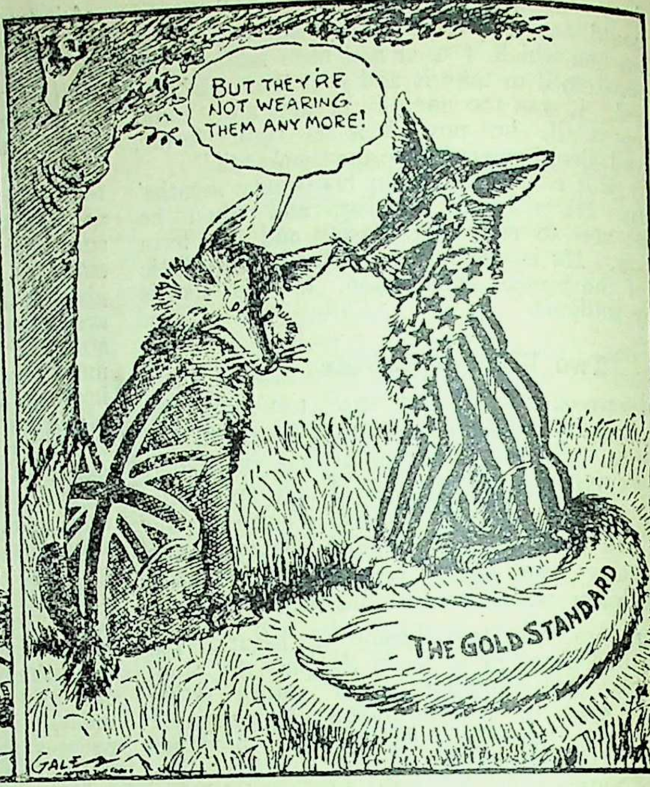
Chorus above : What impudence ! Advertising his own goods in his own country—and on our pitch, too !"

Strube in the *Daily Express*, London


POUND
STERLING

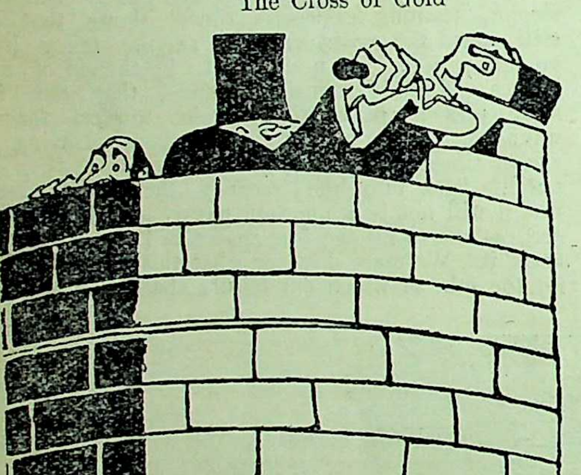
Brooklyn Daily Eagle

The Cross of Gold


BUT THEY'RE NOT WEARING THEM ANY MORE!
THE GOLD STANDARD
GALE

*Los Angeles Times*

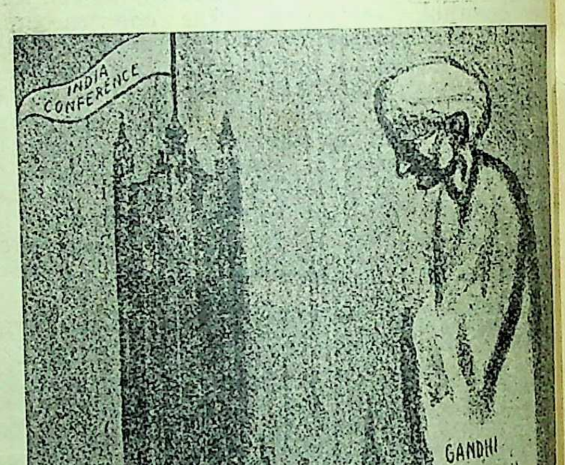
The Fox Who Lost his Brush



*De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam,

The Tariff Wall

Nearer and Nearer to the Conservative Heaven


INDIA CONFERENCE
GANDHI

*Post-Dispatch*, St. Louis

"The Ghost goes Home"

An American View of the Break-up of the Round Table Conference

# ISSUES BEFORE THE FRANCHISE COMMITTEE

### By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

THE coming Franchise Committee should first attend to the following fundamental issues, some of which concern specially the provinces of Bengal and the Panjab.

The last Government of India Act has legalized responsible government as the goal of British policy in India. That goal was further defined to mean Dominion government by the parliamentary declaration of 1929, made at the instance of Lord Irwin to satisfy Indian doubts on the subject. Thirdly, the same goal has been repeated with greater authority and emphasis by the official declaration of Indian policy by the Labour Government at the conclusion of the first Round Table Conference. And, fourthly, there is the final declaration of the present National Government that the coming reforms are to give to India responsible government in the Provinces and also at the centre, subject to safe-guards in certain reserved matters to be settled, and also on the basis of an all-India Federation of the provinces and the Indian States.

It is now to be assumed that the contemplated safe-guards must not be given a scope and a character which will be contradictory to the democratic constitution promised. This is to be particularly borne in mind in fixing the safe-guards for minorities in the coming constitution. The Indian Franchise Committee will have their task rendered easy and simple, if they only adopt the safe-guards defined and described in detail for all possible classes of minorities in what are now well known as minorities guarantee treaties to which both England and India have been parties and signatories for their application to many a sovereign State of Europe. The premier Moslem State of Turkey is also a signatory to that treaty. A sort of international law has thus been laid down by the concert of the big Powers of the world and ratified by the League of Nations on the vexed question of minority protection.

As has been already stated, both in international law, or the League scheme of minorities protection, and in the Indian position as defined repeatedly by His Majesty's Government, Indian minorities cannot be given a kind of protection which will destroy the democratic character of the very constitution promised.

The following positions may now be enumerated as essential to the democratic constitution promised to India in the coming reforms :

(1) There can be no question of protection of minorities by the device of separate electorate, and guaranteed, reserved, or weighted representation in legislature. Such a device is against all law and precedent, and is destructive of democracy, and is, therefore, not to be found in any civilized state of the world. It will condemn India to a form of communal government and the worst form of despotism for which she has not bargained at all. Better no reform than the reform which means retrogression, a violent set-back in political evolution.

Fortunately, it has received the unqualified condemnation of the Premier in his historic speech in January 1931 at the House of Commons on the first Indian Round Table Conference. All nationalist Indians hold the Premier to that declaration.

(2) Besides, being a negation of responsible government, separate representation of communities will revive the old quarrel about 'no representation—no taxation' and, as its logical consequence, the claim that the amount of special representation of a community must be determined by its taxable capacity or the amount of its contribution to revenue. When adult franchise is not to be, its qualifications by property and literacy will be more stressed and will aggravate the communal complications.

(3) There can be no question of protection for a majority by establishing it as a permanent majority in the legislature by statute.

It is to be noted that since both the Hindus and Moslems find themselves in the majority or minority according to provinces, the Hindus will have the best of the bargain in securing statutory majority in the Central Government, and also in as many as five provinces. It is only as minorities that the Hindus and Moslems can claim any protection.

Up to now, the claim for a statutory majority has come only from the Moslems on the ground that they fear that they cannot maintain their numerical majority at elections against the influence of the more advanced Hindu minority. If so, surely an admittedly backward community should not seek to control for ever by statutory majority a culturally progressive province like Bengal or the Panjab. They should not claim an artificial and legal protection in addition to the natural protections which will be always at their command from their dominance in numbers.

(4) By way of further smoothing matters for the Moslem majority, and paving their way as much as possible, the Bengal Hindus who form the minority refrain from claiming any protection as a minority by the discredited device of a separate electorate or reserved representation, out of regard for a democratic constitution and a national responsible government which they are prepared to work, on the basis of a joint electorate, with their Moslem brethren forming the majority.

(5) All protection of minorities must follow the lines laid down in the minorities guarantee treaties which in Europe have satisfied such militant minorities as the Germans and Poles, Turks and Greeks. According to these treaties :

(*a*) Minorities cannot be recognized unless they form "a considerable proportion of the population," at least 20 per cent. In the last census in Czecho-Slovakia, the German minorities were at pains to move to different regions so as not to fall below the numerical limit thus prescribed for protection by international law.

(*b*) Minorities cannot be recognized to have any differences between them except racial, religious, and linguistic differences. Mere three classes of differences, and the separate interests arising therefrom, are to be fully protected by statutory safe-guard, initially imposed on the constitution. They do not need to be protected by separate electorate and representation.

According to these safe-guards, Moslems can claim separate education in their own mother-tongue from top to bottom. The French and the English in Canada have adopted the separate schools system and have then united in working the Canadian constitution in the spirit of a common citizenship.

In this scheme the legislature is not also empowered to change the special laws and customs expressing the racial individuality and characteristics of a community, without the consent of that community to be ascertained by special constitutional procedure prescribed for the purpose.

(*c*) In all matters and interests, unconnected with race, religion, or language, there can be no difference between communities and it is such matters and interests alone,—the common ground of all communities,—which are dealt with by legislature and administration. Therefore, there is no place in the legislature for the separate representation of religious communities whose religious and other separate interests are protected by other ways. The legislature is a parliament of citizens and not a parliament of religions.

(6) The balance of communities is to be maintained in the administration and public service with due regard to efficiency but recruitment must proceed on the basis not of *minimum* qualifications but of maximum qualifications available in the country in an age marked by a rapid rise of such qualifications. The communal evil must be exorcised from the legislature and administration alike.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that Mr. Arthur Henderson, who is shortly to preside over the coming Disarmanent Conference, while presiding at the League Council meeting in January last year, authoritatively declared that "the scheme of minority protection inaugurated by the League of Nations was now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world." It is to be hoped that India will herself adhere to this "public law" which she has aided in creating as an original member of the League of Nations

# NOTES

## *Swadeshi Campaign in England*

Mr. Bruce Bliven, one of the Editors of *The New Republic* of New York, writes in that paper that England is in the midst of a great campaign to encourage home industry. Says he :

> In a movie theatre, I saw and heard the Prime Minister utter a brief oration urging his fellow countrymen to support the "Buy British" campaign on economic grounds. He went on to add : "You must buy all you can from the Dominions, too."

India was not mentioned, it seems. Mr. Bliven says further :

> Every automobile has the slogan "*Buy British*" on its windshield ; the cities have popped out in a rash of posters and electric signs ; . . .

Mr. Bliven adds :

> Some of the ramifications of the campaign are amazing . . . The modisets of London, like those of other cities, have been in the habit of giving themselves fictitious French names (and sometimes accents) and have overnight found themselves in danger of losing their patronage because of it. They are now sending hasty form letters to all their patrons, explaining that Mlle. Jeanne is really Betsy Smith of Bayswater and that no treason is involved in purchasing from her those smart British *robes et manteaux* which are so admirably suited for walking across country in the rain. The readers of one popular London daily are now making a mass attack upon the paper's motion-picture critic, seeking to get him removed from his post on the ground that he has been reprehensibly lukewarm in evaluating the products of the British film studios. A correspondent of *The Times* expressed what seems to be a widely held view when he indignantly demanded that no cinema be permitted to show an American film without placarding that obnoxious fact outside the door so that true Britons may stay away : "Henceforth," he wrote, "we must not only buy, but must *look* British."—Which I dare say he does, though not quite in the sense he intended.
>
> The manufacturer of one sort of gasoline undoubtedly frightened his competitors badly when he started a huge advertising campaign pointing out that his particular motor fluid was a complete British product, being extracted, inside England, from English coal. The skulking hellions guilty of importing into Great Britain reprehensible petrol from Texas, Columbia or Baku, could only, and feebly, reply by publishing a tabulation of the number of British workmen whom they employ. From day to day the "stunt press" discovers with alarums and italics that eggs are still coming into England from Denmark, or milk from Holland. They give a general impression that it is better to let your child's cheeks go pale from inadequate diet than to support those Dutch-speaking (!) foreign cows in luxury at the expense of (hypothetical) true British cattle . . . Perhaps the star example of economic loyalty, however, is the stern edict of the British Broadcasting Company, that bands playing on the radio shall render British compositions "whenever possible" —(Incidentally, I should give much to hear a precise definition of that phrase, "whenever possible.")

One gathers from British papers that the records of the Westminster County Court show that a salesman contracted to sell an All-British vacuum cleaner to one Miss Edith, but the latter refused to take delivery of it on the grounds that some parts of the machine were not made in England and the Company in England which manufactured it had four Danish directors. In another case one Anthony West, a commercial traveller, lost his job owing to selling American wireless goods.

Lord Willingdon might immediately promulgate an ordinance making it unlawful in India for Indians *loyally* to follow these British examples.

## *"Buy British" and "Travel British," too*

Recently on board the P. & O. Liner *Strathaird* at the Liverpool docks Mr. Shaw, Deputy Chairman of the P. & O. Company, uttered an earnest plea to the British public to "travel British" as well as "buy British." Messrs. K. C. Neogy and Sarabhai Haji wanted by their Coastal Traffic Bill to ask the Indian public to "travel Indian" only so far as coastal voyages were concerned. But against that Bill the logical and consistent Britisher has raised the cry of expropriation, racial discrimination, etc., etc., etc.

## *"Buy British," in Ahmedabad, not London !*

The monotonous heaps of news relating to *mild* (not wild) *lathi* charges in some of which three or more *lathis* were *broken* (not pulverized), arrests, imprisonments, etc., were variegated the other day by the item that in Ahmedabad the walls of some buildings were found placarded with requests to "Buy British Goods" and "Boycott the Congress."

Perhaps Ahmedabad is the name of a city in Great Britain, and by Congress is meant the most famous body of that name, namely, the Congress of the United States of America.

## *"China Will Yet Win !"*

*The World Tomorrow* of America thinks "China will yet win." "Just as ultimate victory lies with India in her struggle against Great Britain, so China's millions will eventually roll as a relentless tide over Japanese domination in Manchuria." Some of the factors which in combination constitute the foundation for this opinion are stated as follows by that monthly :

> First, Chinese nationalism is deepening and spreading at a rapid pace. In sheer numbers the Chinese are invincible. In Manchuria they outnumber the Japanese more than a hundred to one. Every three months the Chinese population in that region has been increasing by an amount in excess of the total Japanese population in Manchuria. The Japanese farm or merchant is ordinarily no match for t Chinese, man for man, unless assisted and s sidized by his government. The econom superiority of the Chinese has been demonstr ed in all corners of the Far East where th meet the Japanese on terms of econom equality. Moreover, *the Chinese are expert ma pulators of the boycott, and not only in Manchur but throughout the vast extent of China, they wi wreck Japanese trade.* Even if infuriated Chinese nationalism does not provoke a frenzied att upon Japanese troops in Manchuria or up Japanese nationals elsewhere in China, indign tion and fury will strengthen and prolong t economic boycott.
>
> Another significant aspect of the situation found in the rise within Japan of the spirit internationalism and peace. While the rank a file of Japanese citizens are temporarily inflam with patriotic passion against China, they cann remain impervious to economic and mo influences. Increasingly they will feel the terr burden placed upon their backs by Japan militarism and the resultant Chinese boyc They are an extremely sensitive people and a deeply hurt by moral condemnation.

## *Japan and the League of Nations*

The League of Nations has not be able so far to check Japan's aggression o China, though both these countries a Members of that body. That was n unexpected. The League show is boss by imperialistic nations. Neither Britai nor France, nor Italy, nor . . . . . , can insi upon or even suggest the taking of stro action against Japan ; because all the former States have in their history, so time or other, done that which Japan doing now, and they are keeping and enjoyi their ill-gotten gains, too. America is n in the League. She could have done som thing, but she has only talked. For s too, is imperialistic.

The big nations of the world, as *natio* do not care for justice and righteousne in international affairs. They care only f their own worldly interests. Japan kno that very well. So she has proclaimed t in Manchuria there will be an open door f the commerce of all nations. That sop shopkeeping nations will swallow.

But has China no right to her territo integrity ? Has Manchuria no rights ?

These questions have occurred to Jap

So she has declared that she has no territorial ambitions in Manchuria and that Manchuria will be an independent State! These are as true as that lying means truth-telling.

Evidently the Japanese military authorities have driven an armoured car over the Covenant of the League, the Pact of Paris and the Washington treaties.

### *Chinese "Bandits"*

In the opinion of *The World Tomorrow*,

> Just as the United States Marines never fight against Nicaraguan patriots but only against Nicaraguan "bandits", so the Japanese militarists classify all Chinese who are not pro-Japanese as "bandits and irregulars."

Nearer home, is it not just possible that sometimes in the 19th century and now in the 20th some foolish and modest Burmese patriots have masqueraded as dacoits?

### *Struggle Between Government and People*

One party to the present struggle in India is the British Government and the other, a section of the people—taking only the (non-violent) combatants into account. What the numerical strength of the combatants of this section is, nobody knows. It is not a fixed quantity; for as no weapons, no munitions are required by them, any non-combatant may take it into his head to become a combatant any moment.

Both the parties think that it is going to be a fight to the finish this time. That may or may not be.

So far as the Congress was an organized body, Government have already succeeded in killing it. All Congress organizations have been declared unlawful and broken up, their offices confiscated or locked up, all the prominent leaders jailed, all funds seized or laid under embargo, freedom of speech and writing and association relating to Congress affairs and activities (except the right to condemn them) taken away. And yet, whatever the British Wireless station at Rugby or the Publicity Office at New Delhi may say to the contrary, the Congress does not appear to be either dead or moribund, judging solely by the page after page of descriptions of police bags in the dailies. It is said that there are organisms which, if cut up into a number of fragments, do not die but give rise to an equal number of independent organisms. It is difficult to kill such organisms. Unorganized Congressmen may come to evolve into organisms somewhat like the above, or Government may succeed in putting an end this time to their Congress *lila*.

But whatever may happen this time, India is sure to be fully free. So imperialists are only playing a delaying game.

Many Indians knew and many times more guessed aright that Government had been making preparations for the present struggle at least six months before it actually began. On the other hand, Congressmen were caught napping. Many of their leaders had talked of the need of preparedness, but, judging by what has taken place, no preparations had been made. And as the Congress was not a secret organization, it was easy to break it up. And it was easy to break it up, also because it is a non-violent body. In all the firings, *lathi* charges, arrests, the casualties are all on the side of the people, the Police casualties being practically nil. And yet lying propaganda to make the world believe that the Congress is violent and responsible for terrorism does not cease.

### *Princelings to the Rescue*

Some minor princes have offered, or been made to offer, to place all the resources of their States at the disposal of the British Government in India to fight the Satyagraha movement. They will no doubt have their wordy and alphabetical reward for their loyalty to the sovereign power. But they owe a duty to their people first. It is well known that it is only a very few Indian States which may perhaps be said to be spending all that they ought to spend for education, sanitation, dispensation of justice, improvement of agriculture and industries and communications, etc. The other States, which are the vast majority, can spend their revenues on objects unconnected with the welfare of their subjects only by misappropriation. The Government of India ought not to encourage or connive at such expenditure.

The flaunting of these offers by the Anglo-Indian Press may produce an unintended result. It may lead people to believe that perhaps the Government is unable single-handed to fight the weaponless, moneyless, unorganized, non-violent satyagrahis.

The rulers of the Indian States, small and big, have insisted that "British Indians" must not poke their noses into their affairs ; and Mahatma Gandhi has treated and spoken of them with deference. But some of the princes do not hesitate to poke their princely noses into our plebeian affairs—perhaps under dictation.

And it is these subservient henchmen of their British masters who are to have at least 40 per cent of the seats in the Upper Chamber and 33¹/₃ of the Lower Chamber of the proposed Federal Legislature. God save us from such Federalism.

## *Nobel Peace Prize for 1931.*

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1931 has been divided between Miss Jane Addams and Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, both of America. As Miss Addams has always been a pacifist, the award, so far as she is concerned, has given satisfaction, on the ground of principle. Prof. Butler has not been so consistent a pacifist throughout. Of Miss Addams and Prof. Butler, *The Nation* of New York writes :

> Foursquare to all winds Jane Addams has stood in her advocacy of peace. No one has deserved the Nobel Prize more, and to no one could it come more fittingly, or at a better moment than when she is ill from a serious operation. She has, indeed, long been the foremost woman citizen of America . . . Thus has been well recognized a pacifism that has never known any cowardice or compromise. We wish we could say as much for Nicholas Murray Butler, who divides the Nobel Prize with Miss Addams. He was a great pacifist before the war, and since the war as administrator of large Carnegie funds he has shown genuine zeal for the cause of peace and disarmament. Only last week he again rightly warned the world that its fate for at least the next decade is involved in the Geneva conference. But during the war his record was thoroughly bad ; he subordinated what he knew in his heart to be right to mob psychology, especially that of the rich mob which don to Columbia and controls its Board of Trust None the less, we are glad to add that public man in America today is mak better or wiser or more courageous addre on national and international affairs.

*The New Republic* of the same city wri of the two prize-winners in a similar strain.

In our opinion Rabindranath Tagore an Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ought to have received the Nobel Peace Prize years ago.

## *French Edition of "India in Bondage"*

*Unity* of Chicago (December 21, 19 announces that a French edition of Dr. J. Sunderland's "India in Bondage" has ju appeared in Paris, from the Press of t University of France.

## *Mahatma Gandhi on Central and Provincial Responsibility*

Last November Mr. A. Fenner Brockw tried to ascertain Mahatma Gandhi's opini on many topics in the course of an intervi with him. Thus he asked :

> "Do you see any possibility of agreem with the British Government on the b of self-government in the provinces ?"

The answer was :

> "No, I suggested a formula, but the Bri Government would not accept it. There m be a possibility of agreement if the provi were given real control immediately and if absolute guarantee were given of early cen responsibility. I would accept an interval point of time, but not in legislation. T same legislation must deal with the things. Indian Nationalists will not look provincial autonomy without the certainty central responsibility. They say they h waited a long time for complete independ and they can wait a little longer rather t accept a compromise which withholds ce responsibility."

Mr. Brockway again asked :

> "What is your view of Mr Brailsfo suggestion of complete provincial auton with provision for a national constituent asse to settle the issue of the form of ce government ?"

Mr. Gandhi replied :

> "Only a guarantee of responsible go ment under statutory provision would We must have responsible government."

## *Control of the Army During Transition Period*

During the same interview Mr. Fenner Brockway asked:

> "How would you face the problem of the transition in the control of the forces?"

The answer is given below.

> "There can be no transition in the control of the forces," Mr. Gandhi answered. I noted that he proceeded to personify India in himself.
>
> "The British must trust me to take control. Idiot or no idiot, they must trust me. I would rely on solid, good judgment, but I must have the power to override military decisions which are not compatible with the national interests. After all, a Prime Minister does not know the technique of military tactics, but the last decision rests with him. The ignorance which ministers show on many questions is amazing, but it is not unnatural. How can any man understand the technique of every question? He must have experienced people to advise him, but he must judge their advice in the light of his principles. The declaration of war or of peace is in the hands of the Prime Minister, not of the Commander-in-Chief or Field Marshal. It was not the decision of Lord Roberts or General Kitchener but of the Cabinet, when the South African War was called off. Though the military men squirmed with indignation, they obeyed. The controlling power must be in the hands of the minister appointed by the legislature, whatever his nationality. If the legislature elects him to the job, the decisions must be made by him."

## *Freedom, Wealth and Good Name*

Hirelings and malignant spirits among "advanced" nations are not satisfied with the loss of freedom and material resources of unorganized nations, but must needs deprive them of their character also. In *Othello*, one of Shakespeare's characters says, "Who steals my purse steals trash," "But he that filches from me my good name robs me of that which not enriches him and makes me poor indeed."

The American authoress of *Mother India*, since translated into all principal European languages, tried to blacken the reputation of the Hindu population of India at a psychological moment in order that India might not be free. Another American woman has now taken the field against India on the pretext of telling the truth about India. She is one Patricia Kendall and her book is named "Come with me to India: A Quest for Truth Among Peoples and Problems." In the columns of *Unity* of Chicago we read of some of the lies and half-lies the book contains. We will quote only one of these:

> Then there is the question of child murder, which, according to Mrs. Kendall, is practised almost universally in India. She puts all her proof on this head into the mouths of Hindus. But since the population of India has increased in ten years from three hundred and twenty millions to three hundred and fifty millions, one is permitted to believe that some of the girl babies are allowed to live.

As regards her accuracy, one example will suffice.

> Anybody who reads "Come with me to India!" will ask himself where Patricia Kendall learned geography. When she was in Madras she saw the sun set in the Bay of Bengal, a part of the sea that lies directly to the east of Madras. She saw this odd sight twice.

Mr. Edward Holton James, who has reviewed her book in *Unity*, concludes the review thus:

> Patricia Kendall is handicapped, because she does not see the human race as a whole, and this is the sad catastrophe which has overtaken her in her "quest for truth." Her book is without a single human touch, a single ray of humor, a single word of religion. So far as any flowers of the heart are concerned, her 432 pages are about as arid as the Rajputana deserts.
>
> The only parts of her book that are free from her icy race prejudice and nordic superiority are the cover, the paper jacket and the index, all of which are fine.
>
> Our author says that the truth can free India. Of course it can. The truth can free anybody. The truth can free England. The truth can free Patricia Kendall.

Lest American sympathy be of some moral advantage to India, care is taken to blacken her first of all and above all in America. That was the case, too, when *Mother India* was published. But honest Americans see through the game and expose it. Hence we find Rev. Dr. Flanklin C. Southworth, too, who travelled extensively and mixed with all classes of educated men and women in India some time ago, criticizing the book. Writes he in *The Christian Register* of Boston:

> The publication of this volume at the most

critical moment in the Round Table Conference, would seem to have been skilfully timed. When *Mother India*, also a propagandist work, was published, holding that India's one supreme need was not self-rule but a new attitude toward the problem of sex, a copy was said to have been put gratis into the hands of every member of the British Parliament. One wonders whether copies of *Come with Me to India* have found their way into the hands of members of the Round Table. In reviewing a book characterized by its publishers as "authoritative," written to influence the opinion of the world concerning a nation which comprises one-sixth of the human race, one wishes to know whether it is deep enough to reach the heart of the problem or broad enough to include the available and significant facts. The present reviewer is of the opinion that it is not.

Dr. Southworth exposes some of the falsehoods and suppressions of truths of the authoress. On the question of one nation ruling another he observes :

> The fundamental question concerning the Government of India is whether it is good for either a ruling nation or a subject nation situated on different sides of the globe that one should be the master of the other. The intelligent opinion of the world, expressed with increasing confidence for more than a century, affirms more and more emphatically that it is bad for both. But if, for the moment, we waive this fundamental question, and ask whether British rule in India has invariably been as intelligent and beneficent as Mrs. Kendall seems to think, we find that Englishmen most competent to judge, as well as Americans, are not of her opinion. Says Professor Lowes Dickinson of Oxford : "Of all the Western nations the English are the least capable of appreciating the qualities of Indian civilization. Of all the races they are the least assimilable. They carry to India all their own habits and ways of life ; squatting, as it were, in armed camps ; spending as in exile twenty or twenty-five years ; and returning, sending out new men to take their place, equally imbued with English ideals and habits, equally unassimilable." And it was England's present Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, who declared four years ago : "The moral justification that has always been made for the existence of our empire amongst subject peoples has been that we are training them for self-government. The most typical of this is our Indian Empire. A thousand and one reasons are given for a little more tutelage. . . . Now plain common sense should come to our rescue. Nobody can imagine that any harm will come from independence. Let independence be granted."

Dr. Southworth continues :

> To affirm the permanent incapacity of a great nation for self-rule is a large contract and invites a somewhat close scrutiny of the evidence on which the affirmation is made. Mrs. Kendall adduces many unquestioned facts in support of her contention. Are there any facts which she has suppressed ? She presents dramatically the menace of Afghanistan on the north-west frontier, waiting for the withdrawal of the British army to invade India through the Khyber Pass. She omits, however, to contrast the six millions who inhabit Afghanistan with the 330 millions of India ; or to raise the question whether it may not be possible for India to defend the Khyber Pass. She gives a vivid picture of the centuries old friction between Moslem and Hindu ; but fails to mention the belief widely held not only throughout India, but by many candid observers in England as well, that Britain, on the well-known principle of "divide and conquer," has frequently found it for her advantage to stimulate such friction. Mrs. Kendall describes at length the Moplah atrocities ; but neglects to point out in any detail the inflamed state of public opinion throughout India, resulting from the humiliations imposed on Indians by the Rowlatt Act and the Amritsar massacre.

## *R. T. C. Results*

Many of the results of the Round Table Conference were foreseen. It was foreseen, for example, that the British rulers of India would succeed in representing Indians as hopelessly divided among themselves ;—the policy and method of selection of the "delegates" could not but have such a result.

The Premier, in his letter to the Franchise Committee, which is one of the R. T. C. committees appointed to work in India, states that "in the absense of an agreement among the leaders of the different communities, and the safe-guards required by them, the Committee will proceed on the assumption that separate communal electorates will continue." This is clever but disingenuous. All the Moslem "delegates" at the first R. T. C. were communalists—and they alone were invited by the Government. At the second R. T. C. Sir Ali Imam, who is regarded as a Nationalist, was invited to be present. But he did not open his mouth even once, either because he was prevented by the British boss or bosses from speaking or because he himself chose not to break with the separatists. There are many Nationalists among the Depressed Classes, but none of them were invited either to the first or the second R. T. C. Hence, it is not at all unfair to the British rulers of India to hold that they did not want any agreement among the different communities. To speak of their leaders in connection with the R. T. C. is to make an assumption which is wrong. It is wrong to assume that the men and women whom the Government invited were the leaders or the only leaders or the most influential leaders of their groups.

The first and second R. T. C. have not produced any agreement among the men and women nominated by the Government. As the R. T. C. will meet only after the committees have done their work in India, there is to be no further opportunity in the meantime to arrive at an agreement. Moreover, the greatest non-communal and unifying organization in India, the Congress, having been excluded from further deliberations, the Premier's statement definitely means that the *Franchise Committee is to work on the positive understanding that the continuation of separate communal electorates is a settled fact.* There can be no reasonable doubt that, so far as the British Government is concerned, it was a settled fact even before the R. T. C. had met. But, of course, there are very eminent politicians in India whose charity (towards British politicians, not towards Indian politicians) may know no bounds and who believe or profess to believe that the British delegates at the R. T. C. had an open mind as regards communal electorates and that the manner of choosing the Indian delegates did not have for one of its objects the continuation of separate electorates. To try to convert these very eminent Indian politicians to our way of thinking is not one of our self-imposed tasks. So let us take it for granted that the continuation of communal electorates was not a settled fact from the very inception of the R. T. C. But it cannot be gainsaid that it *has* become a settled fact now.

### *Participation in R. T. C. Committees*

That being the case, one is entitled to ask all those Indians who have been given seats in the R. T. C. Committees which are to continue its work in India, whether it is consistent with their political principles to take part in merely provisionally settling the details of an Indian constitution of which the unnationalizing separate communal electorates are to be a feature. The communalists need not be asked that question. But those who call themselves Nationalists must answer this question, if not for the satisfaction of the public, at least for the satisfaction of themselves.

It would be presumption on the part of a mere journalist to demand an answer of any very eminent leaders. But just as even a cat may look at a king, so even a journalist may humbly suggest the question in the foregoing paragraph for the self-examination of Nationalists like Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, for example. We need not separately name any of those who have been granted seats in the provincial committees.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas also need not consider the question, as, in compliance with the resolution of the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry dealing with the subject of participation in the work of the R. T. C. Committees, he has telegraphed to the Viceroy expressing his inability to serve on the R. T. C. Committee.

It should be clearly borne in mind that the four Committees are merely to provisionally settle some details; they cannot even suggest any alterations as regards the main outlines decided or left undecided in the first and second R. T. C. Hence those Nationalists who are going to participate in the committees may consider, whether they think it good for India as a whole that the Provinces are to have the sort of autonomy which the British may condescend to grant in their own interests before full Central responsibility is actually given or even statutorily promised at some definitely mentioned date; whether they think an indefinitely long transition period good for India; whether they think it would be really an advance on the present constitution to have a Federal Legislature with practically a stranglehold in the hands of the Indian States' representatives and the representatives of the separatist Moslems, Depressed Classes and other minority groups ; whether during the indefinitely long transition period the reservation of defence, foreign affairs, minority interests, pay and pensions of higher officers and public debt, safe-guards claimed for non-Nationals of the British Empire, currency, exchange, tariff, etc., in the hands of the Government, would be an advance on the present constitution ; etc. etc.

There are men who, though they are not *satyagrahis,* would not find it possible to work in collaboration with those who, in their opinion, have deliberately shut out from co-operation and insulted and punished those of their countrymen and countrywomen who have been the most active and self-sacrificing in the cause of India's freedom and who consider these men and women their brothers and sisters or sons and daughters and mothers. But this may be brushed aside by practical politicians as a merely sentimental consideration. So, we have mentioned only practical considerations.

To sum up : Every one who may work as a member of any of these Committees or who may be thinking of answering their questionaires, may consider whether they would thereby bring India *definitely* nearer nationhood and freedom, and whether they think that anything has been said or written in connection with the R. T. C. by the British Premier or any other British man in authority which amounts to a definite promise, pledge or promise of Swaraj.

## *What is a Pledge ?*

There used to be many Indians who called Queen Victoria's Proclamation their Magna Charta. But Sir James Stephen said it was merely a ceremonial document, it was not a treaty imposing any responsibility or obligation on the British people.

As regards other things which gullible Indians are in the habit of taking as pledges, the present British prime minister Mr. MacDonald's following words should be an eye-opener. On the 3rd December, 1931, he said in the House of Commons :

> As this is the first time when an Indian debate has taken place in this Parliament it will perhaps be convenient for the honourable members, especially those who have come there for the first time, that he should give them a slight reminder as to how the present situation has arisen. From time to time declarations, which did not amount to specific pledges, had been made by the representatives of this country. Sometimes the Monarch herself, as in the case of the late Queen Victoria, sometimes the Government representatives and sometimes the House of Commons had made it perfectly clear at times that the intention of this Government and this country was to lead India up to the position that it could make itself responsible for its own government. Those statements did not always amount to pledges. They did not go beyond a statement of intention, but this House and no member of this House as representative could throw off from his shoulders the responsibility of carrying into effect when an opportunity arises and from time to time those declarations of intention.

So there was never any pledge, but plenty of "declarations of intention." But Englishmen have taught us that there is a certain place, to which we do not wish to go, which is paved with good intentions.

## *Muslim Conference for Boycotting R. T. C. Committees*

The Muslim Conference convened by the Raja of Salempur which met at Lucknow on the 24th January last and which was attended by many leading Musalmans, passed two resolutions, printed below.

> One recorded horror and indignation at the Government's repressive policy in the Frontier and called upon Indian Muslims to mark their protest by observing the last day of Ramzan as "Frontier Day" all over India.

The other resolution ran as follows :

> "Whereas the Round Table Conference has failed to achieve its object and whereas the British Premier's statement is entirely unsatisfactory to the Muslims of India as well, this conference is emphatically of opinion that unless and until the Government issue an explicit statement meeting the wishes of the Mussalmans of India before the commencement of the work of the different committees appointed in connection with the R. T. C., the Mussalmans will have to boycott the different committees appointed to carry on the work of the R. T. C."

Not even a single Moslem member of the Committees may pay any attention to these resolutions, but it is something that some important Musalmans have given frank expression to the view that the R. T. C. has failed and has been entirely unsatisfactory to them.

What do the Liberals or any section of them think ?

What do the Hindu Mahasabhaites or any section of them think ?

## *Coming Hindu Mahasabha Session*

It has been announced in the papers that a session of the Hindu Mahasabha will be held at Delhi during the last week of March next.

The Hindu Mahasabha's main work lies in the social and educational fields. But owing to the sectional communal endeavours made by a section of the Moslems, partly perhaps at the instigation of British imperialists, the Mahasabha has to pay extra attention to political matters by way of safe-guarding Hindu interests. And so probably its coming session is not unconnected with the appointment of the R. T. C. Committees. If so, the session, in our opinion, ought to have been held much earlier. For it is no use saying what the Mahasabha wants after the Committees or any of them have formed or gone most of the way in forming their opinions. Of course, if the Mahasabha does not want to have anything to do with the Committees, some delay does not matter. But we do not think all sections of the Mahasabha will be for refraining from participation in the Committees' work. Panjab Hindus are already clamouring that they have not got any seat anywhere.

In our opinion, the attitude of the Mahasabha towards the Committees requires careful consideration. Will the Mahasabha Hindus part company with the Congress Hindus, or will they not ? Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr. M. R. Jayakar are in a committee. Of course, they are free to be or not to be there. But the question is, will either or both of them be regarded as representatives of the Mahasabha ? Dr. Moonje has declared more than once that he participated in the work of the R. T. C. purely in his individual capacity. At the same time, he has spoken and issued statements more than once in India and England in connection with the R. T. C. as president of the Hindu Mahasabha. Sometimes Bhai Parmanand also has spoken in the name of the Hindu Mahasabha. All such utterances and statements ought to be regularized.

## *Academic Honours for Bengal Governor*

Last month the honorary degree of Doctor of Law was conferred upon His Excellency Colonel the Right Hon'ble Sir Fancis Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of the Calcutta University. There is nothing unusual in men in power obtaining such academic honours. It is only the accidental circumstance of Bengal being at present more under the rule of Ordinances than under the reign of Law which gives rise to some faint doubt as to the timeliness and appropriateness of the conferment of the degree just at present. Probably if there had been a degree of Doctor of Ordinance, the conferment of it *honoris causa* would have been more seasonable and suitable. But perhaps no university has ever bestowed such a degree on anybody. Moreover, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal does not promulgate any ordinance. It is His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General who has the power to do so and does so. He was in Calcutta recently. But the University missed the opportunity to make him its first D. Ord., thereby breaking all University records in the world into the bargain.

Or perhaps some conscious or unconscious humorists among Calcutta's academicians may have thought that Law being at present in a weak state of health owing to Ordinance's usurpation requires doctoring and that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal is the Doctor who should be in charge of the august patient.

## *"Effects of Silent Boycott are More Marked"*

The following 'official wireless' has appeared in the dailies :

> Rugby, January 25.
>
> The summary of the week's events in India shows a generally satisfactory tendency. The main features have been the diminishing extent to which arrests under Emergency Powers Ordinances have been necessary, especially in the North-

West Frontier Province, where a steady improvement is recorded. A more peaceful condition prevails in the towns of the United Provinces. On the other hand, the Congress are apparently making efforts to recover from the effects of the initial blow dealt to them by the authorities and some extension of their activities has occurred in particular areas and the effects of silent boycott are more marked.

There is nothing strange in "the effects of silent boycott" being more marked than those of noisy demonstrations, particularly when the latter are suppressed.

## Rabindranath Tagore's Message to the People of India

Rabindranath Tagore's message to the people of India which appeared in the papers after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, has been sent to the London *Spectator* with an introductory sentence, the whole running as follows:

> Sir,
>
> The behaviour of the panic-stricken Government has startled the nation and has compelled me to come out with the following message to my own people who have been provoked to intense indignation suppressed by force.
>
> Mahatmaji has been arrested without having been given a chance of coming to a mutual understanding with the Government. It only shows that of the two partners in the building of the history of India the people of India can be superciliously ignored, according to our rulers. However, the fact has to be accepted as a fact, and we must prove to the world that we are important, more important than the other factor which is merely an accident. But if we lose our head and give vent to a sudden fit of political insanity, blindly suicidal, a great opportunity will be missed. The despair itself should give us the profound calmness of strength, the grim determination which silently works its own fulfilment without wasting its resources in puerile emotionalism and self-thwarting destructiveness. This is the moment when it should be easy for us to forget all our accumulated prejudices against our kindred, when we must do our best to combine our hands in brotherly love, even with those who have roughly rejected our call of comradeship, when we must claim of ourselves an intense urge of co-operation with all different parts of our Nation. This is the kind of castastrophe which rarely comes to a people, with a shock that brings to a focus our scattered forces and shortens the difficulties of our creative endeavour in the building of its freedom.
>
> The primitive lawlessness of the law-makers should forcibly awaken us to our own ultimate salvation in a love undaunted by the menace of a power which barricades itself with an indiscriminate suspicion that its blind panic cannot define. This is the time when we must never forget our responsibility to prove ourselves morally superior to those who are physically powerful in a mea that can defy their own humanity.
>
> Yours truly
>
> RABINDRANATH TAGO

## Poet's Cable to Premier

It is recorded in the dailies that the Po Rabindranath Tagore, has sent the followi cable to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Jame Ramsay MacDonald :

> The sensational policy of indiscriminate rep sion being followed by Indian Government star with imprisonment of Mahatmaji is most fortunate in causing permanent alienation of people from yours making it extremely diff for us to co-operate with your representatives peaceful political adjustment.

## Murders of Money-lenders in the Panjab

The secretary to the Panjab Trade Committee, Lyallpur, has published a stat ment showing the number and particula of the money-lenders murdered by the debtors in the Panjab, from the 1st Janua 1930 to the 16th November 1931. Thirty-fi names with particulars are given.

## Hindu Widows' Property Rights

At the first business sitting of t Legislative Assembly, held last month,

> Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, moving f Select Committee for the Bill to secure a share Hindu widows in their husband's property, that the Bill had been before the public for years. He met some of the objections r against the Bill. He made a particular refer to old Hindu Sastras by which a woman, moment she got married, became a co-owner her husband's property, and it was on acc of that status that at the time of partition used to be given a share equal to that of sons. Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda qu from high judicial and other responsible aut ties to prove the urgency for the measure.
>
> The object of Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sa Bill is to secure for a Hindu widow a share her husband's family property equal to that w her husband would have been entitled to u Mitakshara Law had the partition taken in his lifetime.

We support the obeject of the Bill.

## Sir Muhammad Shafi

The death of Sir Muhammad Shafi is loss not only to the Muhammadan commu but to the nation as a whole. The man greater than the party politician. He not a fanatic in his party politics. Those who knew him in life say that his communalism was a transitional phase which he thought necessary for the ultimate realization of nationalism. The more nationalistic utterances of his talented daughter, Begum Shah Newaz, were held to be a reflection of his real views. That his daughter had been brought up to become such a cultured lady showed his attitude towards womanhood. In his personal relationships there was no distinction of race or creed.

### *Girijashankar B. Trivedi*

In Mr. Girijashankar B. Trivedi the Bombay Presidency has lost a sincere social worker and patriot and the Prarthana Samaj and Brahmo Samaj an active, devout and pious member. His religious views were marked by depth of conviction and breadth of vision. He was a generous giver to all good causes.

### *Dr. P. K. Ray*

Dr. P. K. Ray was 82 years of age at the time of his death at Hazaribagh. As a student in Great Britain he won a doctorate of science both in the London and Edinburgh universities. In Edinburgh he was a fellow-student of Lord Haldane's. Both obtained equal academic distinction as students, being bracketed together at the final examination. They were lifelong friends. It is said Lord Haldane once asked the late Mr. Bhupendranath Basu what were the grievances of Indians. In reply, by way of example, Mr. Basu said that, while his lordship had become both War Minister and Lord Chancellor of the British Empire, his friend and academic equal, Dr. Ray, could not rise to be even a provincial director of public instruction. Returning to India, Dr. Ray was appointed to the educational service and rose to be the first Indian principal of the Calcutta Presidency College, where he taught philosophy. He was also for some time Registrar of the Calcutta University and subsequently its Inspector of Colleges. Students know him best as the author of an elaborate treatise on logic in which no difficulties have been avoided. He was throughout life respected for the saintliness of his character, the suavity of his manners, his extensive and deep scholarship and his active interest in the cause of social and religious reform and progress. He was a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

Though he never took part in politics, the political progress of India was not a matter of indifference to him. The present writer was a student of the Presidency College when he was its principal, and was known to him. On the last occasion, a few years ago, when we met him, the conversation turned on Indian politics. He said, Englishmen would never willingly agree to India becoming free, but would do so under some kind of great pressure.

### *Dr. Miss Yamini Sen*

Dr. Miss Yamini Sen had qualified herself thoroughly for the medical profession both in India and Great Britain. To the latter country she went twice in quest of knowledge. For some years she served the Nepal Government in the capital of that country and was held in great honour there for her skill and high character. She was for years in the Indian Women's Medical Service, and served in Agra, Simla, Shikarpur, Akola, etc. Returning to Calcutta, she became connected with maternity hospitals here. For the last two years she had been suffering from serious illness, and had gone to Puri for a change. But such was her reputation as a doctor and a philanthropist that she was prevailed upon by the District Magistrate to accept charge of the general hospital in that town. When her illness increased she had to come back to Calcutta. She breathed her last in the home of her youngest brother, Mr. Sudhir Kumar Sen. She was a daughter of the late Babu Chandi Charan Sen, best known to the public as the courageous author of some historical novels. Mrs. Kamini Ray, the premier poetess of Bengal, is her eldest sister and Mr. Nisith Chandra Sen, the advocate, her eldest younger brother.

### *Distinguished Girl Graduates*

At the last M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University some lady students have highly distinguished themselves. In Sanskrit, Group D, Kamal-rani Sinha has stood first in the first division, and similarly in Group E of the same subject Priti-lata Gupta tops the list in the first division. In English Ila Sen occupies the third place in order of merit in the first division. Sobha Sen has passed the M. A. in Bengali and Kanaklata Chaudhuri in philosophy.

### *Machiavelli's Maxims*

A writer quotes in *The People* of Lahore some of the political teachings of Machiavelli contained in his book "The Prince." Some of these are given below :

> When a Prince acquires a new State, joined on like a limb to his old possessions, he must disarm its inhabitants, except such of them as have taken part with him as he was acquiring it ; and even these as time and occasion serve, he should seek to render soft and effeminate ; and he must so manage matters that all the arms of the new State shall be in the hands of his own soldiers who have served under him in his old dominions.
>
> Injuries should be inflicted all at once, that their ill savour being less lasting may less offend ; whereas, benefits should be conferred little by little, so that they may be more fully relished.

### *Religious Fanaticism in Canada*

*The Indian Social Reformer* quotes the following from the *Examiner* :

> There has been a long series of Church and Convent fires in Canada in the past few years, and last month at Winnipeg, Man., sentence of life imprisonment was passed on a man who pleaded guilty to causing the fire at a Convent at Cross Lake, in which a nun and thirteen children lost their lives. But this revolting campaign has not yet come to an end, for the same mail brings reports of an attempt, which was only just frustrated in time, to burn down the Church of the Sacred Heart, Toronto, and a sacrilegious burglary at the Pro-Cathedral, Hamilton, resulting in the bursting open of the Tabernacle, and the theft and desecration of the Sacred Host (over 500). Proof that the vandals at Hamilton belonged to the school of [religious fanatics] and not that of Bill Sykes is supplied by the fact that they smashed the crosses over the alms boxes but made no attempt to break open the boxes themselves.

On the above passage our Bombay contemporary makes the apt comment :

> The reason why so much is heard of religious and social conflicts in this country and so little of them in Europe and America, is that it is here alone that these come handy as arguments against self-government by interested persons and parties. No one has urged this incendiary campaign against Catholic Churches as an argument for depriving Canada of her status as a Dominion or for separate communal electorates and other safe-guards for the Catholic Minority.

### *Dr. Annie Besant's Exhortation*

Though Dr. Besant is past 80 and had been recently ill and is still weak, she was able to deliver a brief and inspiring address at the Theosophical Society's 56th annual convention. Her exhortation is of value to Theosophists and others alike. We are hemmed in by so many social, religious and political 'forbiddens' on all sides that we feel cramped. At such a time and in such a country we needed to be told by an old and tried warrior :

> Most of you are afraid to trust yourselves, but that is a great mistake.
>
> Learn to trust the Divine in you. There lies your real strength. You *are* Divine. You don't want to look up to the skies to find the Divine; look into your own heart, and the Divine is alive in you. It is you who can send out, each of you round himself, the Life that comes from above. Do not be distrustful ; that poisons your usefulness. Trust God in you more than you trust God up in the sky, or God down somewhere in the world, you don't know where. Trust God in your own heart ; and He is always with you, for your heart is always the Life in you, and that Life is Divine.
>
> Believe in the Self within you, the God within you, and then you will live the noblest life because it is a life of love.

### *Mrs. Nazir Hussain at All-India Women's Conference*

At the recent 6th annual session of the All-India Women's Conference on Educational and Social Reform held at Madras under the presidency of Mrs. P. K. Ray, Mrs. Nazir Hussain delivered a fine address as president of the reception committee. From it we learn that in Madras,

> Musalman girls are exempted from the free compulsory education scheme ; but now they have realized the disadvantages of this step and have strongly demanded the inclusion of Muslim girls also in that scheme. We hope that the Corporation and the Government would very soon satisfy this legitimate demand of Muslim women.

She had no difficulty in quoting examples from the past and present history of India in proof of Indian women's capacity and in support of her claim that in the future constitution of India women should have perfect equality and rights of equal citizenship with men. She then made a feeling appeal for communal harmony and co-operation, saying :

> We all know that our country is at present passing through a critical and very important political period......But it is very unfortunate that at this time, when the largest amount of harmony is required between the different communities of India, we are disunited. But there is a silver lining to the clouds. It is a matter of no small happiness to witness women of all communities joining in this Conference, working side by side for a common cause. This is a shining example for our men. If they have failed in this duty of theirs, then we should realize our onerous responsibility and each one of us should make it a point to force her husband, brothers and children to remain in perfect love and harmony with those of the sister communities. Unless this is accomplished, India will not be able to make any political advance worth the name.

Her appeal to her sisters to support our indigenous industries was telling. Said she :

> India is the poorest country in the whole world, and the world-wide economic depression of the last two years has almost ruined our cultivators and artizans.
>
> Dear Sisters ! When we go out for purchasing beautiful dresses for ourselves and our children, is it not our duty to remember our unfortunate sisters and their children, whom a little attention on our part can save from starvation ? It is very unjust that our own brothers and sisters should be starved to death and we should fill the coffers of foreign capitalists for the sake of our decoration. I have to request particularly the sisters of my community, who have not fully realized the crying need of starving Indians. I wish they would encourage Indian industries at least to the extent that our sisters of other communities in India do.

## *Mrs. P. K. Ray's Address*

Mrs. P. K. Ray's presidential address at the All-India Women's Conference was thoughtful and excellent, befitting her position as an educational leader and as the wife of the veteran professor and philosopher who has just gone to his rest. As regards the education of girls, she asked :

> Have we ourselves got any particular vision on the point ? Do we feel we are producing the right type of womanhood in India to-day through our institutions, that would be a glory to India in the future ? I am sure you all believe that we have some distinctive characteristics of our own as Indian women. Whatever the reason may be, either climate, environment, tradition, custom or religion, each nation has its own specialities of nature. The self-abnegation, self-restraint, and the spirit of self-sacrifice of Indian widows, the catholicity of outlook and the spirit of tolerance of the old grandmothers, the sense of justice and the power of administration of the joint-family mothers, are assets that India can be proud of.

She referred next to the changed and changing conditions and what changes in education these required.

> Conditions have changed. We are quite certain that early marriage should be abolished, that the depressed classes should be lifted up, that women must go out into the world and earn their own livelihood, that wives must be equal partners and companions in marriage, and even that divorces are right under certain circumstances. Indian ideals of life and conduct are rapidly undergoing many changes and they must change if we are to attain the full development of our womanhood. But have our educational institutions and homes taken any notice of those changes ? Are we befitting our girls to the changed condition of things through their education in schools and colleges or at home ? Now, by abolishing early marriage we are taking the tremendous responsibility of the adolescent period of the girl's life. Not only the intellectual side of her nature, but the spiritual side has also to be thought of. Her conduct and character have to be moulded before she passes out of her school and college period, and launches herself into the world. I do not say that institutions alone can do everything—the responsibility arises first in the home. Yet I feel educational institutions can do a great deal.

She laid stress on moral and spiritual instruction and training.

> All our educational institutions should have in their curriculum some instruction on the moral and spiritual side of life. I do not wish to call it religious instruction, because we cannot introduce dogmas and catechisms or special tenets of any kind, in places where different sects and communities are gathered together ; but some form of instruction, which would awaken in the children the love for truth and justice, the spirit of reverence, of worship, of discipline, the tendency of looking beyond the sordid and mundane, the power of right-thinking, self-analysis and contemplation,—in short, to awaken in them the spirit of idealism of life—is absolutely necessary.

To her mind, she said, the social and educational questions are interconnected with one another. "Homes are the units that form society. Amongst all nations women are considered to be the bedrock of society."

## *Guru Govind Singh Anniversary*

On the 15th January last the birthday anniversary of Guru Govind Singh was celebrated at Lahore and other places with great enthusiasm. In this connection the imaginative and idealistic picture of Baba Nanak and Guru Govind Singh which we publish in this issue may be appreciated.

At the Lahore celebration Rao Gopal Singh Rathore of Kharwa paid a glowing tribute to the Guru. Said he, in part :

Guru Govind Singh was the saviour of the Hindu race and Hindu culture and every Hindu was proud of him. He was the incarnation of all that is best in Hindu thought and Hindu philosophy. Guru Govind Singh was a true Karma Yogin of the Gita ideal. He believed in the salvation of Hindustan and the Hindu race through Karma Yoga. His own teachings were quite in conformity with the Gita's teachings of Bhakti through Shakti, nay Mukti through Shakti.

Guru Govind Singh, Rao Sahib continued, was not the exclusive property of the Sikhs. The Hindus have been revering and will continue with equal fervour to revere the heroic achievements of Guru Sahib.

The learned speaker deplored the Hindu and Sikh schism in the Panjab, which he characterized as superficial and unnaturals Hindus and Sikhs by race, origin, tradition, history, social customs and religious ideals were one and the same and their political and economic interests in the Panjab were quite identical. They were practically sailing in the same boat. He warned his audience against the suicidal move of separation strong amongst certain sections of the Sikhs. Guru Govind Singh belonged to the Aryan Solar Dynasty. The present movement of separation was unreal and dated only 25 or 30 years back and was detrimental to the real progress of both the Sikhs and the Hindus.

Rao Sahib concluded his speech, which was punctuated with repeated Jaikaras and listened to with rapt attention, with a prayer for the rebirth of Guru Govind Singhji for the deliverance of the Hindu race.

## A Great Dictionary

*The Indian Daily Mail* publishes the news that a colossal dictionary of Gujarati, at a cost of Rs. 5,00,000 and containing 2,50,000 words, besides several thousands of illustrations and quotations, has been completed by the orders of H. H. the Maharaja of Gondal.

## Ghosh's Diaries

As we write, we have before us a copy of Ghosh's *Hindusthan Diary* for 1932. Its paper and get-up are excellent. Besides giving a foolscap folio page for each day, it gives 48 pages of useful information. Ghosh's Diaries are of various sizes and prices and styles of binding and are sold by M. C. Sarkar and Sons.

## "To Crush the Congress at once"

*New India* writes :

> The Ordinances bear out the information telegraphed to *The Madras Mail* by its Special Correspondent at Delhi, that the Government's plan is to crush the Congress and all other defiant organizations at once, "instead of the machinery of the law gathering momentum by the process of use." The plan has been ready, according to the same source of information, for some time, so that the Government has not been taken by surprise by the recent developments either in the U. P. and the Frontier Province or at the Congress Working Committee's meeting.

There is no question that the Congress as an organization can be crushed. But the earnest longing for freedom at the earliest possible moment which the Congress represents cannot be killed. It will incarnate itself in new forms as often as may be necessary.

## Rabindranath's Message to Students Mutilated

At the request of the students of Calcutta Rabindranath Tagore gave them a message. We saw that message in manuscript on the evening of the 25th of January last. When it appeared in the Calcutta Indian dailies the next morning, it was found that forty-four words were missing in it after the words "catastrophic in character." We are informed that these words were omitted by order of the Government censor. If that is so, we must say, that officer is overworked and was in consequence unable to bear in mind what he had passed or not interfered with some days ago during the same month of January. His memory not having served him well, his censoring has not been consistent and logical in this case. In the poet's message to the students he said in the second sentence, "I have already delivered that message, which I can only repeat," and then proceeded to repeat almost word for word part of the message given to the people, and published *in its entirety* in the Indian press, after Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. What has been expunged from the message to the students formed part, almost *verbatim*, of the message to the people as published in the Indian dailies. In our opinion, the expunged portion was harmless even from the Government point of view, as it reminded the students of the opportunity to engage in a "creative endeavour in the building of their freedom." We express this opinion on the assumption that it is not the intention of Government to prevent or restrict such constructive work.

## *Censorship in Different Provinces*

The work of censoring being in the hands of different officers in different provinces, censorship does not and cannot follow the same standards and principles in all the provinces. An example will make this clear.

At a social reception organized by the Commonwealth of India League its President, Mr. Bertrand Russell, said certain things with regard to the Indian policy of the British Government and the situation in India. Later, at a large meeting at Trafalgar Square, arranged by the Friends of India Society and presided over by Dr. Charles Smith, Mr. Kenworthy, Mr. Belden, Miss Muriel Lester and Mr. Laurence Housman, etc., made speeches relating to India. Brief reports of the speeches of Mr. Bertrand Russell and others were sent to India by the Free Press Beam Service. *All* these were allowed to be published in Bombay, but not in Bengal. If the people of Bombay have a right to know what famous Britishers like Betrand Russell, Laurence Housman and Kenworthy are saying about the Indian situation, the people of Bengal also have that right.

In a recent Government circular to editors printers and publishers of newspapers in Bengal, dated 27th January, it is said that "Government wish it to be understood that they have no desire to interfere with honest journalism." But from what is allowed to be done in Bombay but prevented in Bengal one would infer that what is honest journalism in Bombay is not honest journalism in Bengal—according to Government, of course.

We must also say that we feel unduly and unreasonably hampered in our journalistic work by the various laws and ordinances and circulars relating to the Press and by censorship, though we are honest journalists in our own opinion and in the opinion of our countrymen; and it is poor consolation to be told that Government do not desire to interfere with honest journalism. Such a desire may not exist and Government's idea of honest journalism may differ from ours, but we regret to have to observe that there is practically interference with honest journalism, however unintended such interference may be. We also object to the use of the word "honest" in this connection. The publication of certain things in the Press may be contrary to Government's interest and policy for the time being, but that does not necessarily make such publication dishonest. What has been or may be made a technical offence under certain circumstances does not necessarily become ethically wrong owing to that fact. The ethical character of actions does not depend on the exigencies of Governments. Officers of Government may, quite consistently with their loyalty to Government, believe that even those whom they may be under the necessity of punishing for technical offences or whose freedom they have to restrict, are quite as honest as themselves.

## *What Happens at Chittagong*

The Press has been forbidden to publish any news relating to the troops and police stationed in the district and town of Chittagong, except such as may be allowed to be published by the Commissioner of the Chittagong division. The private individual who may hold that office for the time being, may be quite honest and sincere, but neither omniscient, nor infallible in judgment, nor free from unconscious bias and partiality. For this reason we consider this rule detrimental to the interests of justice and good government.

The following item of news appeared in the dailies last month :

> CHITTAGONG, JAN. 7.
> (Passed by Censor)
>
> Three men who on December 26 last searched several houses at night at East Noapara, are alleged to have entered the house occupied by Sj. Manindra De and raped his wife, as a result of which she became senseless and also sustained injuries.
>
> Next morning the special Magistrate at the Noapara Camp informed the D. I. G. of Police under whose orders investigation was held and those three men were arrested after they had been identified by Manindra Babu and his wife.
>
> Manindra Babu's wife was removed to hospital. Charge-sheet against those three men has been submitted and the date of the trial has been fixed for January 9 next.—Free Press.

What happened afterwards was either not published in the papers or escaped our notice. Nobody can either assert or deny that other similar events have not happened in Chittagong.

### *"Issues Raised by the Attitude of the Congress"*

The Governor General in Council has published in *The Gazette of India*, January 4, a statement, placing before the public "the issues raised by the attitude of Congress and their declared intention to launch a general campaign of civil disobedience." All the persons who were in the best position to answer, comment on, criticize and controvert this statement, where necessary, were imprisoned before it was issued and they are still in jail. Hence it must necessarily remain unexamined from the point of view of Congress, the other party to the controversy. The task of examining it could have been performed by Indian journalists also. But they have to work under so many and such vague, elastic and undefined restrictions that they, too, cannot attempt to do so. For all these reasons, the Viceroy's inaugural address to the Assembly will not also have the advantage of thorough criticism.

Nevertheless, Government may be asked to consider whether certain passages and sentences in the statement were unambiguously accurate, or were applicable only to the Congress.

Referring to "the campaign of civil disobedience," the Statement speaks of "the consequent loss of life and property." Government should consider whether they want it to be understood that it is the civil-disobedience-campaigners who destroyed life and property. In stating how the Delhi settlement of March 5, 1931, came to pass, it is said that there was "steadily decreasing support of the public" to the civil disobedience movement before that event. Only Congress leaders, who are all in jail, can authoritatively support or contradict that statement. It is said, the Government of India "and the local Governments scrupulously observed the terms of the settlement." Before their incarceration leading Congressmen had complained repeatedly, mentioning concrete cases, of the non-observance of the terms of the settlement by officers of Government. Further light on the point at issue cannot now be thrown.

There is a long passage in the statement charging Congress with making preparations for a renewal of the struggle by taking advantage of the settlement. Not having participated in the movement, we cannot authoritatively say that no such preparations were made by the Congress. But it is a fact that Government has found it easy to seize Congress money, to prevent the operation of bank accounts and to arrest and detain swiftly a considerable number of persons who at or immediately before the time of their arrest were not doing anything unlawful. All this could be done easily and swiftly because Government was not faced suddenly with the outbreak of civil disobedience. Rather, as Congress has all along been an open, *not a secret*, movement, Congress leaders, though some of them had *talked* of preparations, had not taken care to conceal their funds, their sinews of "war", so effectively as to defy the Government detectives to discover and seize them, which would not have been at all difficult to do. Nevertheless, if it be a fact that Congress had utilized the "truce" to make preparations for a renewal of the struggle, it appears to be no less a fact that Government, too, had done the same. If an official statement is to take rank as an impartial historical document, it should state both sides of a case. *The Free Press Journal* of Bombay published on the 12th January last a document, alleged to be a Government circular, dated July 1, 1931, which gives some idea of the preparations Government were making. If that document be not authentic, there are other indications. For example, on page 18 of the "Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta and its Suburbs" for the year 1930, on which the Government resolution was written on July 18, 1931, it is written:

> With the promulgation of the Press Ordinance an effective instrument was provided for dealing with newspapers generally, but experience has shown that a temporary Ordinance is unable to achieve permanent results. It was also evident in the present campaign (of Civil Disobedience) that action was taken too late, the harm had been done before the Ordinance appeared. In dealing with a movement of this sort it is essential that the Government or the courts should have powers to demand security from keepers of presses and publishers of newspapers so that action can be taken immediately it becomes apparent that the Press is indulging in

> a campaign to further a movement likely to be subversive of law and order and public tranquillity. It therefore appears essential to secure that a modified Press Act be placed on the statute book without delay.

This was written at least seven months ago. Even then a Press Act was thought necessary to cope with Civil Disobedience though the movement had then been stopped. Accordingly, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 was subsequently enacted, the ostensible object stated being to combat terrorism.

Throughout the statement great anxiety appears to be evinced to prove that Congress is just like any other political organization in India, and hence not entitled to be considered as having a more representative character than any other political body or to act as an intermediary between the Government and the people. But whatever the present Government of India or its head may say, it is a fact that Congress has been the most active, the most influential, the largest and the most self-sacrificing representative organization in India. This was admitted, in different phraseology, by Lord Irwin and his Government. And it stands to reason, too, that the organization which has had the privilege of working and suffering most for India's freedom should consider itself entitled to claim a far greater representative character than any other body. A prominent co-operating Liberal like Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has recently stated that "it is the Congress which has the ear of the public and that a non-Congress speaker will find it extremely difficult to get a hearing from the public, if he speaks against the Congress."

As Mr. Gandhi is now in prison, there is no means of knowing what Government communicated to him "on several occasions" regarding the N. W. F. "Red Shirt" movement and the U. P. agrarian agitation and what was his reply.

The official charge against the Congress that "under the guise of peaceful persuasion, they have employed the methods of intimidation and coercion to impose on individuals and concerns an intolerable system of tyranny," leaves the impression that there has been little or no *peaceful* persuasion on its part and that the methods of the Congress have been entirely or almost entirely methods of intimidation and coercion. Government should consider whether this is an accurate impression.

The statement refers to "the specific threat of a general renewal of civil disobedience" which Mr. Gandhi's telegram of January 1 to the Viceroy has been construed to contain, and observes that "there could be no co-operation under a continuous menace of the renewal of civil disobedience." With regard to this constructive alleged threat, Mr. Gandhi observed in his telegram to the Viceroy, dated January 3, "surely it is wrong to describe honest expression of opinion as threat." What more the Mahatma has said on the point may be read in that telegram, reproduced on page 195 of this issue.

What is very remarkable is that the official statement makes no mention of Mr. Gandhi's first telegram to the Viceroy, that of the 29th December 1931. *That telegram at least contained no threat.* As the statement is a defence of what Government have done, it ought to have contained the reasons why Lord Willingdon could not grant an unconditional interview to Mr. Gandhi but laid down the conditions that the latter could see His Excellency only on the clear understanding that "he (the Viceroy) will not be prepared to discuss with you (Mr. Gandhi) measures which Government of India with the full approval of His Majesty's Government have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, United Provinces and North-West Frontier Province." The omission of any reference to Mr. Gandhi's first telegram to the Viceroy and of any defence of the Viceroy's reply to it, makes the statement quite unconvincing. In the Viceroy's inaugural address, too, to the Assembly there is no mention of this first telegram of Mr. Gandhi or any defence of his reply thereto. If His Excellency had stood on his dignity and refused to justify his action, that could be understood. But as he has allowed an *apologia* to be published, he ought to have seen to it that it was complete and convincing.

One sentence in the statement runs thus :

> "His Majesty's Government and Parliament were committed to a scheme of constitutional reform which had been accepted as reasonable by the great majority of delegates to the Round Table Conference."

It should have been added that all these "delegates" were nominees of the Government, not persons elected by the people of India, and that their combined following is much smaller than that of Mr. Gandhi.

The 4th section of the statement contains the following sentence:

> "Experience has proved time and again that in this country civil disobedience cannot be carried on without violence and Mr. Gandhi has himself spoken of the sacrifice of a million lives."

By those who do not know the facts this sentence may be taken to suggest that the civil disobedience movement has been generally, if not entirely, carried on by its workers by recourse to violence and that Mr. Gandhi spoke of the sacrifice of a million lives as the possible result of such recourse to violence on the part of Congress workers. We do not think this would be an impartial historian's characterization of the methods of *satyagrahis* or his interpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's preparedness for the sacrifice of a million lives.

The last section of the statement contains the sentences,

> "........there is a body to which has twice been offered an opportunity, without precedent, of assisting towards the political advancement of the country. It has twice rejected the offer and has twice chosen to follow the path of destruction rather than of constructive effort.

Time will judge whether Congress wanted merely to destroy and to destroy things that are good.

As regards the starting of the second civil disobedience campaign, the statement is incomplete without a reference to Mr. Gandhi's first telegram and the Viceroy's reply thereto, containing the conditions on which Mr. Gandhi might have an interview with His Excellency.

### *Viceroy's Inaugural Address in the Assembly*

In his inaugural address to the Legislative Assembly, the Viceroy drew a roseate picture of the agricultural and economic position of the country. In our opinion the picture is not faithful, though it may be hoped the Viceroy may be right and we wrong. He thinks India is gaining by the huge exports of gold. We disagree.

As regards the political situation, His Excellency has tried to convince the public that his Government had tried their best to secure the co-operation of the Congress and that it was the latter which had rejected the proffered hand of friendship. We think otherwise. We think that if Lord Willingdon had agreed to grant Mr. Gandhi an unconditional interview, the prestige of the Government would not have suffered in the least and there would have been a considerable chance of the prevention of a renewal of civil disobedience. But perhaps His Excellency's advisers' confidence in "preparedness" was too great to allow them to throw away the chance of crushing the Congress; and thus the opportunity was lost of convincing and receiving the co-operation of the Congress. Whether that conjecture be right or wrong, it must be a sad reflection for those who neither share the sufferings of the *satyagrahis* and others nor can terminate them, that it has not been possible to endeavour to solve the Indian political problem in a calm atmosphere. The following passage in Lord Willingdon's speech does not encourage the hope of an early termination of the struggle, particularly as stiffness on one side may stiffen the other party:

> "There can be no compromise in this matter. I and my Government are determined to use to the full the resources of the State in fighting and defeating a movement which would otherwise remain a perpetual menace to orderly government and individual liberty, while the Government will take all the requisite steps to guard against any abuse of the special powers it has been necessary to take. There can be no relaxation of the measures now in force against civil disobedience so long as the circumstances exist which make them necessary."

His Excellency concluded his address with the words:

> "I feel it a great pride and privilege, towards the end of my public life, to be leading India to her promised position as an absolutely equal partner with the other Dominions under the Crown."

What of the safe-guards during an indefinitely long period of transition? Do the did these, exist in the case of "the other Dominions?" And is the "promise" referred to a "pledge" or only a "declaration of intention," as the Premier would say? Of course, India will win political equality with free countries. It would be good for Britain if it does not happen in spite of her efforts to the contrary.

### *First Muslim Premchand Roychand Scholar*

The Premchand Roychand Research Scholarship in science for 1930 was awarded to Dr. Muhammad Qudrat-i-Khuda, D. Sc. (London), Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta, by the University of Calcutta. Dr. Qudrat-i-Khuda is the first Muslim to obtain this studentship since its inauguration in 1868.

### *Regulation Prisoners*

In reply to a question asked by Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra in the Legislative Assembly, Sir James Crerar, the Home Member, gave a list of the persons imprisoned under Regulation 3 of 1818 and Regulation 25 of 1827. The list contains 30 names, of whom 20 are Bengalis. According to creed 8 are Muhammadans. Besides these thirty Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel also have been detained under a Regulation.

### *N.-W. F. to be a Governor's Province*

In the N.-W. Frontier Province actual cuffing and promised caressing are going on simultaneously. Items constituting the former are many. As for the latter, it has been notified that that area is to be made a Governor's province on such date as may be announced later. Why has not the date been announced now? And, if all the other regions which are at present Governor's provinces are soon to have a more advanced constitution, why is the N.-W. F. province to have only the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms? But if the latter province is also to have the constitution vaguely promised to the former provinces, why undergo the expense and trouble of giving it first one constitution and then soon replacing it by another?

It is to be noted in this connection that the Frontier Province Reform Committee have recommended that that province should have 4 seats in the Legislative Assembly instead of 1 as at present, and that in addition it should also have 2 seats in the Council of State.

In order to placate the Moslems and wean them from the national movement decisions are being arrived at more rapidly with regard to the Frontier and Sind than with regard to Orissa, Andhra-Desa, etc.

### *War Between Japan and China*

Practically Japan had invaded China some months ago, though it is only within the last few days that the war appears to have been admitted as war. Despite the acceptance by China of the Japanese demands, the Japanese admiral has occupied the city of Chapei adjoining the International Settlement at Shanghai. There has been terrible fighting. China had previously drawn the attention of the League of Nations to Japan's action. Pourparlers had been going on, both China's and Japan's representatives taking part in them. But the Japanese military and naval authorities have not allowed any such wordy nonsense to stand in the way of their aggressive advance.

Four U. S. A. destroyers left for Shanghai at eight o'clock on January 29 last.

> Geneva, Jan. 29.
>
> China has officially invoked Articles 10 and 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and it reserves the right to invoke any other article it may feel compelled to resort to. This action taken by China has placed the Council in the most embarrassing position. The public meeting of the League Council fixed for this morning was adjourned till this afternoon, ostensibly because the agenda was not ready.—Reuter.

Both China and Japan are members of the League of Nations. Article 10 and the first paragraph of Article 15 of the Covenant of the League run as follows:

> Article 10. The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.
>
> Article 15. Paragraph I. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute

likely to lead to a rupture which is not submitted to arbitration or *judicial settlement* in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

Article 15 consists of ten paragraphs, of which the first has been quoted above ; the remaining ones describe the procedure to be adopted by the Council when a matter is submitted to it.

### *Sino-Japanese Dispute and the League Council*

*News for Overseas,* for November-December 1931, published by the League of Nations contains a brief report of the proceedings of the League Council's special session in Paris to consider the Sino-Japanese dispute. This session was held on the 16th November last under the presidency of M. Briand. After detailed and difficult discussions the President submitted the following resolution on December 9 at a public meeting of the Council :

The Council

1. Reaffirms the resolution passed unanimously by it on September 30th, 1931, by which the two Parties declare that they are solemnly bound. It therefore calls upon the Chinese and Japanese Governments to take all steps necessary to assure its execution, so that the withdrawal of the Japanese troops within the railway zone may be effected as speedily as possible under the conditions set forth in the said resolution.

2. Considering that events have assumed an even more serious aspect since the Council Meeting of October 24th,

Notes that the two Parties undertake to adopt all measures necessary to avoid any further aggravation of the situation and to refrain from any initiative which may lead to further fighting and loss of life.

3. Invites the two Parties to continue to keep the Council informed as to the development of the situation.

4. Invites the other Members of the Council to furnish the Council with any information received from their representatives on the spot.

5. Without prejudice to the carrying out of the above-mentioned measures,

Desiring, in view of the special circumstances of the case, to contribute towards a final and fundamental solution by the two Governments of the questions at issue between them,

Decides to appoint a Commission of five members to study on the spot and to report to the Council on any circumstance which, affecting international relations, threatens to disturb peace between China and Japan, or the good understanding between them, upon which peace depends.

The Governments of China and of Japan will each have the right to nominate one assessor to assist the Commission.

The two Governments will afford the Commission all facilities to obtain on the spot whatever information it may require.

It is understood that, should the two Parties initiate any negotiations, these would not fall within the scope of the terms of reference of the Commission, nor would it be within the competence of the Commission to interfere with the military arrangements of either Party.

The appointment and deliberations of the Commission shall not prejudice in any way the undertaking given by the Japanese Government in the resolution of September 30th as regards the withdrawal of the Japanese troops within the railway zone.

6. Between now and its next ordinary Session, which will be held on January 25th, 1932, the Council, which remains seized of the matter, invites its President to follow the question and to summon it afresh if necessary.

On December 10, M. Yoshizawa, the Japanese representative, in accepting the resolution on behalf of his Government, said :

> "With regard to Paragraph 2 of the draft resolution now before the Council, I am happy to accept it on behalf of the Japanese Government, on the understanding that this paragraph is not intended to preclude the Japanese forces from taking such action as may be rendered necessary to provide directly for the protection of the lives and property of Japanese subjects against the activity of bandits and lawless elements rampant in various parts of Manchuria. Such action is admittedly an exceptional measure called for by the special situation prevailing in Manchuria, and its necessity will naturally be obviated when normal conditions shall have been restored in that region."

Dr. Sze, the Chinese representative, said that his Government accepted the resolution as interpreted by the President, but it was his duty to place on record certain observations and reservations in point of princlple as follows :

> 1. China reserves all rights to which it is entitled under the provisions of the Covenant, under existing treaties to which China is a party and under the accepted principles of international law.
>
> 2. The present arrangement evidenced by the resolution and the statement made by the President is regarded by China as a practical measure embodying four essential and inter-dependent elements :
>
> (*a*) Immediate cessation of hostilities,
>
> (*b*) Liquidation of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria within the shortest possible time.
>
> (*c*) Neutral observation and reporting upon all developments from now on.
>
> (*d*) A comprehensive enquiry into the entire Manchurian situation on the spot by a Commission appointed by the Council.

> The failure of any one of the stipulations of the agreement to materialize would mean the failure of the whole agreement.
>
> 3. China expects that the Commission will make it its first duty to enquire into and report with its recommendations on the withdrawal of the Japanese forces, if such withdrawal has not been completed when the Commission arrives on the ground.
>
> 4. China assumes that the said arrangement neither directly nor by implication affects the question of reparations due to China as a result of events in Manchuria.
>
> 5. China considers that the injunction to the parties not to aggravate the situation should not be violated under the pretext of the existence of lawlessness caused by the state of affairs in Manchuria. The only sure way of restoring peace in Manchuria, is to hasten the withdrawal of Japanese troops. China cannot tolerate the occupation of her territory by foreign troops; far less can she permit these troops to usurp the police functions of the Chinese authorities.
>
> 6. China will, from time to time, as occasion requires, indicate the localities to which it seems desirable to despatch neutral observers.
>
> 7. It should be understood that in agreeing to this resolution, China in no way recedes from the position she has always taken with respect to the maintainance of military forces in the railway zone.
>
> 8. China would regard any attempt by Japan to bring about complications of a political character affecting China's territorial or administrative integrity as an obvious violation of the undertaking to avoid any further aggravation of the situation.

Lord Cecil (Great Britain) said in part :

> there could be no doubt that the position in Manchuria was difficult and exceptional ; it might well be that circumstances might arise which might cause danger to Japanese lives and property from elements of the population out of control, and, if an emergency of that kind should arise, it might become inevitable that Japanese forces in the neighbourhood should take action against bandits and the like.

But who is to define "bandits and the like"? All Chinese who are not pro-Japanese and not traitors to their country are likely to be classed by the Japanese as "bandits and the like."

The resolution was put to the vote and unanimously adopted. This was followed by the President's final declaration and speeches by Lord Cecil, M. DE Madariaga, M. Matos (Guatemala), M. VON Mutius (Germany), M. DE Chlapowski (Poland), and M. Gonzalez Prada (Peru), M. Garay (Panama) and M. Sze (China).

The observations of M. Gonzales Prada of Peru require to be quoted on account of their importance. Said he, in part :

> Nothing in the text adopted must be interpreted as infringing the following principles :
>
> 1. No State is entitled to effect a military occupation of another's territory in order to ensure the execution of certain treaties ;
>
> 2. No State has the right, having invaded another's territory, to oblige the latter to enter into direct negotiations on the scope and legal value of conventions already existing between the two States ;
>
> 3. The exercise of the right which every State possesses to provide for the protection of the persons and property of its nationals must be limited by respect for the sovereignty of the other State, no State having the right, in order to ensure this protection, to authorize its military forces to enter the other State's territory in order to carry out police operations.

M. Garay of Panama spoke in a similar strain. M. Sze of China said :

> 4. The fact that a State possesses rights, claims, economic concessions, etc., in relation to another State does not entitle the former to undertake a military occupation of the territories or to seize the property of the debtor State. Any recovery of debts by coercion is precluded, in accordance with the principles accepted at the Second Peace Conference (The Hague, 1907).
>
> He concluded that the measures adopted exceptionally by the Council, justifiable though they might be by their immediate purpose to avert war, must in no case be interpreted as a renunciation of the international principles relating to the defence of the rights and interests of weak countries, and his approval of the resolution was given in this spirit.
>
> It had been remarked that the question before the Council had a special character. China could not admit that the validity of pacts and treaties stopped at the frontiers of Manchuria. The situation in the Chinchow district was normal ; there was no movement of troops and no preparations for an attack on the Japanese positions. The Chinese Government was not contemplating any change in its policy in this respect.

### *Japan and "Scraps of Paper"*

In a previous note Japan's practical repudiation of solemn international undertakings has been referred to. She is one of the signatories to the Covenant of the League of Nations, of which article 10 and part of Article 15 have been already quoted. By signing that Covenant Japan, along with other signatories, agreed to submit any dispute likely to lead to a rupture to arbitration or judicial settlement and also agreed in no case to resort to war until three months after the arbitrators' award or the judicial decision or the report by the League Council. She has broken this agreement.

Japan and other interested powers who signed the Washington Nine Powers' Pact of 1922, agreed thereby to respect the integrity of China and the policy of 'open door' and equal treatment to all and to refrain from taking military action without previous concert with the other signatories. She has broken this agreement.

Lastly, by signing the Kellogg Pact, Japan, with other signatory nations, agreed to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to adopt peaceful methods of settling disputes. This pact she has broken.

### *Belgium and Manchuria*

When in 1914 Germany invaded Belgium, Great Britain came to the rescue of the latter. When 17 and 18 years later Japan invades Chinese territory in Manchuria, Great Britain does not come to China's rescue. Why this difference?

### *An Edifying Contradiction*

A Government of Bengal *communique*, dated January 29, 1931, states :

> The attention of Government has been drawn to a newspaper article in which it is stated that innumerable men and women have been arrested and are being detained, not for doing any overt act or defying any provision of the Ordinances, but on suspicion. The fact is that the actual number of persons arrested under section 3, Ordinance II of 1932, which is the only section which authorizes the arrest of suspected persons other than terrorists, is 156 only in the province of Bengal.

One hundred and fifty-six persons are certainly not innumerable. But 156 in about 4 weeks is a pretty good bag, too.

### *The "Dogs" and the "Caravan"*

Reuter cabled on the 29th January 1931 from London :

> "Though the dogs bark, the caravan passes on," these words concluded the talk which Sir Samuel Hoare broadcast to-night, "taking stock" of the situation in India.

It is greatly to be regretted that, although all the principal "dogs" of the Congress pack have been clapped in Yeravda and other prisons and the rest gagged, the echoes of their previous barking should disturb the cultured and gentlemanly Secretary of State for India after traversing 6,000 miles of land and sea. But it is to be hoped that soon the caravan will pass through the silence of a desert which they call peace.

### *St. James's and Yeravda*

The Red Shirt movement and the so-call no-rent campaign in U. P. figure prominen in Lord Willingdon's apologia to which have devoted some space in a previo note. These movements, which are counts His Excellency's indictment of Congress, d not suddenly make their appearance af Mr. Gandhi's return to India. They we going on when Gandhiji was honoured a fêted at St. James's. What happened in t mean time to fit him for the edifice in Yerav which he good-humouredly called a pala while residing there on a previous occasion?

### *Disarmament and Armageddon*

The League of Nations has convened disarmament conference to meet at Gene on February 2. That is in the We In the East Japan considers it a go opportunity to put on the armour discarded by the West. But are they of the We serious about it ?

It must be a jolly good world whe disarmament and armageddon co-exist.

### *Disarmament and Bankruptcy*

If previous experience is of any value an indication, a good deal of sceptic regarding the Disarmament Confere seems to be no more than justified. use a phrase, employed by M. Lounatchars the head of the Soviet delegation on Preparatory Commission, what these offi schemes of disarmament lack is the will disarm. But the disarmament question longer depends solely upon officials or Gove ments. The greatest guarantee of wo peace today is the growing anti-milita feeling of the younger generation and the f of bankruptcy as a result of the race armaments. Even in Japan, youth is turn away from war, and everywhere the burden armaments has become intolerable. Tw years after the signing of the Peace Trea which were to have inaugurated the reign peace upon this world, the Powers are sp ing 37 per cent more upon armam than what they did in 1913. Today military expenditure of Great Britain is per cent higher than that of 1913, tha

France 30 per cent, Italy 44 per cent, Japan 142 per cent, Russia 30 per cent, and the United States 197 per cent. Even allowing for the differences of price level in 1913 and 1931 this represents a substantial increase. As Mr. Alanson B. Houghton, the former United States Ambassador to Germany and Great Britain, says :

> Not a single nation today, one or two smaller ones possibly excepted, can honestly assert that its budget balances. Governmental deficits exist in every country, and in every country new and heavier loads of taxation must, necessarily, be imposed on the already staggering burden. What wonder, then, that economic conditions everywhere are unsettled and threatening, that the sources of credit are drying up, that values are steadily diminishing, and that men are fearful of the future ? What wonder that the growing cost of government seriously threatens the stability of our whole economic structure ? Is it not high time that we took counsel together as to the direction in which we are now all moving ?

It is thus to be hoped that bankruptcy will put a stop to armaments, if nothing else will.

In this connection we invite attention to the important article on disarmament published in this issue, from the pen of Dr. Kurt Trampler, who is a well-known German authority on the subject.

## *A Liberal on Fruits of Co-operation*

Interviewed by a representative of the *Pioneer* Mr. C. Y. Chintamani said among other things :

> "What is it that we non-Congress men can place before the public as our substantial achievement in recent years ?" declared Mr. Chintamani. "We can only point to the intolerable load of new taxation, which has been imposed on the country in spite of us. We shall have to admit that our efforts to reduce that load have failed, that the law confers on the Executive Government the power of acting without support of the legislature. Then there are Ordinances, the sum total of which in plain language is Martial Law minus its name."

But the Liberals have got a *"declaration of intention"* (*not* a pledge) from Olympia of bringing about better results next time. And their Faith is great. And they believe in political salvation by Faith, not by Works.

## *Conviction of Mr. M. N. Roy*

On the charge of conspiring to wage war against the King-Emperor Mr. M. N. Roy has been sentenced to 12 years' incarceration. The evidence against him has not appeared in full in any paper. But there were complaints published in the papers that he was not getting proper facilities for defence. Assuming, however, that the charge against him has been proved, the war for which there was a conspiracy was more a paper war than a real one. Whatever terrible visions of a possible peasants' revolution might be conjured up, 12 years is a very, very severe sentence for what Mr. M. N. Roy did. But we are living in times when Jawaharlal and Brelvi got 2 years for mere technical "offences" and Abhyankar 3 years and a fine of Rs. 10,000 for ditto.

## *Some Meerut Accused Give up Defence*

The Meerut correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* wrote to that paper on the 25th January that a surprise was sprung that day by ten of the accused in the Meerut conspiracy case when they filed before the court a statement in which they declared that they were giving up defence, as far as the defence witnesses were concerned, as a protest against the refusal by the Government and the Sessions Judge to allow them facilities to produce the evidence of defence witnesses from foreign countries.

> The statement stressed the importance of the evidence of the foreign witnesses cited by the accused, and pointed out that the prosecution had brought nine witnesses from England and two from French territory, and their expenses were paid by the Government.

The accused should certainly in all fairness have been allowed to call witnesses from foreign countries at Government expense, at least to the number of 11. This becomes all the more obvious in view of the huge expense incurred by the Government in conducting the prosecution.

The statement further points out that

> the head of the alleged conspiracy, according to the prosecution, is the Communist International and allied organizations, and the line of defence adopted by the signatories is not to dissociate themselves from those bodies and their programmes, but, on the other hand, to defend the policies of those organizations and to prove that they do not contravene the law. This being the case, "the evidence as to the policy and principle of these bodies, which can be given by the foreign witnesses cited, was of the greatest value, while the type of evidence in regard to details and activities which can be given by wit-

nesses from India was of a minor importance. The signatories claimed in their statement that in the absence of foreign witnesses, the judgment of the case would be in effect an *ex-parte* judgment.

Counsel on behalf of Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad, who is lying ill in Calcutta, stated that in view of the disabilities under which the defence was labouring, his client also wished to call no defence witnesses.

### Some Political Murder Trials

Sjt. Bimal Das-Gupta, who is undergoing imprisonment for attempting to murder Mr. Villiers, was prosecuted on the charge of having murdered Mr. Peddie, the late Magistrate of Midnapur. The case was tried in the Calcutta High Court. The Advocate General had to withdraw the case, as in his opinion, there was no evidence to connect the accused with the murder. The police officers who were responsible for bringing the accused to trial were, therefore, much to blame.

In the Lahore High Court Justices Harrison and Dalip Singh have acquitted all the three accused, Sjts. Ranbir Singh, Durgadas and Chamanlal, in the appeal preferred by them against the death sentence pronounced on them in the Governor shooting conspiracy case. Here then there had been originally a failure of justice, and but for the High Court three innocent men would have been hanged.

On the charge of murdering Mr. Stevens, late Magistrate of Tippera, Miss Suniti Chaudhuri and Miss Santi Ghosh have been sentenced by the Special Tribunal consisting of three High Court Judges to transportation for life. In the opinion of the judges there was no doubt about the guilt of the accused. But in consideration of the fact that the girls were only sixteen years old or younger, they were not awarded a death sentence. This considerateness of their lordships will be widely appreciated.

### Lord Irwin on Present Repressive Policy

At a meeting of Yorkshire women Conservatives held at Leeds Lord Irwin supported the present repressive policy pursued by the Government in India. Said he :

> "I cannot doubt that the responsibility for the recent rupture lies with the Congress. Their decision was unnecessary and unjustified. I think there is little doubt Mr. Gandhi did not wish it, but there is also little doubt that while he was in Britain some of his principal lieutenants in India had been creating a situation that, on return, was scarcely in his power to control. do not suppose that if I had been in India Viceroy, I would have acted differently from w Lord Willingdon has done."

By saying what he did in the sentenc quoted last, his lordship did not pay himself compliment. As to the rest, we hold different opinion. We think the kind o reply which Lord Willingdon gave to Mahatm Gandhi's first telegram, dated 29th Decemb was responsible for the rupture. Mahatm Gandhi had an open mind. If the Vicer had given him an unconditional interview a if Mahatma Gandhi had been convinced th the lines of action adopted in N.-W. F and U. P. by some of his colleagues we wrong, of course after consultation with the he would certainly have advised them t retrace their steps ; and it is very probab that they would have listened to his advic For Mr. Gandhi is not a weakling, nor a his co-workers wanting in reasonablene and loyalty to him.

### Future of Burma

Those Burmans who wanted separatio from India in the belief that they would g freedom and an advanced constitution, hav been disillusioned. It is clear now that mos probably they would get separation, and it i also certain that in her condition of separati from India Burma would be entirely under th thumb of the Governor, as also und economic subjection to British capitalists.

### Provincial Autonomy and Central Responsibility

Supposing it were certain, which it i not, that Indians could not get both provinci autonomy and responsibilty at the Centre, b could get only one of them, and supposi further that we were asked to choose betwe the two, we would unhesitatingly choo responsibility at the Centre. If at the Cent India had a fully free and nation Government, provincial autonomy would b attained in the not distant future. But i there were only provincial autonomy at first and it should be borne in mind that it wou be only that kind of autonomy which wou suit the interest of the foreign rulers without responsibility at the Centre, ov taxation would continue, a very large proportion of our public revenue would continue to be swallowed up in unnecessary military expenditure and fat salaries and allowances to high officials, defence and foreign relations would remain in the hands of foreigners, there would be no Indianization of the army, currency and exchange and tariffs would continue to be manipulated in non-Indian interests, the repressive regulations and repressive criminal laws would remain unrepealed, there would be the chance of ordinance rule every now and then, and so on and so forth.

What is worse, the foreign men in authority at the Centre would be able to create inter-provincial jealousies, and play off one province against another, which process would stand in the way of India's attaining and maintaining real national unity and solidarity. In the past India suffered and often lost independence bit by bit owing to lack of a strong unified political existence. Surely the lesson of our past misfortunes should not be lost upon us. We have repeatedly quoted a passage from Major Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India,* where it is shown from the opinion expressed by an Englishman in authority that one reason for the British liking for provincial autonomy was that it would give different groups of Indians different narrow sectional interests and there would be no great cause, no grievance, no object common to the whole of India, imperilling foreign imperial dominance.

For these and other reasons we want both responsibility at the Centre and autonomy in the provinces.

Some of the objections to mere provincial autonomy, pointed out by *The Times of India,* are well grounded :

> Half-way measures would in fact diminish the sense of urgency towards the main business of reform. The changes proposed would cause great administrative confusion. They would sharpen the already sufficiently sharp communal question. They would arouse alarm in friendly political circles in England. They would hamper constructive work by arousing fresh points of controversy.

## *The Why of Lathi Charges*

Some eminent advocates of Madras, including among them an ex-Advocate-General and an ex-High Court Judge, have expressed their considered opinion about the legality or otherwise of the use of lathis and canes by the police in dispersing picketers and crowds. As the opinion has been printed in the dailies, it will suffice here only to say that in most of the cases in which lathis are used by the police, the Madras lawyers consider such use unwarranted by any law.

According to *New India,* in defending the use of lathis by the police in the debate on the adjournment motion in the Madras legislative Council to discuss the matter, Sir Muhammad Usman, Executive Councillor, "gave the real reason for the use of force."

> The Government does not want to have more prisoners on its hands than is absolutely necessary. The prisons are getting overcrowded, which means that the whole situation in India has got nearly out of control and the Government is finding it very difficult to manage it.

During the last civil disobedience campaign we ventured the guess that the superabundant lathi charges were meant to prevent overcrowding in the jails.

## *The Condition of Kashmir*

The present disturbed condition of Kashmir is truly deplorable—particularly the plight of the Hindus. If, when last year the campaign of calumny against its Maharaja and of intrigue with violent action as its object was started in the Punjab under distinguished auspices, the British Government had put its foot down firmly, things would not have come to this sorry and tragic pass.

## *Sukkur Barrage*

The Sukkur Barrage is a great engineering feat, completed at a cast of 20 crores of rupees. It is estimated to irrigate 5,500,000 acres of land. But there is already some complaint about the arrangements for distributing land. *The Week* of Bombay writes :

> The land is expected to cost Rs. 35 per acre to Government, excluding the interest charges. Yet the wealthy zamindar is going to have the pick of that land at the rate of Rs. 15 per acre! That means that on the preliminary area of 3,50,000 acres, we all, the tax-payers of the Presidency, are making a present of Rs. 70 lakhs to the Sind landlords! And what rate, if you please, is going to be charged to the poor ryot ? He will have to pay Rs. 90 per acre, with the concession that payment is to be spread over 20 years. But even with this concession, which is necessary, the

rate charged is at least thrice higher than the one charged to zamindars. In the festive and laudatory speeches made at the inauguration, these aspects—these scandalous aspects—were discreetly kept in the background. But what a light they throw on the great love our rulers profess for the peasants and the poor of the country!

## *Moslems and Nationalism*

There have been many indications that all Moslems are not communalists pure and simple, of which a few recent ones may be mentioned. Some months ago Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, who may be regarded as a fair specimen of the class of Moslems who do not actively participate in politics, said in part, with reference to the unpatriotic behaviour of the Moslem delegates at the R. T. C:

> As an Indian and as a Muslim, I am deeply grieved by this spectacle. As a Muslim particularly I feel the sorrow that Muslim delegates have been somewhat unreasonable in their demands, demands which may be taken to go counter to all principles of democracy, and which, if embodied predominantly in any constitution, would take no time to turn a peaceful country into a camp of warring communities. The limit of patience may be said to have been reached when these people threw away the opportunity of a life-time in not presenting a united case, at a critical juncture in the country's history.

Early last month Dr. M. A. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Dr. Mahomed Alam and Mr. S. A. Brelvi, members of the Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist Muslim Party, issued a statement, from which we need quote only one sentence:

> "We know that millions of our co-religionists have had to hang down their heads in shame owing to the ignoble part which Muslim nominees of Government, with two honourable exceptions, played at the Conference."

A large number of Bombay Musalmans have issued a statement which concludes thus:

> In our considered opinion, the foundation of a Swaraj India must be laid in unstinted nationalism and no constitution will be acceptable to the younger generation of Muslims until it is broadbased on the three principles:
>
> (1) Joint Electorates;
> (2) Residuary powers to vest at the Centre; and
> (3) Adult Suffrage.
>
> In our own humble way, we have resolved not to rest content till our country's freedom is attained and communalism has been wiped out.

## *Reparations*

Germany has declared herself unable to pay further instalments of "reparation" money, France will not part with pound of flesh, Hoover of U. S. will not extend the moratorium beyond J next when payments under the Yo Plan must begin to be made again. A so tangle.

## *Justice for the Government and the People of Bengal*

"The Case for Financial Justice Bengal" by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., an "Swaraj and Economic Bengal" issued Sir P. C. Ray aud some other promin citizens deserve a more elaborate notice th we can give them in this issue. Both deser serious study.

## *The Indian States' People and Federation*

Quite reasonably and naturally Working Committee of the Indian Sta People's Conference have passed a resolut protesting against the attitude adopted by R. T. C. towards the legitimate political aspi tions of the people of the Indian States. Th regret that none of the minimum deman formulated by the Indian States' Peopl Conference as conditions precedent to t formation of a federation with British In was agreed to or is about to be agreed to the R. T. C., and warn all concerned that the existing circumstances any arrangem arrived at over the heads of the people the States and without their consent will unacceptable to them.

## *Ancient Monuments Preservation Act Amendment Bill*

It is likely that the official Bill for ame ing the Ancient Monuments Preservat Act of 1905 will be taken up this sess We are entirely against any relics of departed great, any ancient sculptures, co bronzes, MSS., portraits, etc., being carr away to other countries. If duplica triplicates, etc., of any are found, there several museums to keep all of them in In Government should make better arrangeme for preserving them in India. Mr. H Bilas Sarda made a telling speech wh the Bill was introduced in the Assembly September 1931. Other M. L. A.s also expected to be alert this session.

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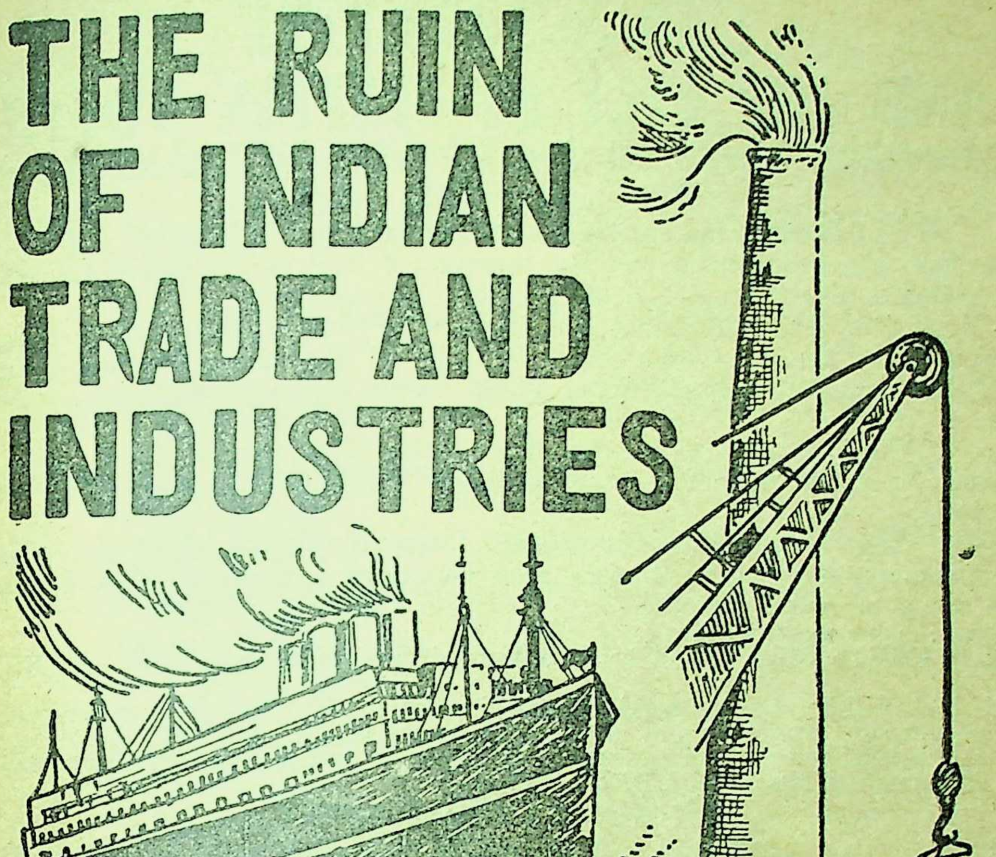

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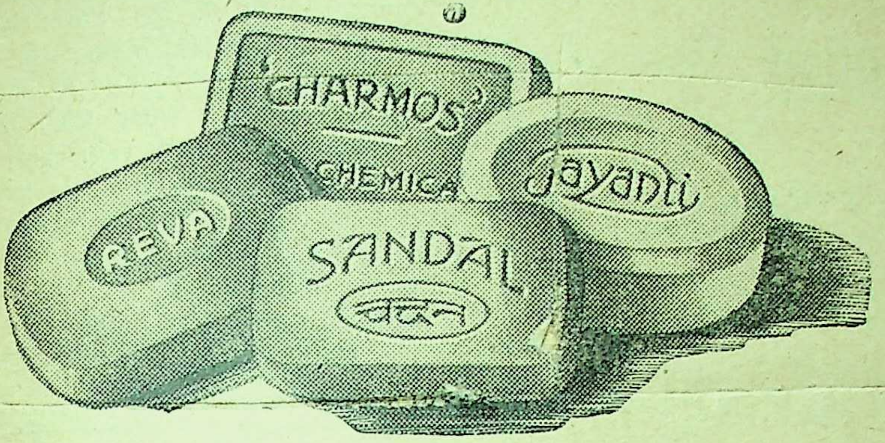
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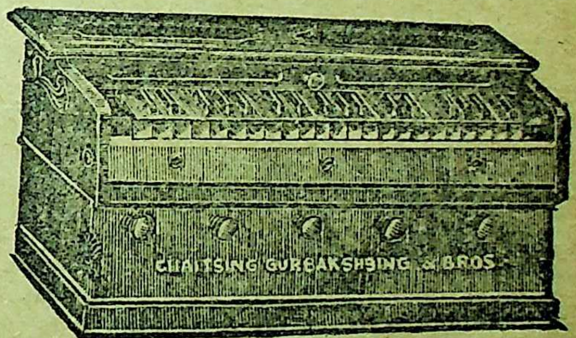
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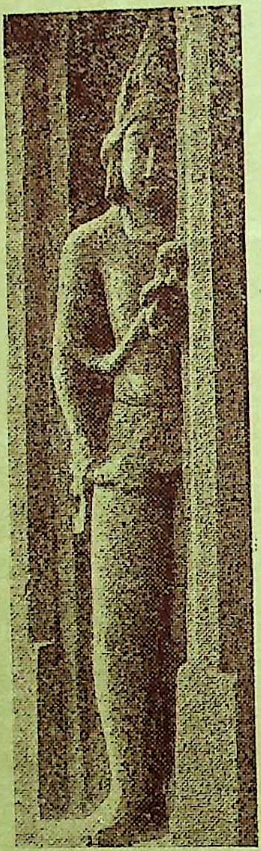

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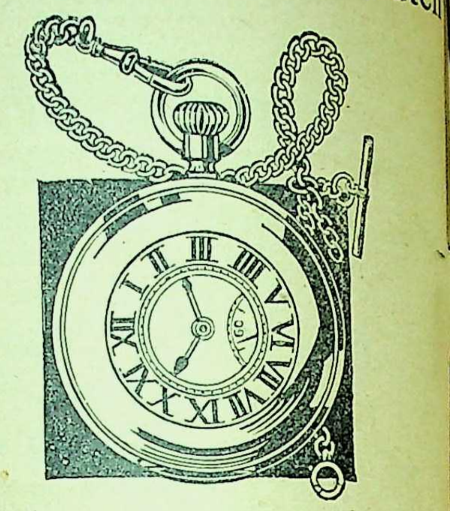

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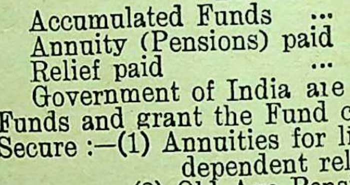

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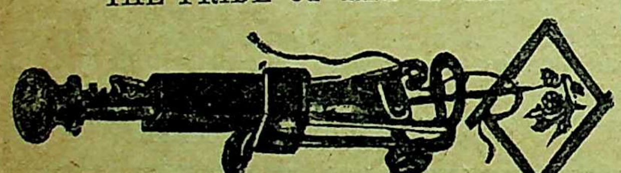

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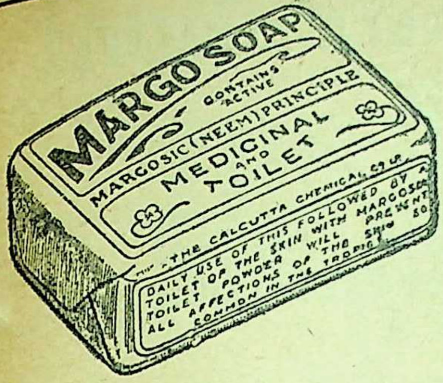
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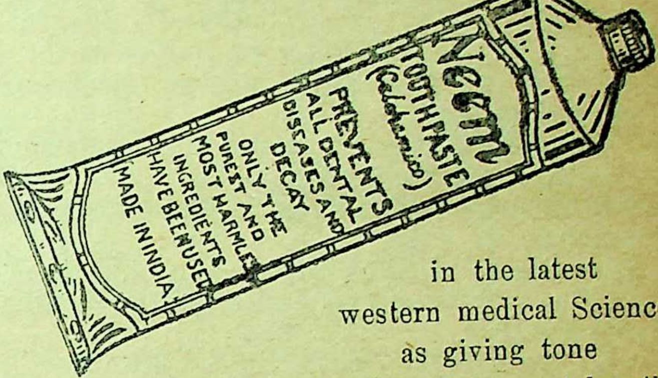
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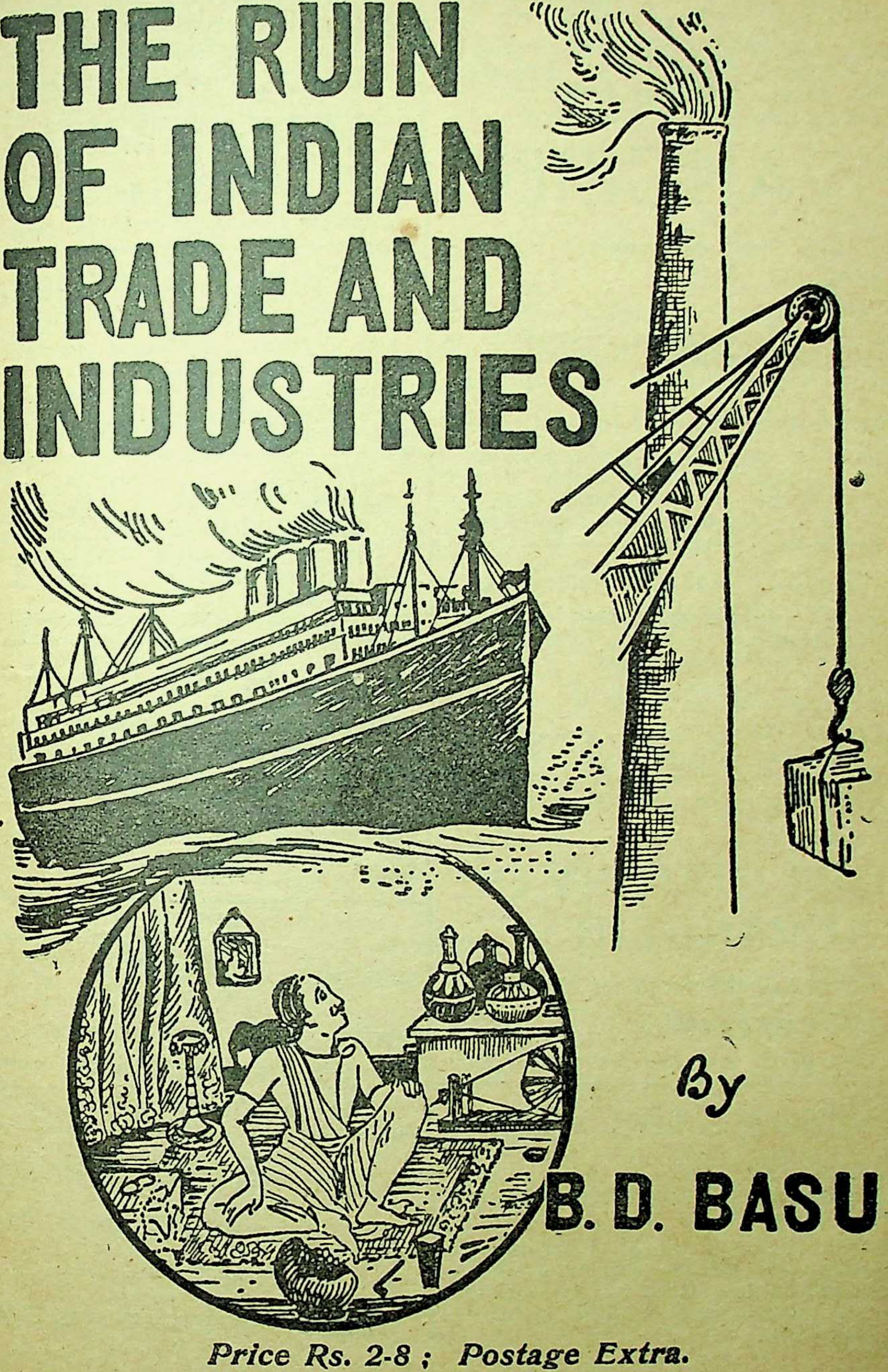

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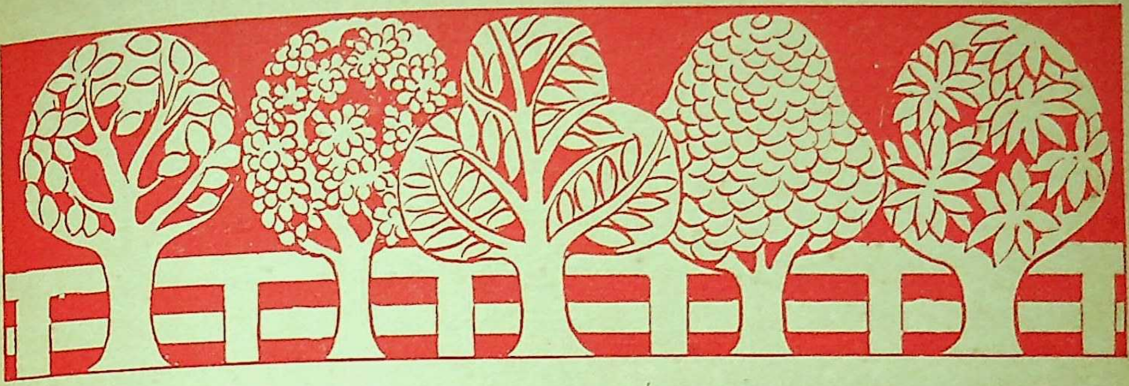

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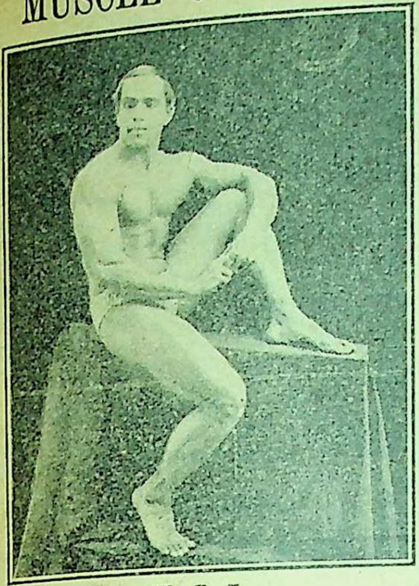

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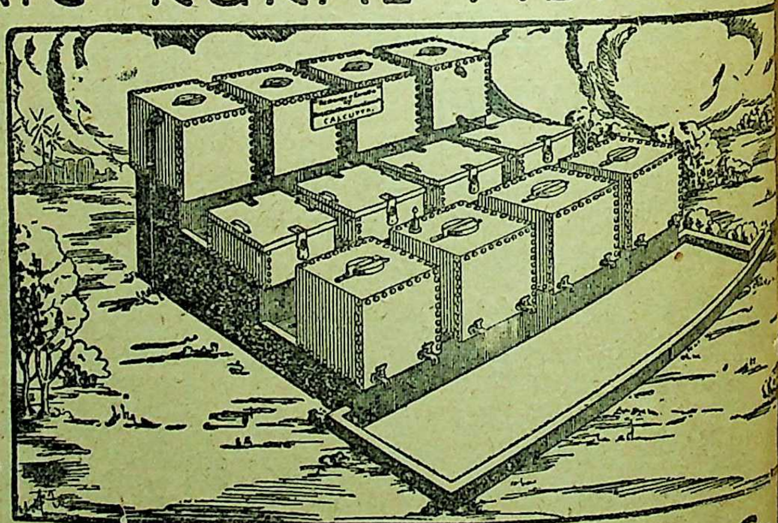

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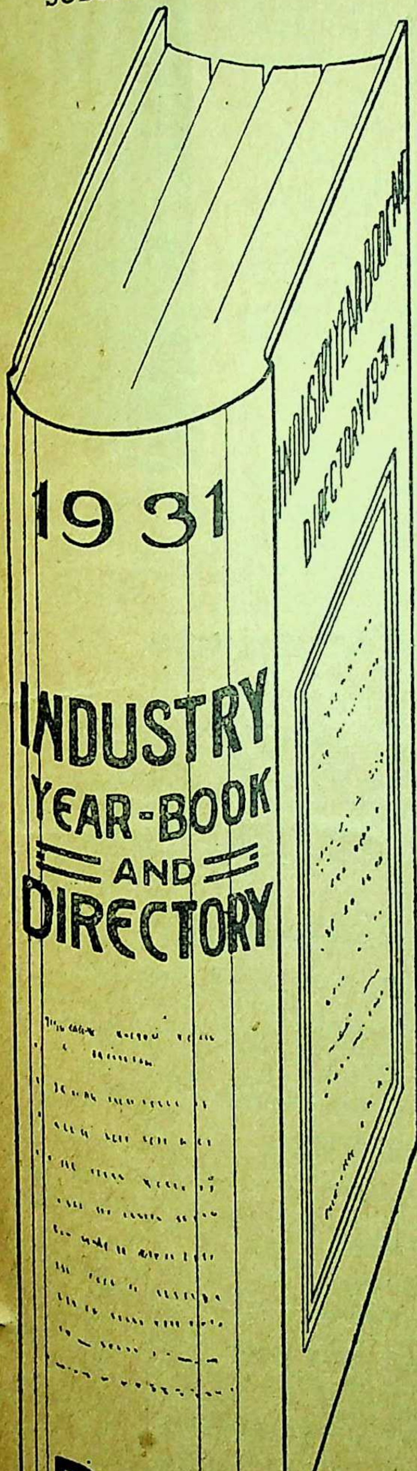

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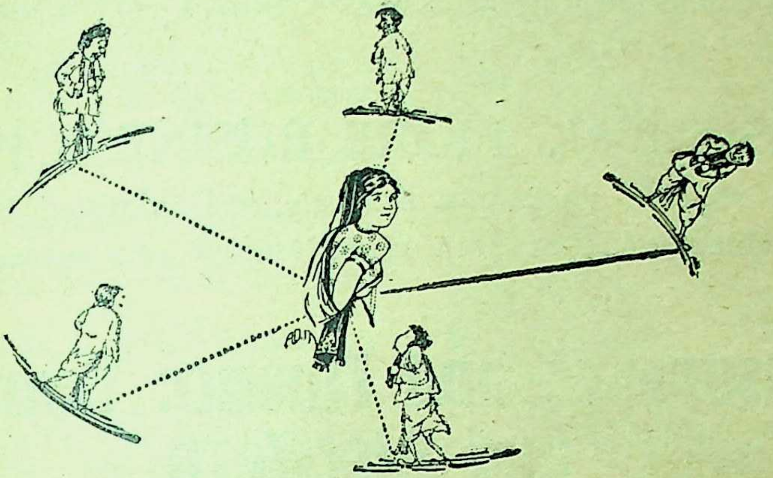

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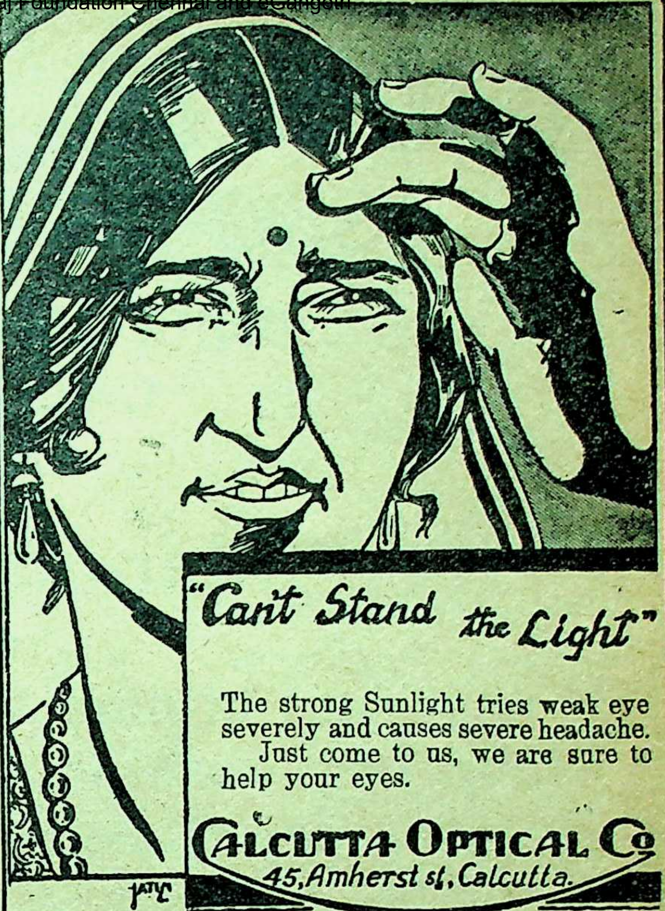

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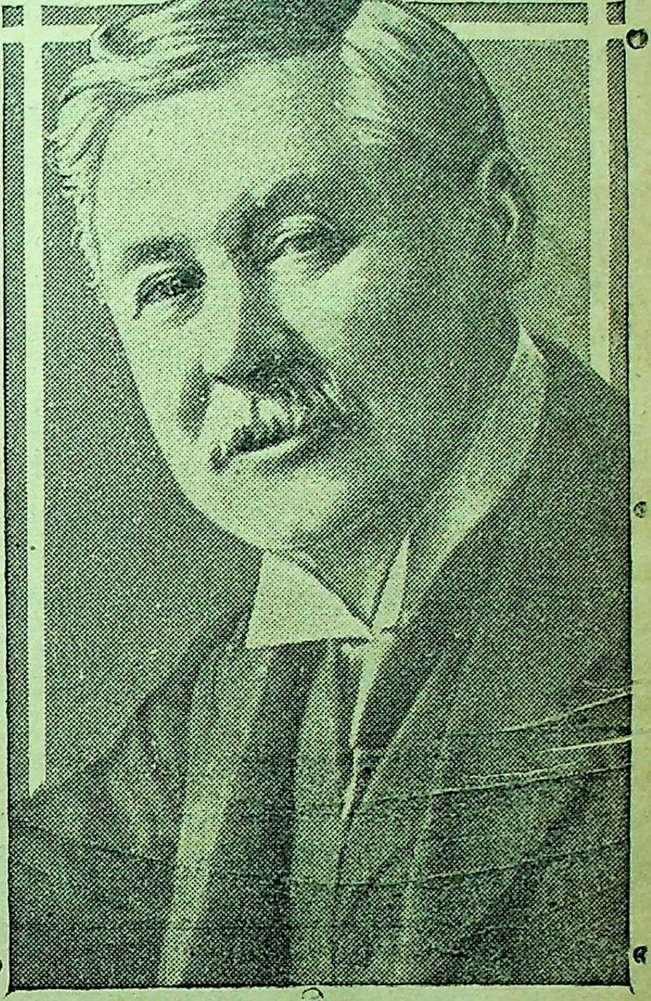

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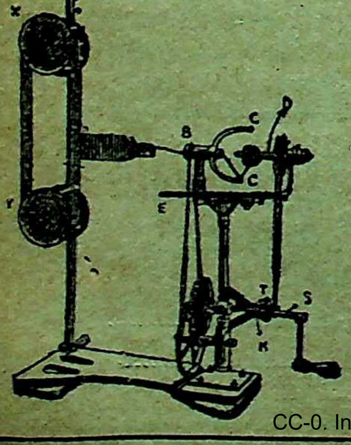

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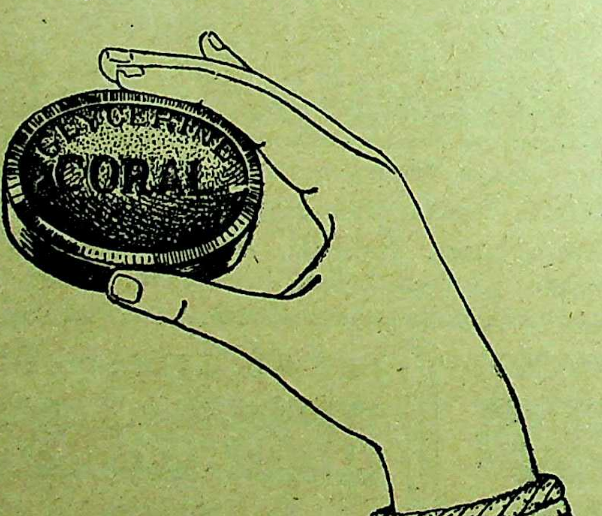

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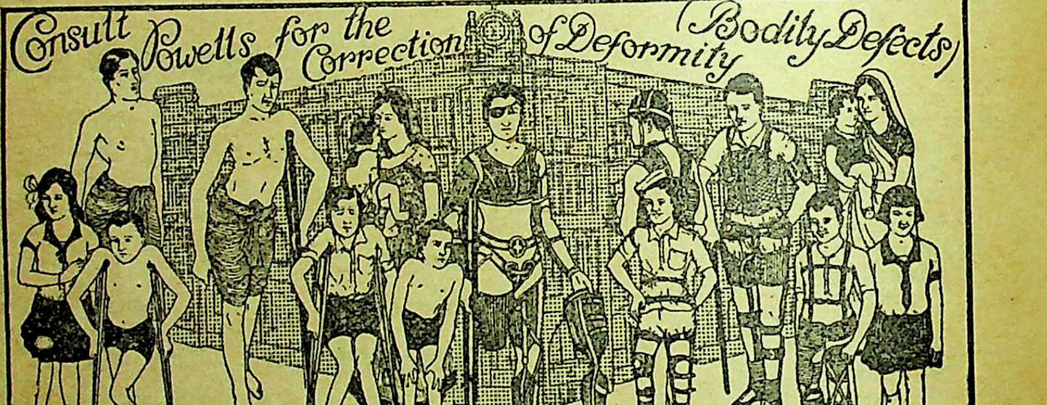
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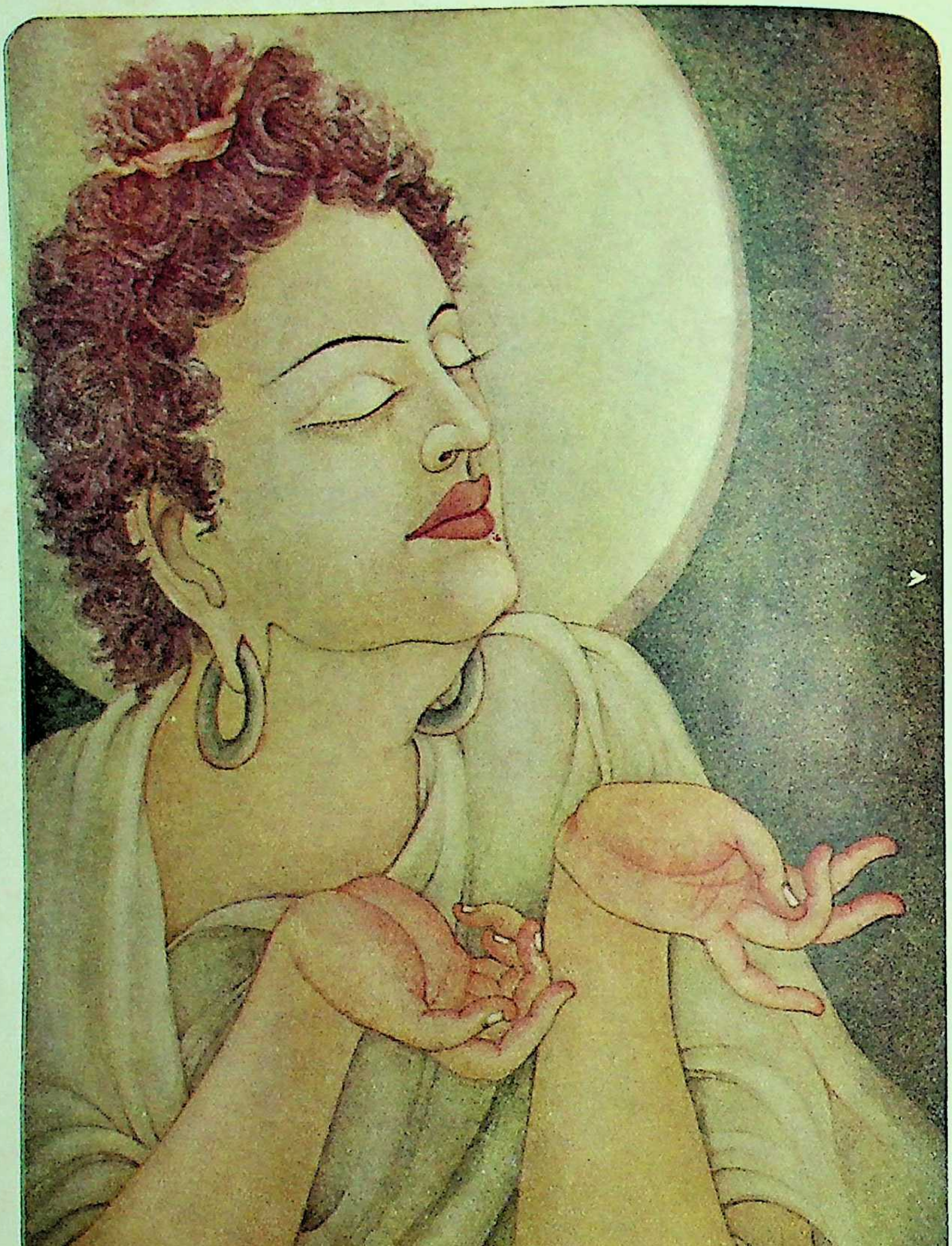

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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH 1932

VOL. LI., No. 3 WHOLE No. 303

# THE COMING FEDERAL LEGISLATURE AND ALLOTMENT OF SEATS THEREIN

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IN whatever else there may or may not be any finality, in politics there is none. Hence it is no valid objection to the constitution which British politicians in power seem to be intent on giving India, that it would not have any finality about it, or that it would not be enduring. But it *is* a valid objection that in the opinion of both Indian Liberals and Indian Congressmen a more advanced constitution for India has been long overdue.

At the latest sessions of the Indian National Congress it was *purna swaraj* or complete independence which was claimed. The older Congress demand, at least a quarter of a century old, was for Dominion Status; and this has been reiterated by the National Liberal Federation of India in recent years. Like the moderate and practical statesman that Mahatma Gandhi is, he has claimed the substance of independence on behalf of the Congress. Since the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, there is little material difference between Dominion Status and the substance of independence. But British statesmen are evidently as reluctant to concede Dominion Status to India as to agree to her becoming fully independent. They have been, in fact, trying their utmost to avoid the use of the expression Dominion Status in their declarations of intention, *not* pledges, relating to India's political future. In the Government of India Act of 1919 as well as in later pronouncements relating to the subject the words used are "responsible government." It was only in Lord Irwin's announcement that it was observed that Dominion Status was implied in responsible government; but that statement gave rise to heated protests in the House of Lords and made Mr. Churchill "indignant." Neither of the Premier's two declarations, the one at the plenary session of the first Round Table Conference held on January 19, 1931 and the other at the closing of the second Round Table Conference on December 1, 1931, mentions Dominion Status. The issue of the latter as a white paper led Mr. Winston Churchill to table an amendment to the effect that "nothing in the said policy shall commit this House to the establishment in India of a Dominion constitution as defined by the Statute of Westminster."

These facts make it clear that the "national" Government of Great Britain do not intend that India should have Dominion Status. As for complete independence or the substance of independence, the policy laid down in the aforesaid white paper and the speeches made in the House of Commons thereanent by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, and Mr. Baldwin, leader of the Conservative party, show that the British Government have decided that India is not to have independence, nominal or substantial. For that white paper and those speeches have made it plain that India is to have so-called responsibility at the centre, if and only if the Central Government and Central Legislature are constituted on an All-India Federal basis and that this so-called responsibility is to be subject to the following limitations :

(*a*) Defence and external affairs are to be reserved to the Governor-General, who will of course be selected and appointed by the British monarch on the advice of his ministers.

(*b*) Control over finance is to be subject to such conditions as would ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State, and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India.

(*c*) The relations of the Indian ruling princes with the British Government are to remain with the British Crown.

(*d*) There must not be any kind of economic, commercial, or administrative discrimination against any (British, Colonial or other non-Indian) subject of the British Crown.*

(*e*) The Governor-General must be granted the necessary powers to enable him to fulfil his responsibility for securing the observance of the constitutional rights of the minorities. He must also have the power to enable him to fulfil his responsibility for ultimately maintaining the tranquillity of the State.

[This last-mentioned "power" obviously implies the power to promulgate any number of Ordinances like those at present in force.]

These conditions to which "responsibilit at the centre is to be subject are explicit enou to show that the British Government do intend that Indians should have the rig associated with and making for perfe citizenship. As if to place the matter beyo doubt, the Prime Minister in his speech in t House of Commons declared more than on in reply to some interruptions that there w no intention to give India independence, a he even added that India did not want it, that she agreed to the reservations regardi defence and external affairs ! What were t credentials, one wonders, of the worthies w agreed !

It may be argued that the reservatio conditions or safe-guards are only for the peri of transition. But as there has been no defi pronouncement or even any vague indica as to the length of that period, such argum has not the least value—particularly as

> "Mr. Baldwin, in his speech in the Ho Commons in reply to a query from Mr. War Milne, stated that nobody could say how lon transitional period would last. He further s that it would last as long as it was the wi Parliament it should last, and if and whe constitution was set up, nothing in that co tion would be relaxed without the assent of P ment."

It is a very delightful kind of *swa*-raj *self*-rule, in which the will of some o party is to prevail in the most vital matt for an indefinite period at the convenience a pleasure of that *other* party.

It has been shown that the constitu proposed and likely to be set up cannot ple either the Indian Liberals or the Ind Congressmen. Probably there are Libe who would agree to work any kind of con tution, vouchsafed by the British Gove ment, in the hope of something turning But they have little, if any, effective follo The Congress is the most active, best o nized, and most self-sacrificing organiza in the country, and it has all along worked most strenuously for the attainment of per citizenship. Any constitution which ant nizes the Congress cannot work smoothly any length of time, even if it does not be unworkable. Of course, the external org zation called the Congress has been broke and can be "crushed," but not the spir freedom. That spirit must inevitably en itself in new forms and seek to realize its ideals.

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* The exact wording of the second R. T. C. recommendation relating to this subject is as follows :

"The Committee are of opinion that no subject of the Crown who may be ordinarily resident or carrying on trade or business in British India, should be subject to any disability or discrimination, legislative or administrative, by reason of his age, descent, religion or place of birth, in respect to taxation, the holding of property, the carrying on of any trade, profession or business, or in respect of residence or travel."

If the demands of the Congress, or even of the National Liberal Federation as embodied in its presidential speeches and the resolutions adopted at its ordinary annual sessions, had been met, it would have been a pleasant and fruitful task to discuss the details of the future constitution. As things stand however, in pursuance and continuation of the policy governing the proceedings of the so-called Round Table Conference the people of India are being asked to busy themselves with details though the fundamentals have not been settled and promise to be quite unsatisfactory. So, reluctance to examine any of these details is quite natural. Nevertheless, it may serve some useful purpose to try to understand to what sort of Legislature it is proposed to make the executive responsible in comparatively non-essential matters.

It is not a pure assumption that the future Indian legislature is going to be a Federal one. In course of the declaration made by the Premier on January 19, 1931, he said :

> "His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis, accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a Federation of all-India, embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bi-cameral legislature... With a Legislature constituted on a Federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognize the principle of the responsibility of the executive to the Legislature."

At the closing of the second Round Table Conference the Prime Minister said :

> "At the beginning of the year I made a declaration of the policy of the then Government and I am authorized by the present one to give you and India a specific assurance that it remains their policy. With regard to the Central Government I made it plain that, subject to defined conditions, His Majesty's late Government were prepared to recognize the principle of the responsibility of the executive to the legislature, if both were constituted on an All-India Federal basis."

I propose now to state the facts which may lead one to believe that if the proposed Federal Legislature be set up, the Executive will be even more powerful than it is at present. Before I do so, I should quote the following sentence from one of Sir Samuel Hoare's speeches in the House of Commons :

> "Indeed, I go so far as to say that I believe that a Government set up under such conditions as I mentioned might very well be a stronger Government than the Government we have got in India at the present time."

In the questionnaire of the Franchise Committee now touring India, the separation of Burma from the Indian Empire has been taken for granted. Including Burma the total area of the British Provinces is 10,94,300 square miles and that of the States 7,11,032 square miles. Excluding Burma, the respective areas would be : British Provinces, 8,60,593 square miles ; and the States, 7,11,032 square miles. So, the separation of Burma makes the claim of some Princes on behalf of the States to half the seats in the Federal Legislature appear more plausible, seeing that there is not very great difference between the total areas of the Provinces and the States. Whether this plausibility was one of the things indirectly aimed at by the separation of Burma is more than I can say. But I shall show that it is a mere plausibility.

The Franchise Committee have been proceeding with their work on the assumption that the Federal Legislature would be bi-cameral and that its Upper and Lower Chambers are to consist of 200 and 300 members respectively. I will not discuss here whether the legislature ought to be unicameral or bi-cameral. But I think the number of members proposed for each chamber is inadequate. For convenience of comparison I give below the populations (in millions) and the number of members of the Upper and Lower Chambers of some countries.

| Country | Population | Members, U. Ch. | Members, L. Ch. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Britain | 45 | 740 | 615 |
| U. S. A. | 123 | 96 | 435 |
| Germany | 64 | 66 | 577 |
| Japan | 66 | 404 | 466 |
| *India* | *338* | *200* | *300* |

The Upper Chambers in Great Britain and Japan consist of Peers, the Upper Chamber (Senate) in U. S. A. consists of two senators from each of its 48 States. In Germany the Upper Chamber (Reichsrat) is a State Council. But everywhere the Lower Chamber consists of elected members. Their number in all the four countries is very much larger than the number proposed for India, though the population of India is much greater than theirs. It is not, of course, to be forgotten, that India is a comparatively poor and illiterate country ; but that is no reason why there should be inadequate representation of the masses. On the contrary, unless some means be devised for giving them political power they cannot make economic and educational progress as rapidly as is desirable.

According to Lord Sankey's third draft report presented to the Federal Structure sub-Committee, "the allotment of seats to the States should be in the proportion of 40 per cent (or approximately 80 seats) in the Upper Chamber, and 33⅓ per cent (or approximately 100 seats) in the Lower." This allotment is over-generous to the States and unjust to the Provinces.

It is true that out of the area of 1,571,625 square miles of India, the States occupy 711,032 square miles. But representation is given, *not* to clods of earth and tracts of soil, grains of sand and dust, blades of grass, and trunks and branches of trees, nor to wild and domesticated animals, but to human beings. Hence different areas in India should, generally speaking, have representatives in the Legislature in proportion to the number of their human inhabitants. And this reasonable principle has been actually followed in allotting seats to the British-ruled Provinces. For example, take the areas and populations of Ajmer-Merwara, Assam, British Baluchistan, Delhi and N.-W. F. Province, and the number of members allotted to them in the Lower Chamber.

| Province | Area in Sq. m. | Population | Seats |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ajmer-Merwara | 2,711 | 560,292 | 1 |
| Assam | 53,015 | 8,622,251 | 7 |
| Baluchistan | 54,228 | 463,508 | 1 |
| Delhi | 593 | 636,246 | 1 |
| N.-W. F. P. | 13,419 | 2,425,076 | 3 |

If allotment of seats were made according to area British Baluchistan should have had at least as many seats as Assam. But evidently in allotting seats population has been the guiding principle, and, as less than one seat could not be given to any province, one seat each has been given to provinces with very small populations. On this latter point I shall have a little more to say.

Numerical strength being the reasonable guiding principle, I shall consider how many seats the States would be entitled to on that basis.

India contains a population of 338,321,258, of which the States conta 81,237,564, or 24 per cent of the whole. L the States have 25 per cent of the seat Then in the Upper Chamber they would ha 50 seats out of 200, and in the Lower 75 sea out of 300. Instead, they have been allotte 80 and 100 seats in them respectively leaving quite an inadequate number for t British-ruled provinces. There is no val reason why there should be discriminati in favour of the States and against t Provinces. As a whole, the former are n more advanced in education, culture, busin enterprise and the arts of civilized life t the latter. Nor are they more used to a greater adepts in the ways of democra government. Even if they were superi to British-ruled Provinces in all these respec such discrimination in their favour as h been recommended would not be justifiab The Princes are undoubtedly importa persons in their own way. But so are t people in theirs. Hence, though the Prin may have abundance of honours, they ou not to have more political power than t people in a constitution which pretends o purports to be democratic or to make f democracy.

In the above remarks I have taken t Princes to be synonymous with the State The reason why I have done so is that Lord Sankey's third draft report to t Federal Structure sub-Committee, it i stated :

> In the case of those States which secure indivi representation, their representatives will be nomina by the Governments of the States. In the case of t States, however (and there will necessarily be m such), to which separate individual representa cannot be accorded, the privilege of nomination* will have to be shared in some manner which it wil easier to determine when the various groups h been constituted—...

Again, as regards the method of selecti the States' representatives, the Committe have noted the assurance of certain individu members of the States' delegation to t R. T. C. that in States possessing represen tive institutions, "arrangements will be ma which will give these bodies a voice in t Ruler's selection."* "The Committee as whole are prepared to leave this matter to the judgment of the States."

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* Mark that nowhere is the word elect election used.

As even in the few advanced States the Ruler is not exactly like a constitutional monarch whose will is not the law or is far removed from being the law, and as in the vast majority of the States the Ruler's will is the law, selection or nomination of representatives made by the States or by the Governments of the States practically means the same thing as selection or nomination made by the Rulers.

If the States' representatives were elected by the States' people, as the representatives of the Provinces would be elected by the people of the latter, and if it were a universally applicable rule that minorities would have weightage irrespective of their creed or domicile, in that case there might not be much objection to the States having a little larger number of seats than their population would entitle them to. But in any case, to give them 40 and 33⅓ per cent of the seats in the Upper and Lower Chambers respectively would be unjustifiable.

As the States' representatives are proposed to be nominated or selected by their Rulers, they would carry out the behests of the latter, but not the mandates of the people of the States. As according to the declaration of the Premier on January 19, 1931, in regard to all matters not ceded by the Princes to the Federation their relations will be with the British Crown acting through the agency of the Viceroy, the Princes will, as at present, be under the necessity of keeping the supreme British-Indian executive in good humour. Hence the votes of the States' representatives will be at the disposal of the Government of India, whenever the latter may stand in need of them. There would also generally be a natural tendency on the part of the Princes' nominees to side with the British-Indian Government, as both are anti-democratic. Hence, in the Upper and Lower Chambers respectively there would be pro-Government blocs of 40 and 33⅓ per cent. Muhammadans have claimed 33⅓ per cent of the seats in the Federal Legislature. As there is a strong inclination on the part of the British Government to placate them, they are very likely to get at least 25 per cent of the seats, though they are much less than 25 per cent of the population. Being thus a favoured section, their representatives would naturally side with the Government on crucial occasions. Thus the States' representatives and Moslem representatives, constituting in the aggregate more than half or at least half the total number of representatives would be allies of the Government. If the seats reserved for the Moslems were filled by election by joint electorates, some Nationalist Moslems might be returned. But as in his letter to the Franchise Committee the Premier has stated that "in the absence of an agreement among the leaders of the different communities, and the safe-guards required by them, the Committee will proceed on the assumption that separate communal electorates will continue," and as for the reasons stated in our note on "R. T. C. Results" in the last (February) issue, pp. 222-23, there is no likelihood of any such agreement being arrived at, the Consultative Committee also having failed to arrive at such a settlement (February 22), the Moslem representatives will most probably be elected by Moslem communal electorates, and they will be anti-National and pro-Government communalists.

Besides these there will be other supporters of the Government. It has been very plain that Dr. Ambedkar is not the supreme leader of the "Depressed Classes" in India and that the other leaders of these classes evidently favour joint electorates. Nevertheless, Government may persist in the view that Dr. Ambedkar is infallible and that the "Depressed Classes" must have their own representatives by separate election. These representatives are likely to be supporters of the Government. Then there will most probably be special representation of Commerce (European and Indian), Mining (European and Indian), Planting, Labour, Landholders, etc. The men representing European Commerce and Mining and Planting interests will generally support Government. Some Landholders' representatives at least will also do so.

All this shows that, if the Government's plans succeed, as they bid fair to, it will occupy a strongly entrenched position in the coming Federal Legislature, justifying Sir

Samuel Hoare's anticipation "that a Government set up under such conditions as I mentioned might very well be a stronger government than the government we have got in India at the present time." Not to speak of the Assembly under Swarajist ascendancy, even in the present emasculated Assembly Government sometimes sustains defeat. In the coming Federal Legislature such official discomfitures, *if any*, would be rarer still, and it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to carry any popular motion or measure in the teeth of Government opposition.

Let us now turn to the Federal Structure Committee's allocation of seats to the British Indian Provinces, as tentatively suggested in the following tabular statement, in which I have inserted the population figures :

| Provinces | Population | Upper Chamber | Lower Chamber |
|---|---|---|---|
| Madras | 46,748,644 | 17 | 32 |
| Bombay | 22,259,977 | 17 | 26 |
| Bengal | 50,122,550 | 17 | 32 |
| United Provinces | 48,408,763 | 17 | 32 |
| Panjab | 23,580,851 | 17 | 26 |
| Bihar and Orissa | 37,590,356 | 17 | 26 |
| C. P. and Berar | 15,472,628 | 7 | 12 |
| Assam | 8,622,251 | 5 | 7 |
| N.-W. F. P. | 2,425,076 | 2 | 3 |
| Delhi | 636,246 | 1 | 1 |
| Ajmer-Merwara | 560,292 | 1 | 1 |
| Coorg | 163,089 | 1 | 1 |
| British Baluchistan | 463,508 | 1 | 1 |
| | | 120 | 200 |

According to the Federal Structure Committee, there is to be one representative in the Lower Chamber for every 12½ lakhs of population, though this proportion has not been followed in all cases. Under the Representation of the People Act of 1928, in Britain there is one member of the House of Commons for every 70,000 of the population. In the United States of America there is one member in the House of Representatives for every 210,415 inhabitants. In the German Reichstag there is one representative for every 75,000 voters. In Japan the proportion in the House of Representatives is 1 member to every 133,309 of the population. In India one member of the Lower Chamber will represent a very much larger number of persons than elsewhere ; hence the representation will be very inadequate here.

In order not to make my article too long, I shall confine my attention to the allocation of seats in the Lower Chamber. If the proportion of one member for every 12½ lakhs had been followed, roughly Bengal would have got 40 members, U. P. 38 or 39, Madras 37, Bihar and Orissa 30, Panjab 19, Bombay 18, C. P. and Berar 12, Assam 6 or 7, N.-W. F. P. 2, Delhi ½, Ajmer-Merwara less than ½, Baluchistan about ⅓ and Coorg a very small fraction. But as a fractional member is an impossibility, these small provinces may be given one member each or may be grouped together and given one member per group of 12½ lakhs of people on alternate elections or years.

But in the tentative allocation suggested by the Federal Structure Committee, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras and the United Provinces have been given less than the quota they are entitled to, and Bombay and the Panjab more than their due quota. Lord Sankey's third draft report seeks to justify this discrimination in favour of Bombay and the Panjab on the ground that if the population ratio were followed as the sole guiding principle,

> "it would immediately reduce the Bombay Presidency, a province of great historical and commercial importance, which has for many years enjoyed approximately equal representation in the Central Legislature with the other two presidencies and the United Provinces, to less than half the representation these latter will secure."
>
> "......some adjustment will be required in recognition of the commercial importance of the Bombay Presidency and of the general importance in the body politic of the Panjab, which it will be generally conceded is not strictly commensurate with its population as compared with that of other provinces. We suggest that this adjustment might be secured in the case of Bombay to some extent at all events by adequate weightage of the special representation which we have recommended for Indian and European commerce, and in the case of the Panjab, by some arbitrary addition to the seats which it would secure on the basis of population."

Let it be taken for granted that of all the provinces Bombay alone has historical and commercial importance and the Panjab alone has general importance. In all countries which have representative government, some regions may be commercially more important than other regions, and some may have made history more than others. But is it the generally accepted principle that history-making and commercial importance should entitle such regions to weightage in represent tion ? I am not aware that it is. If it were, living history-makers should have been promised the right to cast at least ten times as many votes as ordinary electors. Again, if a province of commercial importance, *i. e.*, one which contains many big merchants, is to get excessive representation on that score, why are not mercantile millionaires to be each entitled to cast 1000 votes for the single vote cast by a man who possesses only a thousand rupees ?

To give weightage to any province on the ground of its commercial or historical importance is unreasonable, unjustifiable and against any modern precedent in constitution-making. The ground of "general importance" is also absurd.

The commercial importance of Bombay has not been allowed to pass unchallenged even in the R. T. C. Mr. Gavin Jones denied that Bombay was commercially more important than Bengal. Undoubtedly the cotton textile industry of Bombay is unrivalled in that line in any other part of India. But it is not the only thing of economic importance. Other things must be taken into consideration.

> "Among all the crops grown [in India], rice stands an easy first in importance. On an average it occupies 35 per cent. of the total cultivated area, and is the staple food of most of the people of the country. Bengal is the most important rice growing province." *India in 1927-28*, p. 86.
>
> "Although jute occupies only 1.3 per cent of the total area under cultivation in British India, it contributes 26 per cent of the export trade of the country. Nearly 85 per cent of the [jute-producing] area is in Bengal." *India in 1927-28*, pp. 90-91.
>
> "An analysis of the total quantity of piece-goods imported into India during 1927-28 shows that 50 per cent was received in Bengal. Bombay came second in importance as a distributing centre." *India in 1927-28*, p. 187.
>
> "The mineral wealth of the [Bombay] Presidency is small and is confined to building stone, salt extracted from the sea, and a little manganese." *The Indian Year-Book*, *1931*, p. 97.

Of all the minerals produced in India the total price of coal raised is the highest, being £6,604,106 in 1928, and "most of the coal raised in India comes from the Bengal and Bihar and Orissa—Gondwana coal-fields."

From the latest (1931) edition of the *Statesman's Year-Book*, page 137, I find that in 1929-30 India exported the following among other articles of private merchandise to the value mentioned against each :

| Exports. | Value in Rupees. |
|---|---|
| Jute (raw) | 27,17,37,585 |
| „ (manufactured) | 51,92,67,860 |
| Cotton (raw) | 65,07,70,040 |
| „ (manufactured) | 7,18,67,090 |
| Rice | 31,50,91,840 |
| Tea | 26,00,63,568 |

This is not, of course, a complete list. I have picked out only a few articles to show that the pre-eminence of Bombay in economic importance is not unquestionable, jute, rice, tea, etc. not being Bombay articles. Jute is mostly grown and manufactured in Bengal, tea in Assam and Bengal, and rice in Bengal and Burma.

As regards total imports and exports by sea, the following is from the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1931, page 140 :

> "The total imports and exports of the largest ports in private merchandise only in 1929-30 were in rupees : Bombay, 156.9 crores ; Calcutta, 208.3 crores ; Karachi, 52.0 crores ; Rangoon, 55.6 crores ; Madras, 40.6 crores ; Chittagong, 8.7 crores ; Tuticorin, 6.8 crores."

At present Bombay Presidency can claim Karachi as one of its ports. But still the Bombay and Karachi figures are surpassed by the Calcutta and Chittagong figures in the aggregate. It is to be borne in mind that both Bombay and Bengal serve other provinces, which are not maritime.

Bombay commerce is no doubt more in the hands of Indians than Europeans, whereas the opposite is the case with Bengal. But as Lord Sankey's report speaks of "adequate weightage of the special representation which we have recommended for *Indian* **And** *European* Commerce," which may be a dodge for giving Europeans a few more seats, and as the Bombay Presidency is certainly not superior to every other province in economic enterprise, outturn and importance, taking both Indian and European *entrepreneurs* into consideration, I do not see why Bombay should have any weightage on the ground of a non-existent superiority, even assuming that such superiority was a valid ground for weightage, which it is not.

I now come to the question of Bombay's historical importance. I do not deny its historical importance, as I do not deny its commercial importance. What I do deny is that it alone, to the exclusion of the other provinces, possesses historical or economic importance, or is pre-eminent in either respect. When historical importance is spoken of, which period of history or 'pre-history' is referred to? Or are all such periods as a whole to be taken into consideration? And is the history of reigning dynasties and of wars and conquests alone to be considered, or the history of the people also to be taken into account? Are we or are we not to lay stress on the history of the arts, literature, philosophy, science and culture in general? On a broad and profound view of history, it will be found that no major province of India is without some special historical importance of its own. But why speak of major provinces alone? The minor provinces, Delhi for example, may also lay claim to special historical importance. Even desert Baluchistan claims to have yielded the earliest and most important find of prehistoric painted pottery in India at Nal in the Jhalawan district. And incredible though it may seem, even Bengal can claim a little historical importance.

As regards the "general importance" claimed for the Panjab, it is not clear what exactly is meant thereby. It does certainly possess general importance as does many another province. Perhaps the reference is to its being the recruiting ground of a larger number of sepoys than any other province. If so, the other provinces which formerly furnished sepoys are not to blame. Sepoys ceased to be drawn from them for political and other similar reasons, but *not* because they were unable to supply very good fighting material, as has been shown from authoritative sources in articles published in this *Review* in July and September 1930, and January and February 1931.

Giving weightage to Bombay has been sought to be justified on the additional ground that she has long enjoyed almost equal representation with the most populous provinces. But injustice to the latter cannot lose its character of unjustness because of the length of its duration.

This discussion of the claims of different provinces has not at all been to my liking. Moreover, it may indirectly help the efforts of our enemies to foment provincial jealousies. It has been undertaken from a sense of duty, in the interests of justice, so that no feeling of injustice may rankle in the breasts of the people of any province. There is no animus against either Bombay or the Panjab. They are important limbs of India, without which the country would be weak indeed. Not to speak of ancient or mediaeval history, who can forget or minimize the contributions made to the building up of modern India by Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta, Tilak, Gokhale, J. N. Tata, Badaruddin Tyebji, Swami Dayananda, Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhananda, Mahatma Gandhi and others? If only the people of every Province would try to discover in what respects the other provinces were important, their efforts would surely be crowned with success in every case. They may rest assured that they would thus find in every province some special kind of excellence which was not very marked in the other provinces. In this way, every province would appear important, and the declaration by interested parties of some special importance of a province or two to the exclusion of the rest would be treated with just suspicion.

* * *

# THE CULT OF THE SPINNING WHEEL

## BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

On the tri-coloured flag of the Congress—white, green and ochre—accepted throughout the country as the national flag of India there is a figure of the *charkha*, the Indian spinning wheel which, before the introduction of machinery and the importation of foreign cloth, was the main cottage industry and was to be found in almost every village home. There are no figures of lions or royal Bengal tigers, couchant or rampant, no double or single-headed eagles, no fabled unicorn or dragon suggestive of swift and terrible power and the dealing of sudden death. The Indian national flag is the emblem of a peaceful and humble industry. Formerly, one of the rites which brides in Bengal had to perform before the actual ceremony of marriage was the turning of a spinning wheel, while a shuttle was placed in the hands of the bridegroom by the ladies of the family. This custom still prevails in Bengal. Marriage means the start in keeping house, a fresh unit of the group of families called society. The ceremony means nothing else than that while the wife had to spin the yarn the husband had to weave the cloth on the loom, a natural and proper division of labour for the production of the cloth required for the family. Before weavers became a separate caste and the weaving of cloth a profession by itself every family produced its own cloth. There was a spinning wheel in every house, though every house did not have a handloom. The more prosperous people had their own looms and the use of them was permitted to humbler neighbours for a small consideration.

The *charkha* in India is just what it was long ago. It has been neglected for a long time and no improvements have been made in the simple and primitive contrivance. Yet on the *charkha* was spun the magic yarn of the famous and almost fabulous Dacca muslins, stuff finer than cobweb and gossamer, nearly unreal things woven by fairy hands. That marvellous art has been lost as surely as many of the glories of the past have been lost.

The spinning wheel was not always used by humble people alone. Queen Victoria the Good did not disdain this humble instrument. In her Highland home at Balmoral she spent some time every day in spinning wool with her own hands. Clothed in a plain dress with a widow's cap on her head she industriously plied the spinning wheel and was not ashamed to be photographed while engaged in this occupation. The woolen yarn spun by her was given away to poor women living in cottages on the Balmoral estate. The Queen gave away the yarn with her own hands and often honoured and delighted her humble tenants by taking a cup of tea with them.

The yarn spun from cotton was not always a poor man's possession. In the list of the untold wealth of Solomon enumerated in the Book of Kings it is stated, "Solomon had brought out of Egypt linen yarn ; the King's merchants received the linen yarn at a price." It is evident that even in those times Egypt was a reputed cotton-growing country.

When mills were introduced in India and the spinning wheel fell more or less into disuse Indian mills were not permitted to turn out fine counts of yarn and all the finer Indian cloths were woven on handlooms with foreign yarn. The finer kinds of *Deshi* or *Swadeshi* cloths were misnomers, for the yarn used for them always came from foreign countries.

In the agitation in which Mr. Gandhi was engaged in South Africa the spinning wheel did not figure, because the nature of the struggle was quite different from that in India. In Africa the passive resistance movement was intended to obtain equitable treatment, in India the agitation was aimed at securing the right of a people to administer their own affairs. Apart from the economic aspect of the extensive use of foreign cloth Mahatma Gandhi has a strong objection to the dehumanizing effects of the mill industry. Machinery is soul-less, ruthless ; its giant wheels are like the wheels of a car crushing human beings to death. It has emphasized the degrading disparity between capital and labour. It seems somewhat inconsistent that Mahatma Gandhi, whose every thought is for progress and who represents reform in every direction, should be so uncompromising an opponent of production by machinery. The reason is that his insight is deeper than that of average people and he realizes that the introduction of machnery has not added to the sum of human happiness while it has acutely accentuated the distinction between the wealthy and the poor.

In insisting on the revival of the spinning wheel and its universal acceptance throughout the country Mahatma Gandhi declared that it would hasten the emancipation of the people of India and bring them Swaraj. Of course, many of his own countrymen, including some distinguished men, scoffed at the idea as an idle dream of an impractical idealist, but no one is in a position to say that the scheme has been tried and it has failed. If every household in India were to take to the spinning wheel and produce its own yarn and cloth India would become independent of the large imports of foreign cloth and surely when a country is self-contained and self-reliant it is the beginning of Swaraj. India is a Dependency in more senses than one : it not only depends upon another nation for the administration of its affairs, but is dependent on foreign countries even for its clothing. The Lancashire cotton industry is maintained mainly by the Indian market. India annually imports cloth worth 60 crores of rupees from foreign markets. If this enormous sum of money could be kept in India it would appreciably reduce the galling poverty of the country and find occupation and wages for millions of people. Mahatma Gandhi's gospel of the spinning wheel has been spreading slowly and its possibilities have yet to be developed.

His nature and his scrupulous avoidance of everything that is inspired by hate have made him a resolute opponent of a declaration of boycott, whether in the Congress or outside. His position is perfectly clear. He wants his country to attain freedom and to that end it is essential th India should begin by providing all her ow needs. India can produce all the cloth sh needs ; there is an abundance of cotto there is plenty of wool. It is a shame th hundreds of thousands of bales of raw cotto should be exported from India to come bac as manufactured cloth to cover the nakednes of the people of India. Raw products ca be exported only after supplying the requir ments of the country that produces them.

In the days of the first Non-co-operatio movement in 1921 Mahatma Gandhi led th destructive programme of the creed Swadeshi, namely, the public burning foreign cloth. The wearing of foreign clo was a public badge of humiliation ; cloth made of such cloth could not be given t beggars for it would be an infliction humiliation upon them. The burning foreign cloths was a method of purificatio So did the Americans begin the War Independence by throwing shiploads of te sent out from England into New Yor harbour. It was a boycott in effect and wit the beginning of Civil Disobedience in 193 the boycott of foreign goods became one o the most effective weapons of the non-violen struggle.

It has also given an immense impetus t the cult of the spinning wheel. It is bein plied everywhere by all classes of peop and is to be seen in the houses of the wealth as well as the poor. Mahatma Gandhi himsel never neglects the spinning wheel. He is on of the busiest of men, but every day a certai number of hours is set apart for the production of yarn. On the famous march to th salt marshes at Dandi to break the Salt Act the *charkha* was always in evidence in th hours of the midday rest. A great portion o Monday, the day of silence, is spent in spinning yarn. In the prison he spent eight hours in turning the wheel and producing sever hundred yards of yarn every day. Th followers of his gospel have also taken to th *takli*, a hand spindle of either metal or woo consisting of a short rod with a disc at on end, the spindle being spun by one han while a sliver of cotton is held in the oth The *takli* can be used anywhere, even wh the person using it is walking along t streets. In Bombay *takli* processions can be seen in the streets, the processionists marching in perfect order and spinning all the time. Women and boys awaiting trial and conviction spin on the *takli* with perfect unconcern in the law-courts. Boys under arrest and on the way to the police station hold up these little instruments to policemen and laughingly declare, "Have you seen our machine-guns?" The innocent *takli* is sometimes as great an eyesore as the inoffensive Gandhi cap. Magistrates who have an exaggerated notion of their own importance forbid the use of the hand spindle in their courts, though the spinning is done in perfect silence. Boys have been actually punished by some magistrates for using the *takli*.

Quite apart from the political or economic significance of the spinning wheel and the hand spindle their importance in promoting habits of industry and exercising a steadying influence on character cannot be overlooked. An idle hand usually finds something disreputable to do, but the hand that is engaged in the India of today in turning the spinning wheel is not only usefully employed but is helping in moulding the destiny of the nation. The ancient industry of the cottage has been exalted to the dignity of national service. Every turn of the wheel brings nearer the economic and political deliverance of India. The spinner does not think merely of earning a scanty wage, but of the great and notable struggle in which the country is engaged. The spinner feels like a warrior fighting a good fight.

In the home also the spinning wheel has beneficent influence. Much of the time that used to be spent in idle gossip, small talk and scandal is now taken up by the spinning of yarn and in thinking and speaking about the future of the country. Old women and young, men and boys have all become earnest and serious minded. The spinning wheel represents more than an humble industry, it is the symbol of India's freedom. As it turns so turns the wheel of destiny presaging that better times are coming and the day of the emancipation of India is close at hand. The gospel of the *charkha* is a message of freedom for India.

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# AN INDUSTRIAL OPPORTUNITY

### By A. R. BARBOUR, O. B. E.

THE Indian Famine Commission report of 1880 attributed much of the poverty of the people of India to the fact that "agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the people." The Viceroy of the time, Lord Ripon, adopted a policy of encouraging the development of industry and promised that Government would, in future, give preference to Indian made articles when purchasing stores. Industrialism in India has doubtless made enormous strides in the half-century since 1880, but it is still localized mainly at some few important centres and provides employment for only a small moiety of the population. Someone remarked lately that the recent census figures showed an expansion in India's population in the last ten years enough for the creation of nearly thirty large cities equal in size to Calcutta or Bombay, but one looks in vain for a corresponding expansion in industrial opportunity for the mass of Indian people. Here possibly we have one of the causes of the country's present economic condition.

That point may be left for the student of economics, but, as a recent writer remarked in the *Modern Review*, India's population "is desirous of building up that proportion of industry which is necessary for its well-being." She adopted a fiscal policy designed expressly to that end and has thereby given opportunity and encouragement to all who are engaged in her industrial service. This policy as a whole commands general approval. It is only in regard to its application that differences of opinion develop.

This is inevitable. Whenever an industry applies for protection in accordance with the declared policy of a State there cannot fail to be a certain amount of protest, some of it perhaps fomented in the interests of competitors without the boundaries of the State. All the old battle cries are heard. On the one side the slogan "the consumer pays" and on the other "foster home industry." Anyone who has the interests of his country at heart may be forgiven if, in the confusion, he declares it is too much to expect him to adjudicate upon conflicting claims. He can hardly be reproached if he decides to leave the matter to the experts appointed by the State to deal with tariff applications. Nevertheless no well-informed and self-respecting citizen anxious for his country's welfare will avoid the duty of forming his own opinion upon the facts and considerations brought to light by the expert investigators. He cannot be expected to examine everything for himself, but he will use his judgment on the work done for him by the Tariff Board. He will endeavour to appraise the accuracy or wisdom of its findings and then come to a decision either for or against the case presented on behalf of any particular industry.

A case that has been investigated lately by the Tariff Board is that of the Indian paper industry which has applied for and gained an extension of the protection given under the Bamboo Paper (Protection) Act 1925. This Act imposed a duty upon certain classes of paper in order to assist the local industry in its efforts to establish bamboo as a raw material for pulp and paper-making. It is believed that a great and growing industry could be built up on the basis of this staple. Certainly if the paper mills can take advantage of it, the expansion of the industry will not be impeded by any shortage of raw material. Not only are India's resources of bamboo immense, but the plant has great powers of regeneration so that there is no danger of exhaustion such as has occurred in many of the virgin timber forests of America.

Definite progress appears to have been made, for there are two large mills now regularly producing very considerable quantities of pulp and paper from bamboo. It is admitted that advance has not been so speedy as originally expected. Nevertheless it is believed that a retrospective view of the work done, in the face sometimes of unexpected difficulties, is by no means unsatisfactory. However that may be, the mills now claim that their work has established three important points beyond challenge: the utility of bamboo for paper-making and the facts that the industry can eventually become entirely independent of imported raw material and that the paper now produced is equal—grade for grade—to any that can be imported.

If such be the case it would seem that as a practical experiment in protection, the Act has had successful results. This view is strengthened when we consider that the protection given was of a definitely limited nature, that at the time of its introduction the rate of exchange rose from 1-4*d.* to 1-6*d.* (thus favouring importers) and that since 1925 world prices of paper have been steadily on the down grade. In spite of these conditions the Indian mills have been able to increase their total amount of production by nearly 60 per cent. In 1924-25 their production totalled 25,090 tons. In 1929-30 it amounted to 40,787 tons, and it is estimated that even in today's critical conditions, the rate of production shows no appreciable diminution. The actual quantity of paper which pays the protective duty is surprisingly small. It amounted in 1930-31 to no more than 14,1[illegible] tons out of a total of 99,270 tons of paper imported. Thus it is evident that a large section of the market is unaffected by the protective duty and to that extent the burden on the consumer is lightened.

As a matter of fact, the protective duty does not interfere at all with the free import of the classes of paper used by the newspapers or by business firms or others for cheap advertising and for packing purposes. These papers are usually made with a large proportion of what is known as "mechanical wood-pulp, a material which is made by grinding down timber. It is inexpensive to make as no chemicals are required, but it is not chemically pure and readily becomes oxidized. Hence such papers have no lasting qualities and can only be used in cases where durability is a point of little importance. The Indian mills at the present time do not manufacture this class of paper. Their business is with the better qualities required by the publisher of books, magazines, gazettes, high class catalogues and other publications of more than ephemeral value. Indian mill-made paper is in demand in all commercial, railway and Government offices for the purposes of correspondence, records and books of account. Protection has not at any time actually raised the cost of Indian made paper. On the contrary, in the past few years the consumer has enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing its price coming down while quality improves. The Tariff Board anticipated in 1925 that the extra price that the consumer would have to pay for the paper could not exceed Rs. 21 lakhs a year and would probably be "a good deal less." In point of fact if we take out the average value of imports and of mill production from official figures we find the consumer has made a large all-round saving amounting to Rs. 40 lakhs in one year alone.

The following are the figures in support of this statement : The average declared value (plus 15 per cent duty) of "printing other than news" in 1924-25 prior to the introduction of the tariff was Rs. 600.65 per ton. In 1929-30 with duty at Rs. 140 per ton the average value was Rs. 562.28 showing a reduction of Rs. 38.37 per ton. In the case of "writing paper in large sheets" the fall was from Rs. 707.73 to Rs. 646.4, a difference of Rs. 61.33. Applying these differences to the tonnage figures we find the consumer saved Rs. 3,13,521 on 8,171 tons imported in the one case, and in the other Rs. 6,53,225 on 10,651 tons. Indian made paper, on the other hand, fetched Rs. 530.3 per ton in 1924-25, but only Rs. 458.5 per ton in 1929-30 showing a reduction of Rs. 71.8 per ton. On 40,000 tons this means a saving of Rs. 28,72,000 making a total of Rs. 38,38,746 which is not far short of the round figure of Rs. 40 lakhs already mentioned.

It may of course be averred with no little plausibility that had there been no protective duty the consumer might have saved the difference between the 15 p. c. (or, later, 20 p. c.) and the specific duty, and would have got his locally made paper at cheaper rates, or that, if the Indian industry had not survived, he could have imported all his requirements and possibly saved more than Rs. 40 lakhs per annum. It is, however, by no means certain that the removal from the import duty of the protective element would have meant a great reduction in prices paid by the consumer. The existence of a local industry has a valuable effect in the regulation of prices. In its absence or with—shall we say—less effective competition from Indian mills, the Indian market would have been more in the hands of overseas interests with results which by this time might have been less favourable to the consumer. Discussion of this kind however is purely speculative. The broad fact remains untouched, *viz.*, that the consumer bought his paper cheaper after protection and on the tonnage he took he saved close upon Rs. 40 lakhs in the year 1929-30.

Arguments based upon the amount of protective duty collected by Government are apt to ignore the facts that if there had been no protective duty paid there would have been a revenue duty to be paid instead, and that if the Government derived no revenue from paper imports it would have to find money otherwise. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a protective duty enables an industry to charge higher prices than it would otherwise obtain, for if this were not the case the duty would give no protection. In a sense therefore it is true that the duty on paper enables the mills to "tax" the consumer even if the latter has actually obtained his supplies at a lower cost. The important point nevertheless is surely to see that a protected industry is conducted on sound lines and utilizes its surplus profits to the best advantage. With regard to this point the enquiries conducted by the Tariff Board from time to time have a twofold value. They not merely inform the general public of the progress and condition of an industry, but they bring fresh minds to bear upon its problems. A protected industry like any other must always be responsive to public opinion, but the periodic examinations compel it to give the very closest scrutiny to its position and possibilities. Searching enquiries by a body of highly trained and experienced men cannot fail to be of the greatest value in helping an industry to recognize its defects and find means of overcoming them.

In the case of the paper industry it is claimed not only that, by getting a larger share of the market, it has been enabled to increase production and lower its costs, but that it has not failed to pass the benefit on to the consumer in the shape of lower prices and a greatly improved quality of paper. Some of the mills have at the same time conducted costly experimental and development work in connection with bamboo while the industry as a whole has actually expended *over half a crore of rupees* on capital account during the last few years. The record of the past few years is indeed a remarkably good one. The large sums expended on new plant and machinery show that the money received from the consumer is being applied *in his service* for the better development of the industry. They also display a confidence in the future of the industry which is the more impressive when we remember its past vicissitudes. This confidence rests on several factors: first, the knowledge that in bamboo the mills have ample resources of an indigenous material which will become more economical and inexpensive in use as manufacturing processes are standardized; second, the manner in which costs have been reduced points the way to further reductions. Thirdly, there is the belief that India today stands on the threshold of a great social and industrial development and is gradually realizing that this will call for the utilization of her vast resources on a scale not hitherto contemplated. In these developments the paper industry is conscious it can play a useful part.

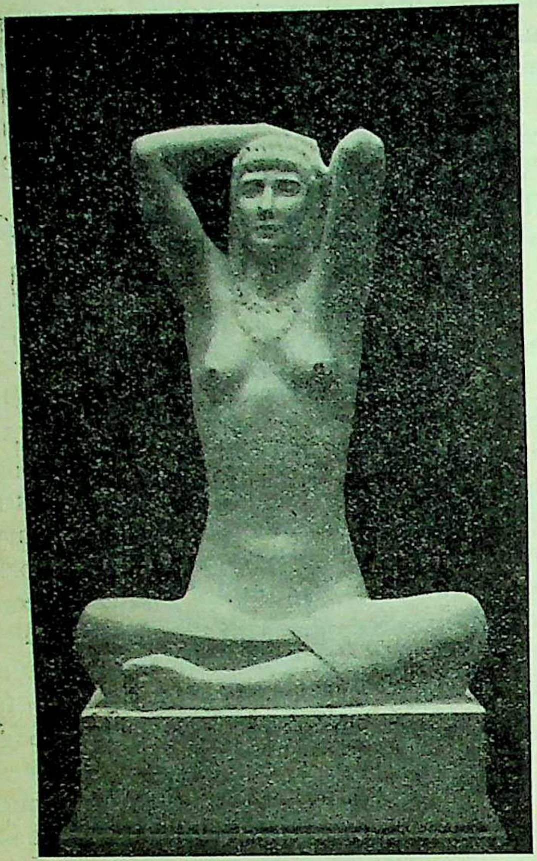
The paper mill industry at present occupies relatively quite a small place in India's industrial life, but its importance to the country and in the future of India should not be minimized. It should not be forgotten that although India has a small market for her paper and has a population which is mainly agricultural, her requirements are likely to increase at a very rapid rate. The consumption of paper in India is now twice what it was twenty years ago, great expansion having taken place in the five years up to March 1930. If we look only at the consumption of the better class of paper we find a similar position. It increased by over 50 per cent between 1924-25 and 1929-30. There is every likelihood that on the passing of the present worldwide depression in trade the upward movement will be resumed. Over and above this, if India pursues the paths of industrialism and gradually educates her masses, it is impossible to foresee the limit to the demands she will eventually make for an article playing such an important part in the industrial and social organism. Japan, for example, with a population which numbers about a sixth of India's, manufactures and uses over half a million tons of mill-made paper as well as producing the special hand-made papers for which she is famous. No nation can afford to rely entirely on foreign supplies of paper and most countries, including Great Britain, nowadays, adopt measures to protect and encourage the indigenous production of paper. In India the paper industry, so long and painfully holding its own against foreign competition, is surely worthy of preservation even if only as a safeguard against the domination of manufacturers overseas.

The economic wealth of a nation is sometimes measured by its abundance of raw materials. Much, however, depends on the extent and manner of their utilization. Unused, they have merely a potential value. Exported, they bring little in return. But in their manufacture into finished goods their fullest value is realized. India has great economic assets in fibres suitable for paper-making, cheap fuel, abundant man-power and a growing market. Nevertheless she spends three crores of rupees annually in the import of paper. It is perfectly true that if India wishes to sell abroad, she must also buy abroad, but she is free to exercise her discretion as to what she will be content to take in exchange for her exports. It is not to her interest to be a mere exporter of raw material, importing finished goods and she is entitled to decide that she will build up her own paper industry in order to make use of her own resources. She may therefore quite reasonably select and regulate her imports of paper, continuing to admit the large quantities of cheap "mechanical" newsprint which are imported, but drawing the line in such a way as to preserve her market in better qualities for her own industry.

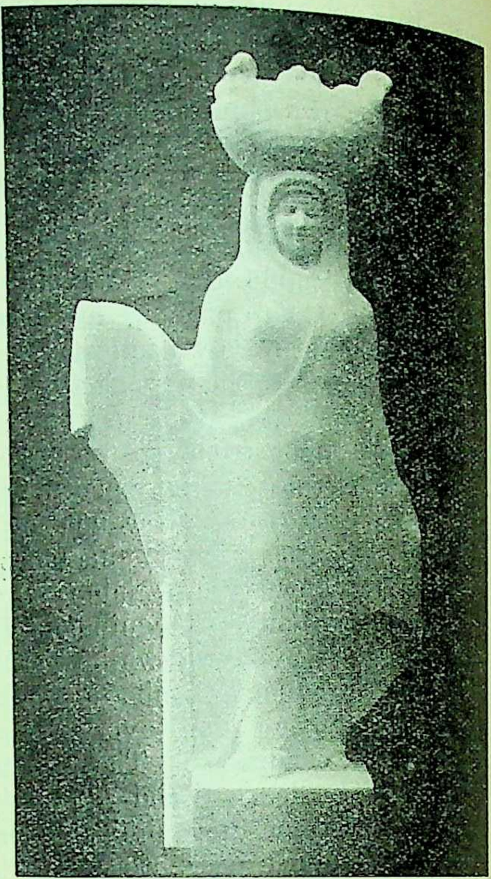
A reproach against the paper mills is the suggestion that they have made use of foreign pulp to an extent inconsistent with a policy of developing resources of indigenous material. This suggestion makes no allowance for the position and difficulties of the industry at the time the protective tariff was introduced. The older mills were full of outworn equipment which demanded complete renewal, while the new mill which first introduced bamboo paper on a large scale was working under very unsatisfactory economic conditions. These matters had first to be remedied. Wood-pulp helped the industry during a very difficult period when pulp manufacturing facilities were low. The mills had first to give attention to their paper-making plant since after all paper, and not pulp, is the article the public wishes to buy. To establish confidence in the Indian made product was the first duty of the mills and obviously the first step towards the development of indigenous raw materials. The use of imported raw material is open to objection only in so far as it may retard the application of local resources. In this case it is claimed that instead of hindering it has helped. It is pointed out that pulp imports are gradually being reduced and with the increasing local production of bamboo pulp will eventually become negligible.

The foundation of success in all industry is public service. The original growth of the Indian industry was due to the fact that it turned to the public benefit the materials then available to it. The discovery that cheaper and more readily convertible supplies of material could be found in the forests of Europe and North America led to the growth of the wood-pulp paper industry which supplies the greater part of the twenty-one million tons of paper used in the world every year. The wood-pulp industry consequently invaded the sphere of the Indian mills and nearly brought about their ruin, simply because it was able for a time to give better service. That time is passing. The two-hundred-year-old trees have been cut down and the industry is looking round for another raw material. Today the Indian industry has performed a service to the whole world in demonstrating the utility of bamboo, which does not take sixty years to grow, but comes to maturity in three and constantly renews itself. India has pioneered the new material for which the world's industry is searching. Will she not maintain her lead and go forward ?

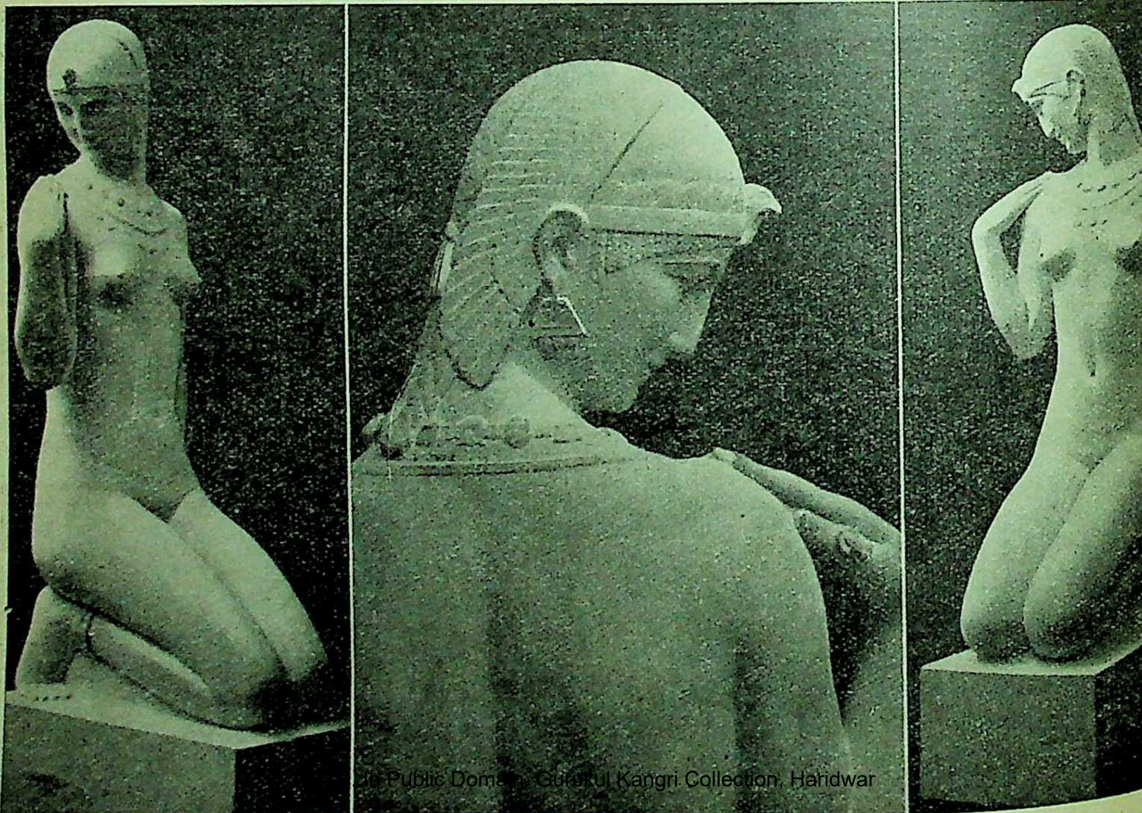
# THE WORK OF A YOUNG EGYPTIAN SCULPTOR



Isis—By Mukhtar



Back from the Bazar—By Mukhtar



The Bride of the Nile—By Mukhtar

# THE WORLD'S SEVEN GREAT HISTORIC RELIGIONS

## A COMPARISON AND AN APPRECIATION

BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

## II

I COME now to the latest born of the great historic religions, Mohammedanism. As already noted, this, as well as Judaism and Christianity, was Semitic in its origin. It was born in Arabia; and yet so many of the influences which conspired to create it came from Palestine that we may almost call it a form of Judaism or Christianity. It teaches one God and one only, not polytheism and not trinity. In this respect it is like Judaism and like early Christianity.

Mohammedanism is somewhat exceptional among great religions, inasmuch as it started with a sacred book, as well as with a great Teacher or Prophet. The New Testament was the product not of Jesus but of his disciples. The sacred books of the Buddhists were the product not of Buddha but of his disciples. But the Koran, the sacred book of Mohammedanism, was the product of Mohammed himself. He believed that its contents were revealed from Heaven directly to him; and he himself gave it to his followers as a proof of his divine mission. Mohammed obtained his first followers by intellectual and moral persuasion. But it was not long until he adopted the sword. Before his death his cause had obtained considerable strength; and immediately after his death it entered upon a career of conquest that carried it over all western Asia, northern Africa, and into parts of Europe.

We have now before us a general picture of all the great historic religions of Asia, with a brief sketch of the rise, history and leading characteristics of each.

In comparing these religions with one another, we quickly notice that they naturally divide into two classes, as missionary and non-missionary faiths. Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism and Judaism, are non-missionary or non-proselyting in character; they make little or no effort to extend themselves to other races or peoples. On the other hand, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity are missionary religions. From the first, they have been aggressive; they have desired to make proselytes and to extend themselves outside of the lands where they were born.

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Buddhism arose, and set out on its career in a small section of northern India, but its missionaries began very early to go forth in every direction. As a result it spread all over India and far beyond, until in the course of three or four centuries it had obtained a strong foothold in nearly all the countries of Central and Eastern Asia. I have already said that after a very great and influential career of about 1500 years in the land of its birth, it ceased longer to be strong in India, being partly absorbed by Hinduism and partly driven out by the hostility of its enemies.

But its missionary character saved it. Long before it disappeard from India, it had become very strong in other lands; and in those lands it has never lost its hold. In nearly all the countries of Eastern Asia outside of China it has more followers and more influence than any other religious faith, and in China itself it has a very large following, counted at not less than two or three hundred millions, being only second in influence there to Confucianism. Indeed, in China we see the singular situation of the two religions, Buddhism and Confucianism, existing side by side, and very largely believed in by the same people; so that a considerable portion of the Chinese people are both Buddhists and Confuncianists.

Buddhism is today much less missionary in spirit than it was in its earlier career. It does not seem to be doing much propagandist work. For this reason it is to be looked upon as at present pretty nearly a stationary faith. Like Christianity, it has wandered in thought and practice far from the simplicity of its founder, and has connected with itself, especially in Tibet and China, many rites, forms and superstitions which Buddha did not teach. In a few quarters, however, especially Japan, Siam and Ceylon, there is some stir of new life, some indication of a desire to advance, to shake off the superstitions and ceremonials which cumber it, and to make itself once more a moral power in the world. In common with all the religions of Asia, it is beginning distinctly to feel the influence of western thought, western science, western civilization. Among the possibilities, perhaps among the probabilities, of the not distant future, is a revived Buddhism, a Buddhism purged from its worst features, reaching out its hand for the knowledge of the west, and aflame once more with the old missionary spirit. This would mean, unquestionably, a large and influential career for Buddhism in the future.

* * * *

The second of the great missionary religions is Mohammedanism. It no longer uses the sword as an instrument of propagandism, but relies solely upon moral agencies; but it is spreading fast, perhaps faster than at any time in its history since the first century or two. It is making steady progress in India, where it has more than 70,000,000 adherents. It seems to be advancing in China and other lands of eastern Asia, while in western Asia it is supreme. In Africa its progress is rapid. There tribe after tribe, people after people, land after land, are coming under its sway. Its advance in Asia as a whole seems to be quite as rapid as that of Christianity, and in Africa much more rapid than that of Christianity. There are elements in Mohammedanism which seem peculiarly to fit it to reach, to interest, to impress, and to elevate peoples in low conditions of civilization. It is even a question whether it is not better adapted to the needs of such peoples, and whether it cannot do more for them, than Christianity—at least than Christianity in any of its more rigidly orthodox forms. Certain it is that Mohammedani is one of the most intensely living, earne aggressive and deeply devout religions the world today.

We in this country commonly think Mohammedanism as being intellectuall paralyzed, as having no sympathy with fre inquiry or science, or the progressive spiri of the western world. There is some tru in our thought. Mohammedans, like orthodo Christians, are fettered, burdened, spirituall bound, by belief in the infallibility of sacred book. They believe that their Kor contains all wisdom, much as the majori of Christians believe that the Bible co tains all wisdom. This tends to keep th eyes turned constantly to the past, and make them distrustful of new truth. B Christian peoples are gradually shaking o the fetters which belief in an infallib book has placed upon their minds. W not Mohammedan peoples sooner or la do the same? In not a few lands th are already moving in that direction. Turke is a notable example. We should n forget that the time was when Mohammeda peoples led the world in knowledge, i civilization, in science. May they not co to the front again?

* * * *

The third of the great missionary fait is Christianity. Its missionary spirit has be the sacret of its success. We are told i Matthew's Gospel that the very la commission which Jesus gave his followe was: "Go ye and make disciples of a nations." His religion has been spre abroad in the spirit of this commissio Singularly enough, it has not had great career in Palestine, where i arose. At a comparatively early period i was driven thence by Mohammedanis But it far more than made good its lo here by extending itself over the whole o Europe and far beyond. It has had tw great periods of missionary activity. T first was the early countries of its histo During that period it spread through the entire Roman empire. The second pe embraces the last two or three centuri During this period what is known as t modern missionary movement has arisen, in both the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant, and has carried the Christian name and the Christian gospel, in one form or another, into almost every country, civilized and uncivilized, on the face of the earth. The number of adherents of Christianity in the world is larger than that of any other faith, embracing between a quarter and a third of the human race. And what is still more significant, (1) it is the religion of the most progressive nations, and (2), it shows itself, at least in its more liberal forms, to be possessed of remarkable powers of growth and of adaptation to the advancing thought and changing needs of the modern world. These facts, with its intense missionary spirit, seem to insure that it will still further extend itself, and exert a constantly growing influence among mankind.

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It is a great thing for the religious world that the time has arrived when the attention of thinking men in all lands is beginning to be drawn to other religions and other sacred books as well as their own. It has been said that he who knows only one book knows none. It is equally true that he who knows only one religion knows none ; that is, he knows none in any large or adequate way ; for we learn by comparison.

The opening up of Asia to the knowledge of the western world, and especially the acquainting of Christendom with the great and venerable non-Christian religions of Asia, cannot fail to broaden Christianity. In like manner the study of Christianity by Hinduism, by Buddhism, by Mohammedanism, by Confucianism, if the study be intelligent and without prejudice, cannot fail to broaden all these non-Christian faiths.

From the study of religions outside of our own we may all learn—some of us are beginning to learn—how small and narrow is the thought that there is only one true religion, and that the rest are false ; that only those who follow in the path of that one religion are acceptable to God and can be saved, while all the others are enemies of God and must be lost. All religions have their excellencies. All have their defects. Absolute perfection in religion is no more attainable than is absolute perfection in science or art or government. It is easy for Christians to find defects in Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism and Mohammedanism. It is little if any less easy for the adherents of those religions to find defects in Christianity. But it is better to look for excellencies than for defects. One of the encouraging facts connected with Christian missions today is the increasing number of missionaries, particularly in China, Japan, and India, who are beginning to study other faiths with the view of finding out their excellencies. If this good tendency continues and increases, as we have reason to believe it will, the result will be that at no distant day the followers of other faiths will begin to look for the excellencies of Christianity to an extent that they have never yet done.

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Since many of us who call ourselves Christians are accustomed so often to point out defects and evils which we conceive to be connected with other faiths, I think it will be useful if I suggest several particulars in which other faiths sustain a favourable comparison with our own.

If we were asked what religion has best promoted peace in the world, I am quite sure we could not say Christianity. Is it not plain that a candid survey of history would compel us to answer, Buddhism ? Indeed, it seems to be true that, if we make the single exception of the Mohammedan peoples, there have not been anywhere else in the world so many and so terrible wars during the last thousand years and more, as among Christian peoples. And during the last three or four centuries even Mohammedans have been distinctly more peaceable than Christians. The dangerous spirit of militarism in the world today, as shown in the vast sums everywhere spent for great navies, great armies, great fleets of bombing aeroplanes, great stores of poison gas, is almost wholly the creation of Christian powers. The great war of 1914 to 1918 in Europe, the most bloody and terrible conflict in all history, was brought on by Christian nations and fought almost wholly by the same. These are startling facts. Why do Christian nations so lamentably fail in promoting what their great Teacher taught, "peace on earth, good will to men?" Do not Christians see that their armies and navies in addition to being actual promoters of war instead of preventives of it, are un-Christian in spirit, and that they tend greatly to discredit Christianity in the eyes of the thoughtful of other religious faiths?

If we were asked what religion has most effectively taught the great lesson of religious toleration, I am quite sure that again our answer would have to be Buddhism. Buddhist history shows no "Spanish Inquisitions," no "St. Bartholomew Massacres," no burning of heretics. Buddhists claim that their religion has never persecuted. The claim seems to be well-founded. The Edict of Toleration proclaimed by the Buddhist Emperor Asoka of India, three centuries before the Christian era, forbidding religious persecution and placing all religions on an equality before the law, well expressed the spirit of Buddhism, and it precedes by nearly 2,000 years any similar enactment in any Christian land.

If we asked what religion has succeeded best in inculcating among its followers regard and obedience to parents and respect for the aged, I fear we should be compelled to answer: not Christianity but either Buddhism or Confucianism.

If we asked, which of the world's great religions has best promoted temperance? I am sure we should have to confess that Buddhist, Hindu, Confucian and Mohammedan peoples have all illustrated the virtue of temperance better, take them as a whole, than have Christian peoples. We should have to admit that the great home of the drink curse in the world is Christendom, and that the great spreaders of that curse abroad over the earth are the Christian nations. And what is true of intoxicating drink seems also to be true of opium. The nation that forced opium on China, that fought two bloody wars to compel the unwilling and protesting Chinese government to allow the unrestricted sale of this pernicious drug to the Chinese people, was a Christian nation.

If we inquired what religion has succeeded best in creating a high average of moral character, of trustworthiness, of business and social honour and integrity among its people, I am not sure but that we would be obliged to answer, Confucianism. Certain it is that many American and English missionaries and business men who have been in China longest affirm that the Chinese heed and obey the high moral teachings of Confucius, their great teacher, quite as well as do the people of any nation of Europe or America heed and obey the moral injunctions of Jesus, our great Teacher, while not a few go further and declare that the superiority here is clearly with the Chinese.

If we inquired which one of the great religions of mankind is most effective in promoting reverence and habits of devotion: which one enters most deeply and constantly as a factor into the daily lives of its adherents, I am fearful that we should not find it to be Christianity. Reverence for God and religion and habits of worship seem to be much more general in the Orient than in the Occident. The Mohammedan kneels in prayer five times each day. How many times a day does the average American or English or German Christian kneel in prayer? There is a distinct place for worship, and there are daily services and acts of worship, in every Hindu home. Is the same true of every Christian home? And as to the quality of our worship, are we quite sure that ours is always superior? It is regarded the duty of every devout and intelligent Hindu in India to offer each morning on rising, and also several times during the day, the following prayer: "We meditate on the adorable glory of the Divine Author of all being. May he inspire and direct our souls." In every home in India connected with the Brahmo Samaj "Lead the following prayer is offered daily: me from untruth to truth; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death into the life eternal. O Lord, Supreme, reveal unto me thy benignant countenance, and thereby protect me evermore."

Are such prayers as these, uttered from sincere hearts, very far removed from that worship of God "in spirit and in truth" which Jesus enjoined? I would not put too much stress upon these outward expressions of piety, for I well know that fixed forms of worship, and prayers often repeated, are in danger of losing their soul and becoming mere dead things. And yet is it easy to have life without forms? Are not Christians who neglect forms and have no regular times of devotion in their homes and their daily living, in great danger of losing the spirit of worship out of their lives? Have not some of the non-Christian faiths of the Orient an important lesson to teach us here?

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I think it is good for us who call ourselves Christians to make a few candid comparisons like these, between the teachings and the practical results of our own religious faith, and those which we are apt to criticize and condemn so ignorantly and so lightly. What I am trying to do by these comparisons is simply to confess frankly that other faiths have excellencies, and that ours have defects, which we shall all be the better off for honestly recognizing.

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In thinking of the faults and failures of Christianity, it is of importance that we draw a distinction. If we do not, we shall be likely constantly to blunder in our judgments. That distinction is between the Christianity (or religion) of Jesus, the spring or fountain from which the Christian stream started, and the stream itself as it flowed down across the centuries receiving into itself side-streams from a hundred sources, some of them bringing not a little pollution and poison.

If we may trust the Gospels, the religion of Jesus was in the highest degree simple, ethical and spiritual. He himself defined it as love to God and man. He taught the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of all men, doing as we would be done by, love even of enemies, overcoming evil by good, deeds above words, service of one's brother is true service of God, true worship consists not in solemn words, forms and ceremonies, but in purity of heart and doing God's will. This simple religion of love, brotherhood, and the good life seems to have been practised more or less fully, more or less perfectly, by the early churches. But by degrees Christianity became theological, controversial, ecclesiastical and worldly, temporal, ambitious, coveting power, more and more allying itself with political rulers and governments for the sake of gaining power. This was serious. This seems the chief explanation of the lamentable fact that historic Christianity, in nearly all its forms, has so often signally failed to promote in the world peace, freedom, justic, toleration, temperance, real piety and the moral elevation of society. But it should be noted that the religion of Jesus seems never to have failed in these respects wherever it has been practised, as witness the early churches and the modern Friends or Quakers.

It is plain that Jesus has always been and will long remain Christianity's highest asset, as also a valuable asset to the whole world. Buddha and Confucius were noble characters, so seem to have been Zoroaster and Moses. Mohammed was a strong character whose thought and work have unquestionably lifted up the lives of millions. All these are worthy of respect and honour. Certainly Jesus is no less so. Indeed he seems to hold a place in the world which is unique—a place of respect and honour not only in Christendom, among those who bear his name but also in non-Christian lands, among men of every religious faith. There is abundant evidence of this. I myself have discovered much. In my own extensive travels in the Orient, I have found everywhere leading men of all faiths—Hindus, Buddhists, Parsis, Confucians, Shintoists, and Mohammedans—speaking of Jesus in the highest terms; even men who rejected and severely condemned the Christian Church and all forms that they knew of organized Christianity, did not hesitate to declare their profound respect and reverence for the great Prophet of Nazareth, and to confess the beauty and greatness of his teachings.

Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, the eminent scholar and reformer of India, himself not a Christian, assigned to Jesus the first place among religious prophets, and, selecting out his utterances from the Gospels, he published them in Sanskrit and in Bengali under the title, "The Precepts of Jesus the Guide to Peace and Happiness," and gave them the widest circulation he was able. Mahatma Gandhi, a Hindu, who does not accept the Christian name, accepts and teaches a religion which is essentially that of Jesus.

These testimonies to the high character of the founder of Christianity and the value of his gospel may well be gratifying to all of us who call ourselves Christians, but it should not, as it has so often done, cause us to look down with arrogance or a spirit of "I am more holy than thou" upon other religions, or blind us to the greatness of their founders and the value of the spiritual food with which they have fed the hungry heart of humanity.

* * *

As we study with candour and sympathy the great historic religions of the world, all of them, as we have seen, children of Asia, is it not easy to perceive that they are sisters, even if some are fairer in features and nobler in character than the rest ? And is it not also easy to see that each one makes a distinct and valuable contribution to the religious wealth of mankind, by teaching with special clearness and emphasis some important ethical or spiritual truth ? Perhaps we may epitomize the leading teaching of each religion somewhat as follows :

Says Zoroastrianism : God is Lig Illumination, Truth.

Says Hinduism : God is Essence, Reali (the only Reality), Spirit.

Says Confucianism : God is Permanen Order, Law.

Says Buddhism : God is Peace, Rest, Eternal Peace and Rest.

Says Mohammedanism : God is O God is Might ; God is Omnipotent and J will.

Says Judaism : God is Righteousness.

Says Christianity : God is Love.

Enlarging our field a little so as to t in Greece, Rome and Egypt, we epitomize the chief religions of mank slightly differently but perhaps with e truth, and say that the Greek religion sta pre-eminently for Beauty, the Roman relig for Law, the Egyptian religion for Mys and Just Judgment, the Persian religion Purity, the Hindu religion for the Di Immanence, the Buddhist religion for Ri Thinking and Self-sacrifice, the Mohamme religion for the Undivided Unity of God, Hebrew religion for Righteousness, Christian religion (if by that we mean religion taught by Jesus and not the reli of the Creeds and Ecclesiastical Hierar for Love to God and Love to Man—Lov God shown in Love and Service of Man.

Are not all these conceptions of God religion true ? Instead of antagonizing, they not supplement one another ? Are not all messages from the Eternal ? Are not all needful for the world's full-c and complete religious life ?

# HINDUS UNDER THE TALPURS OF SINDH

By THAKURDAS LOKMANDAS MANGHIRMALANI, M. A.

THE Talpurs, a Baluchi tribe, ruled over Sindh from 1782 to 1843, when the country fell into the hands of the British. The story of the relations of these Muslim rulers with their Hindu subjects illustrates, in a powerful way, the great fact that no ruler can degrade any of his subjects without degrading himself, and that the oppressed must be revenged on the oppressor indirectly, if not directly. As you sow, so shall you reap: it is a commonplace, but how perfectly true; and, as understood by the Hindus, it is nothing but his Law of Karma.

Sindh, like the rest of India, was at one time a Hindu country. It was conquered by the Arabs in the early years of the 8th century and continued, with the exception of brief intervals, under Muslim control, till annexed by the British. Centuries of the most unmeasured bigotry drove the ancient Hindu families either to embrace Islam, or to migrate to Jesulmere and other Hindu states in the neighbourhood; and when the Talpur period opened, the Hindus were all, except probably the Sarsat Brahmins, naturalized foreigners from the Panjab, Cutch and Rajputana. The Sarsat Brahmins claim to be descended from Chach, whose intrigues with the queen of his monarch obtained him the latter's sovereignty, and it was from his son, Dahir, that the throne of Sindh was wrested by the Muslims.

The Hindus were divided into three castes, the Brahmins, the Vaishyas and the Sudras; a few of the Amils call themselves Kshatriyas; otherwise the second, the royal, the military, caste was of doubtful faith and origin. The Brahmin was "by no means a correct specimen of his far-famed class." He ate fish, the flesh of wild birds and certain meats and onions, had the luxury of strong waters, and might be seen "bending over the ledger, squatting on a counter, or exercising the command of a kitchen." Sometimes he married a widow. He was either a Pokarna or a Sarsat. In the former case he had immigrated from Upper India and worshipped Vishnu. He married in his own caste and claimed superiority over the Sarsat Brahmin. The latter worshipped Shiva. Many of the Brahmins were illiterate, and an educated Brahmin generally did not have more than "a proficiency in the simpler parts of Sanscrit grammer, and sufficient mastery over the language to understand oft-read works upon astrology, magical formula and the volumes" that contained the intricate practice of his faith, though it was not rare to meet occasionally a few of his class who had perused the Bhagawat, or even formed a superficial acquaintance with the Samhita or summary of the Yajur or White Veda. In Hyderabad the study of Sanskrit temporarily received an impetus when Diwan Jhuromal, a prominent member of the Hindu community there, spent Rs. 10,000 to purchase a rich library of the sacred literature for two sadhus at Kotri. It was later on used by Bhai Mulchand with the assistance of a clever Pandit, and he himself taught it to Munshi Gidumal, whose Sanskrit scholarship was so high that even Brahmins had no objection to learn at his feet. No Brahmin, except when engaged in trade, knew anything of the Persian language—it was a profane branch of learning—but he seldom opposed the compositions or tenets of Guru Nanak, probably because the mass of the latter's followers respected him. He shaved his head, leaving a single lock upon the poll, removed his beard and permitted his moustache to droop heavily over the mouth. He placed a horizontal or a perpendicular mark indifferently upon his forehead. His dress was generally that of a common trader—a white or red turban, a cotton coat with a short body and flowing skirts, a cloth, generally salmon-coloured and with an ornamental edge, round the waist, a shawl or sheet thrown loosely over the shoulders and slippers which were not of leather. To complete his equipment, he carried in his hand a sandal-wood rosary of 27 grains and long practice enabled him to mutter and tell his beads mechanically. A few of the Sarsat Brahmins dressed like the Amils.

Folk-tales are useful, for they inform us what people thought and did in the past, and in Sindh with little children no tale is more fashionable than that of "A Pandit and an ignorant Brahmin." To relate it:

There was an ignorant Brahmin who had many clients. A Pandit, who was jealous of him, challenged him, one day, to a discussion and assembled all the men of the town to witness it. He began by raising one of his fingers; the other retorted by showing two fingers. The Pandit then put forth four fingers; and his rival closed his hand and drew it out. The Pandit cried out, "You win," and fled away.

An old man asked the Pandit privately the reason of his defeat. He explained: "I said there is one God; he asserted that people worshipped two gods: for, is not Maya also a god to them? I added I believed in four Vedas;

he declared that nodody cared for them; and he was right."

People asked the Brahmin also the secret of his success. He stated: "The Pandit said he would take out one of my eyes; I threatened to pull out both of his. He then said that he would slap me; I showed him my fist and he ran away."

Thus ignorance in the Brahmin was no disqualification, especially if he could successfully conceal it.

The Vaishyas who formed the vast majority of the Hindus, were the Lohanas, the Bhatias, the Sehtas, the Waishyas used in a limited sense to signify operatives and mechanics, and the Panjabis. Each division was split into a number of insignificant bodies, and in the absence of a common cause all were torn by violent jealousies. Divided according to their occupations, they were either the Baniyas, the ignorant multitude employing itself generally in commerce, sometimes in cultivation, or the Amils, who entered Government service.

The whole of the trade of the country, from the largest mercantile and banking transaction to the smallest supply of the ordinary wants of life, was in the hands of the Baniya. A considerable number of the members of this class were to be found in the principal towns—the Hindus here bore a proportion of about one-fourth to the Muslim—but their main localities were Shikarpur and Karachi. The former controlled all the land trade and the latter was the chief port of Sindh, therefore of the Indus and the countries beyond. In both the places the Hindus were numerous and influential, and at Shikarpur they enjoyed greater protection than in any other part of Sindh. Only at this place could they celebrate their festivals or religious rites without molestation. Dispersed as they were over the whole of Sindh, hope of wealth tempted them also to the countries in the North-West, even to the remote parts of Central Asia. They could negotiate bills upon Kandahar, Kilat, Kabul, Khiva, Herat, Bokhara, or any other of the marts in that direction, and they could be met with in the wildest fastnesses, in deserts and in the smallest collections of huts in jungles, with their "shops of tobacco, spices, groceries, or cloths." So essentially necessary were they to these wild tribes that they were, with trifling exceptions, generally protected. Even the smallest bargain was never struck between two natives of these countries without the help of a Hindu *dalal* or broker. "Covering his hand with a huge cloth," says Postans, "he runs backwards and forwards between the parties, grasping alternately the hand of each. The cloth is used to cover certain signs which are conveyed as to the amount offered by squeezing the joints of the fingers, which stand for units, tens, or hundreds, as the case may be; thus the bystanders are kept in the dark as to the price at which an article is sold, and irritation avoided at offering before others a lower sum than is expected would be taken." They showed wonderfully good faith and integrity, when met with confidence by the employer. Under an enlightened government the favourable commercial conditions of Sindh might have been developed to an enormous extent, but even the Amirs, short-sighted and covetous as they were, could not totally ignore the value of the efforts of the Baniya to their revenues, and, indeed, many of the principal Hindu merchants could command abatement in tariffs to induce them to do their business. The clear profits on the Shikarpur trade were 20 p. c. and, with few exceptions, the community was, according to the standards of the times, rich and flourishing.

Living in a society where they were tolerated only in proportion to their acceding to the customs of those about them, the Baniyas in many small ways dressed and trimmed their original rigid Hinduism. Their diet was cosmopolitan, they cooked their bread without any formality and they diminished their ablutions. They shaved their beards and a portion of their head too, the cutting of the hair on the head taking various shapes, which were less regular and fashionable than in the case of an Amil or a Muslim. In complexion they were very fair. A few of the wealthier lived in a comfortable style—they and the other rich Hindus took great pleasure in having large gardens, where they cultivated fruit and flowers only and where they passed the hours of relaxation—but the majority were totally apathetic to the ordinary means of preserving health and comfort. All hid their wealth with the garb of poverty to save themselves from the exactions of the Amirs. Their education was scanty: it included a few religious notions and ceremonies and ability to read and write their alphabet, to add and to multiply and to indite a formal letter of business. Nothing can be ruder than the Baniya alphabet: it is akin to the Nagari alphabet, but is of a barbarous nature. Only the consonants appear, and the vowels are to be inserted as they will best suit the sense. Morever there were no less than sixteen varieties of it, and it was not uniform even in the same town. Captain Eastwick in his book, *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, has beautiful stories regarding the blunders that even the natives make in deciphering these symbols:

> "A merchant is said to have received a letter from a friend in Rajputana, whither his son had gone. Not being very quick at making out handwriting, he asked an acquaintance to help him, who interpreted it in such a manner as to make it an announcement of his son's death. The poor father threw dust on his head, howled piteously and collected a crowd about him. "Alas," he cried, "he was my only son." One of the bystanders, much moved by his distress, said he also asked to see the letter. "Pshaw",

looking at it, "there is nothing about death here—your son has taken a wife—he is happily married." "Now," said the father, "I am worse off than ever, for I know not whether to laugh or cry." "They tell, too, of a man who paid one of these scribes, a *non-scribendo*, to write a letter for him. When it reached the destination, no one could make out a word of it, except the name of the person who sent it. In process of time it was returned, and he who sent it took it in a rage to the penman, and told him it was returned as unreadable. "Like enough," quoth the other. "I cannot read it myself: you paid me to write, not to read."

The Amils, "a class created by the ignorance and inability of the Moslem rulers," were the most influential and the most respectable body of the Sindhi Hindus. They adopted outwardly the Muslim garb and demeanour, they did not shave their beards,* placed no *tilak* on the forehead, trimmed the moustache and wore the peculiar Sindhian cap, a shirt† under a cotton coat and wide drawers § gathered in at the ankle. They were "a light-complexioned, regular-featured, fine-looking race, athletic compared with their brethren, from the liberal use of a meat diet," proud of their personal appearance and fond of rich dress. Their literary attainments were not extensive. They could speak, read and write the Persian language—the whole of the correspondence of Government was carried on in that language and in it also all the records were kept—they had acquaintance with the subject of petitions, addresses and epistolary correspondence, and they knew a few simple arithmetical rules. But they were intellectually superior to the Muslims and were employed as revenue servants of every description.** They were ignorant of their mother tongue, beyond a mere colloquial knowledge of it. Their private studies were of a religious nature. They married late, and sometimes lived and died bachelors. The Lohanas, the premier Hindu caste, did not favour widow-marriage, though it was not forbidden; but certain sections of it permitted a widow to marry her deceased husband's brother. A few of the Amils became materialists, and a smaller number were even atheists.

In Hyderabad we meet with a strange product of humanity, not to be found in any other part of the world, an edentate breed (*Booddhas*). Its members—Amils they are—have only eight teeth, they have round faces, flat noses, thick lips and soft silky hair which does not grow more than six inches. Their skins have no pores and so they do not perspire. They inherit these characteristics not from father to son, but from grandfather to grandchildren on the mother's side. But not all the children suffer from the deformity and it is the opinion of an English Civil Surgeon that in about 100 years' time the tribe will become extinct.

In the same city we have an Amil family whose children follow this order, if one of them is born sound, the next child will be born deaf. But while we had *booddhas* when the Talpurs were our rulers, the other freak of Nature did not exist then.

The ancestors of the Amils and the Baniyas had come from the Panjab, Cutch and Rajputana. Some came in search of employment and some were attracted by the commerce of the country; but a large portion of those who came from the Panjab were Sikhs—a few were even Singhs—and they were mostly induced to leave their homes to escape the destruction which Aurangzeb and his immediate successors had decreed for them. During the Talpur period there were temples of Udasin Sadhus scattered over the country, where the Granth Sahib was read and where the birthday and the anniversary of the death of both Guru Nanak and Guru Srichand, the Grandmaster of the Udasin order, were celebrated. But the most important of these houses of God was the island monastery of Sadhbella, near Sukkur. It was founded in 1823 and exercised considerable influence over its supporters. It will be interesting to determine the date of the paintings the author of "Something About Sindh" saw on the outer wall of its dome in 1882. They are pictures of heaven and hell. The tableaux were a beautiful woman and a holy man, guilty of sacrilegious amours, tied up naked with iron fetters, and in a most distressful condition; a boiling cauldron with faces of murderers swimming in it and a bull-headed monster, with sword in hand, grinning at their sufferings; a gambler cut in the head up to his nose, with two horned harpies, with their tongues out and their teeth terrible to see, brandishing two axes over him; a male and a female lashed to a pillar of red-hot iron for adultery, with two dreadful monsters flaring fiercely on them; a thief being split into two by a long sharp saw; a stream, dangerous and horrible—but the pious cross it safely with the aid of the cows and the horses they had, when living, given in charity, while the wicked, who worked woe to others in life, were pitilessly devoured by its sharks and snakes. The tableaux of heaven showed the beatific state of saints. Two more paintings represented Jindo Pir, riding on his favourite Pala fish and with a trident in his hand, and blue-faced Krishna, holding a flute in one hand, while the other arm closely wound round the waist of blooming Radha, who offered flowers and sweetmeats to her lord.

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* "The wearing of the beard was . . . a honour restricted to the principal Hindu officials about the Court."—Sir H. Evan M. James.

† The Hindu wore the button of the shirt on the left shoulder, the Muslim on the right.

§ Even the Amil wore the original Hindu dress, *dhoti* and turban on occasions of marriage and death.

** On account of their official connection they considered themselves as superior to the Baniyas. The position of Diwan was generally held by them, and the son, in many cases, succeeded the father.

Such pictures have generally decorated the walls of Hindu temples and they are scenes which Hindu poets and Hindu priests have conjured up to encourage righteousness and to frighten vice. Those who were not Sikhs followed Darya (the river), Devi or other Hindu Gods. The founder of the sect of Daryapanthis was Udero Lal, the incarnation of the River-God. He took birth to rescue the Hindus of Sindh from the deadly clutches of persecution and proselytism. Even the Muslims were brought to adopt his creed by a miracle, and they call him Sheikh Tahir. He insisted on perfect freedom of worship for all, and when he died, the Muslims built a tomb and the Hindus lighted a light which still burns bright in its sacred niche. The day of his nativity, Cheti Chand, is celebrated by a fair, which is attended by people from Sindh, Cutch and the Panjab.

If the Hindus gave Udero Lal to the Muslims, the latter gave Khwaja Khizr (Jindo Pir) to the former. He is also connected with the river. The Indus, in fact, is the soul of Sindh, and various are the ways in which it is adored by both the Hindu and the Muslim. "When new fruit comes to the bazaar, both throw a first fruit into the river as an offering; every evening women* mix rice and sugar, and with flowers and fruit throw them into the river, along the banks of which they kindle lamps. Every Friday and last day of the moon is sacred to the god of the waters, and on these days the Hindu meat-eater will eat fish only as being the fruit of the water. On the birth and marriage of sons rafts are floated down the river, bearing lights, a medium through which the love-sick maiden, too, can divine the course of her love."† Days of public rejoicing mark the first appearance of inundation.

Other instances of Hindus respecting Muslim saints and even their practices are:

They worshipped Pir Patha, though as Raja Gopi Chand. At Hyderabad they performed the Mundan ceremony of their male children at the shrine of Shah Makai, also at Mian Yar Mohamed Kalhora's tomb. The 11th night of each Muslim month is sacred to the 'faithful.' The Muslim milkman, on that night, will not sell his milk, but will give it away free to his clients and others. The Hindus also distributed cheap sweets in charity on that day. On the Moharrum days they treated the Shia mourners to sherbet. On the last four days of Safar§ Hindu women added fresh quantities of silver to their silver ornaments, because it was considered fortunate by Muslims to do so. They also prognosticated their luck by counting their ivory bangles, after a Muslim rite called *Fal*. It is possible that the original object in favouring some of the popular features of the rival belief was to please the conqueror, but they later on became a part of their religious exercise, as superstitions and irrational usages also came to be introduced into it.

But there was a Muslim movement, which forcibly appealed to the Hindu. Sufism was a crusade against form. It preached that the *summum bonum* of life was the merging of one's personality in the supreme will and that it could only be accomplished by purity of heart and purity of action. It saw no difference between a Muslim and a Hindu and sought, though in vain, to establish closer relations between the two communities. Shah Abdul Latif, the greatest poet of Sindh, was a Sufi and had friendly relations with Hindu devotees. The famous Hindu poet, Bhai Dalpatrai, was also a Sufi. More famous names are Faizi and Abul-Fazl. They were Sindhis and also Sufis and they gave to their master, also a Sindhi, their creed. Sufism has probably greater support in Sindh than in any other part of India. Was it due to the presence in its population of an Arab element, introduced into the country by its first Muslim conquerors? One of the causes of the Crusades was the conquest of the Holy Places of the Christians from their Arab occupants, who treated the Christian pilgrims kindly, by the Turk, who was a cruel fanatic. When after the failure of the Arab occupation of Sindh, the country was reconquered by the Muslim, it was the Turk who reconquered it. His ferocious bigotry was responsible for the Hindu's degrading thraldom.

The writers of Kafis, mostly Muslims, have also done much to mould the inner life of the masses.

The principal sub-castes of the Sudras were:

1. The Wahuns: they toasted different kinds of grain.
2. The Khattis or dyers.
3. The Hajjams: they combined the employment of cupping and shaving.
4. The Sochis: they made cloth slippers.

The Sudras adopted the Brahmanical thread, the sectarian mark and the diet, dress and manners of the Baniya.

In Hyderabad and other large towns there were several families of mongrel religionists. Some curious tribes of outcasts were found in the eastern tracts of the country, and a variety of mendicant orders lived in several parts of the province. But Sindh did not suffer from that multitude of sub-castes, "which in Upper India spring from the transgression, voluntary or involuntary, of a single arbitrary religious ordinance," and this was due to the low social position the Hindus occupied in it.

The Hindu women were superior to their lords in personal appearance. Many of them were "very pretty, with correct features, magnificent hair, elegant figures" and "clear olive skins, sometimes lighted up with the faintest possible pink colour." But they were not fr from the defect prevalent in the rest of India, high shoulders, and their beauty was ephemeral: all of them, if they had enough to eat and were not worked too hard, became fleshy and corpulent. A simple diet, a life spent almost in the open air, and an unartificial toilet, consisting of a white veil thrown over the head, a loose bodice to conceal the bosom, a long and white petticoat and, sometimes, a pair of slippers covering only the toes, guaranteed them health and freedom from ailments. They were less educated and, except at Shikarpur, less fond of pleasure, which meant feasting and flirtation, than their Muslim sisters; but they indulged, when they could do it safely, in an extensive display of grotesque ornaments—metal rings in the ear, the nostril, the cartilege of the nose, on the wrists, fingers, ankles and toes, and necklaces and large ivory circles covering all the fore-arm. They were also fond of rich embroidery and gold-thread work and even their husbands and their children were, on occasions, permitted this luxury, also the use of silver plates for their caps. They were good, affectionate and hard-working wives—they performed no outdoor labour and their love for their offspring was an all-absorbing passion.

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* Hindu women.

† J. Abbot, *Sind*.

§ A Muslim month.

Both men and women smoked. The Baniya at his shop-door was "never without this solace." He had his tube of some twelve feet in length, with which he kept communication with a large earthen water-vessel and tobacco, both placed outside the shop. Bhang was the favourite intoxicating beverage with all the lower classes, because it was cheap. Though liquor was taken freely, it was rare to see an intoxicated person. All were fond of sweetmeats. The diet of the better class consisted, for the most part, of rice, wheaten cakes, vegetables and pulse. A few were vegetarians, but a vast majority partook almost daily of spiced goat's flesh and occasionally indulged in *pulao*.

Their amusements were to play chess, *choupar*, a game played with dice on a board, and various card games, which offered opportunities for gambling. *Nautch* was a source of great pleasure, but they took special delight in watching a *bhagat* or performance, in which boys and men danced and sang religious songs to the sounds of drums. They were fond of instrumental music and singing. Their chief festivals were Mahasivaratri, Holi, Cheti Chand, Thadri (Janmashtami), Dussehra and Diwali. The first was observed by the votaries of Shiva, who fasted and decorated the Lingam. The Holi, though not the occasion for the orgies seen in other parts of India, was still the pretext for noisy and sometimes drunken and obscene revels, and the day following (Dhuria) witnessed the burning of Holka. Cheti Chand, the Hindu New Year, the first day of Chet Sudh, was observed on the river-side. The Dussehra and Diwali were the two most important festivals—the former was celebrated with fireworks and the latter with display of lamps and the worship of the goddess Lakshmi.

The joint family system prevailed and there were Panchyats which managed most of their affairs. Contact with the Amirs or with their subordinates was avoided as much as possible, and arbitration, rather than official adjustment, was preferred in all matters of dispute. Nor were they without strong reasons for adopting this course; extortionate demands for all sorts of official assistance were made and often there was miscarriage of justice. A very useful function of the Panchayat was to help the creditors of Hindu merchants, who became insolvent, by bringing the affairs of the latter under its control, and during the period, we are told, many business firms failed.

They were known by their personal names coupled with their patronymics. Their names were usually formed by suffixing to appropriate nouns such terminations as *das* (slave), *mal* (brave), *ram* (an incarnation of deity), *nand* (the name of Krishna's father), *rai* (a king) and *chand* (moon). Khalsas attached the termination of *singh* (lion) to certain words and even sometimes used the Persian termination *baksh.* By some the names of the days of the week were employed, though both *Shukur* (Friday) and *Chanchar* (Saturday) were avoided, being considered unlucky. The descendants of a common ancestor were designated by an adjectival form of his name.

But all their commercial activity and their habits of business and energy could at best make the Hindus only a tolerated race in a country where "they were only considered as dogs in the eyes of the true believer." The Muslim Governments in India seldom proved conducive to improvement and civilization: their fanatacism made them more anxious to make converts than to ameliorate the condition of their people, and they brought into the subjugated country vast bodies of mercenaries who forced from the conquered all they possessed. The selfish policy and misgovernment of the Muslim rulers of Sindh degraded the political, agricultural and commercial life of the country. A short time ago, I translated into English for a magazine a popular story in Sindh about the tyranny of its Muslim masters. It runs thus:

One day Mian Golam Shah Kaloora began to wonder why it was that no Muslim royal house lasted long in Sindh, while the rule of the Rajputs was permanent. He sent a courtier of his with rich presents to the Raja of Jodhpur to find out the cause. "Do you wish to hear or see with your own eyes the secret of the stability of our Raj," asked the prince. "Certainly, my lord, the latter," answered the nobleman. The Râja then ordered his servants to tie him to a green tree and not to liberate him till it was dry. The Sindhi cursed the day when he came to Jodhpur. "When," he said, "will a fresh tree be dead?" Day and night he sent fervent appeals to God to save him from his tyrant; and, lo! after one year the tree was dry. But he was not to be freed: the Raja told him to wait till the dead tree was alive again. Poor nobleman! the green tree could become dry, but how could a dead tree be restored to life? Once more he turned to Him Who is the Help of the helpless. Honest prayer does things which are otherwise incomprehensible—and the tree was green again. The Raja now dismissed him: "Oh Sindhi, tell your Mian Sahib if the curse of one oppressed man can dry a green tree and his prayer make it fresh again, what cannot the curse of the millions, who are oppressed in his country, do?"

And how grossly did the Talpurs misgovern the land? They were low, mean tyrants, addicted to every species of debauchery. It was not enough that they kept several *deras*, though this bred jealousies and dissensions in their harems, and that they had many concubines, whose offsprings they used to kill lest they should create difficulties about the succession. A darker instance of their slavery to lust was their use of *tirkinbazis*. One such is still in existence at Nasarpur in what is called Kalhora's *mari* (storey). Women forcibly seized and stripped naked were pushed down a smooth surface to be caught and polluted by their tormentors. When they resisted, they fell down and injured or broke their body. No man's honour was safe. A great Sindhi, in an unpublished letter to a friend in Allahabad, describes graphically the tragic end of the niece of their great minister, Diwan Gidumal, poisoned to save her from being a victim to their unbridled passion. He writes: "My mother, when I was a little child, used to repeat (for I was never tired of hearing it) the story... It was a story resembling in many respects that of Padmini, but what used to bring tears to her eyes and mine was that part of it in which she said, the Sindhi Padmini was called up to an upper storey, while her mother was about to cut up a melon for her—how she said: 'Mother, let the melon be; I must first go to father and uncle'—how she went up there and heard that the honour of the family was at stake, that one of the Mussalman rulers had set his mind on abducting her by force—and how gladly she took a poison draught and never came back alive to the mother who had cut up the melon for her." Diwan Gidumal himself was done to death with wooden sticks, because he had the prince beaten for stealing into his house to see the girl. But when Gul Mohamed, a tailor, sent his seven daughters to the harems, twelve sepoys walked in front of him and twelve behind him, and his head was so much turned that he carried away by force the pretty daughter of a Baniya. She committed suicide by cutting open her bowels.

The Baluchi feudatory chiefs of the Amirs and their followers were no less hideous in their ways. Any Baluchi might kill a Hindu or a Sindhi Mohammedan with impunity, for pleasure or profit, and the licence was widely exercised, especially where women were concerned. The ruling tribe enjoyed many exclusive privileges and held the most fertile and productive lands, which others cultivated for them. Both the Hindus and the Sindhi Muslims paid a poll-tax. The agriculturists paid one-third or one-half the product of their fields to Government and were miserably poor. The farming system prevailed and the Amirs farmed every branch of the revenue. Sindh was not devoid of mechanical skill, but both industry and commerce were heavily taxed.

The Amirs were passionately devoted to sport. The most fertile portions of their territory were depopulated to convert them into hunting-grounds for their amusement, and game restrictions of extraordinary severity were established. When, in 1842, Sir James Outram proposed to interfere with their game preserves, it gave them infinite offence. Oaths were administered to parties in civil suits, but there were no regular criminal trials. If the case was one of murder, the matter could be settled by retaliation or by receiving a money payment. Sometimes the murderer was disgraced: he had his beard shaved, he was next mounted on an ass and paraded through the bazaar, and then let off with the permission of the relatives of the murdered. Small cases of theft were dismissed with a couple of blows to the guilty. In case of robbery or other big crimes, the Kardar ascertained as best as he could who the delinquent was, and thrashed and tortured him—he was sometimes hung by the feet till he confessed, and not seldom he lost a limb of his body on account of his audacity—it was a punishment which was also sometimes extended to less serious crimes, for example, an Amil had his ears cut off for telling tales. Persons who could throw light on a case, but who refused to give evidence, were also treated cruelly. There was also the ordeal by fire and that by water: to brand with red-hot iron or to pass through fire or to insert the head under water till the arrow discharged from a bow was brought back and when an accused refused the ordeal, he was without much ado found guilty. But action against the accused was only possible, if he was a Hindu or a Sindhi Muhammedan or a Baluchi of some tribe, whose chief was powerless—a strong Baluchi would defy the complainant and the Kardar and cut down the man sent to apprehend him.

In the letter quoted above there is a striking instance of the utter neglect on the part of the Amirs of the true interests of their people. The writer says:

"My father was a bosom friend of Munshi Awatrai, a minister to one of the Amirs... It was Munshi Awatrai who took the keys of the Hyderabad Fort to Sir Charles Napier, after the Amirs resolved to surrender. Well, Munshi Awatrai used to relate how in those days a messenger taking a letter from Hyderabad to Khairpur (Mir's) charged Rs. 60 and now, he used to say, half an anna is enough. He certain ly knew what the Amirs were like." On the authority of the same minister we are told elsewhere that the streets of Hyderabad used to be swept once in six months and that during the time of the latter Talpurs Government's servants received their pay after 2 or 4 or 5 months. In other respects, too, life was far from enviable. People were ignorant. There were no schools in the cities. Mullahs taught in their mosques Persian to both Hindu and Muslim boys, the latter could also learn Arabic—the teachers were paid from 4 annas to rupee one as their fee per boy per year, also 2 pies per student every Friday, presents on big days and a share of the refreshments the pupils purchased at school, but there was practically no provision for education in villages. Sindhi was not a written language and a Sindhi alphabet based upon Persian and Arabic characters was invented by Mr. Ellis, when Sir Bartle Frere was Commissioner of Sindh. There were no hospitals. There were physicians, but their knowledge was limited. Dr. Burnes was called from Cutch, when Mir Murad Ali fell ill. Thousands of people went to him for medicine. The Amirs themselves found his bottle of quinine so very useful that they took it away and would not give any of it, even when he himself fell ill of fever. Plague broke out in Hyderabad during the Talpur period and cholera had its toll. Streets were narrow, and in one house several families were crowded together. There might be only one latrine for a house and there were houses without latrines. There were no satisfactory arrangements about light or water. There was no provision for police. Houses of big men had *deorhis* where servants kept watch, and streets had doors which used to be closed at night. Travelling was very unsafe. It was dangerous to go out even a short distance from the inhabited area. Baluchis from the western frontiers attacked the country and Baluchi bandits hid themselves in the woods about Shikarpur. Slavery existed and forced labour without any compensation was freely enforced. Fathers sold their daughters, and husbands ill-treated their wives and on the smallest disagreement beat them and even sometimes killed them. It is true that food was cheap, but wants were of a semi-barbarous recreation. Intercourse with other countries was limited and Sindh had not many coins. There was traffic by exchange of commodities, cowries were in use, also some quantity of copper and silver coins, but the Amirs had no gold coins of their own. They came from outside, their number was small, and they were reserved for the rulers, who were very fond of amassing bullion.

How haughty and awkward in their ways the Amirs were, the following should show:

When Mir Nasir Khan, the last Talpur prince, ruled over Hyderabad, Mir Bago, one day, came from Tando Bago to pay his respects to him. At the gate of the fort he said to the keeper, "Kindly inform Mir Nasir Khan that Mir Bago has come to make obeisance to him." The keeper delivered the message, but Mir Nasir Khan paid no heed to it. Mir Bago was distressed and asked the keeper to repeat the request. Mir Nasir Khan now gave permission for him to enter. When they met, after the usual greetings Mir Nasir Khan asked Mir Bago if he too called himself a Mir. He replied that he was one. Mir Nasir Khan then angrily inquired, "What am I then ?" Mir Bago answered, "You are the shadow of God." Mir Nasir Khan was very much pleased with the reply and ordered his Munshi to give Mir Bago a *parwana* (order). But no paper was at hand and the Mir wrote on a piece of baked earth a parwana, giving Mir Bago the jagir of Tando, and dismissed him with a *loungi* (a kind of scarf) and a *panjsanji* (a saddle).

But the lot of the Hindu was extremely sad. He was tyrannically oppressed both socially and religiously. It is true that the persecutions that distinguished the early Talpurs, and which compelled large bodies of Hindus to quit the country, became latterly very uncommon, but even the younger members of the family were extremely bigoted, intolerant and ignorant. The Hindu was denied the free exercise of his religion, all the emblems of image-worship were destroyed, the tom-tom was only beaten when permitted and the sound of music never came from the temples. Burton tells us of a chief who refused to place a watch for repair in the hands of a "but-parast" (idolator). Dr. Burnes, when in Hyderabad, complained against a Baniya and the latter was ordered to be made a Muslim. Seth Hotchand, the merchant prince of Karachi, was forcibly seized to be made a Muslim—for eleven days he lived on fried gram and he saved himself by fleeing to Cutch and he returned only after the Talpurs lost their thrones. Sometimes circumcision was made the penalty of crime.

"The prince is the religious pattern of his people," and the Muslim subjects of the Amirs copied their hatred of the Hindus as closely as they could. "No Hindoo ventured to pronounce the name of the village Allah Yara Jo Tando, because of the holy dissyllable that commences it ; he could not touch a paper in the Arabic language, because that character was the character of the Koran." He must call the rope *nori* not *raso*, for the latter might sound as Rasul and he then be made a Muslim. Similarly he should call 'rasval' 'akhol' and Rasulabad Wazirabad. "It was always in the power of two Moslems to effect the conversion of a Pagan by swearing that they saw him at a cock-fight on Friday, that he pronounced in their presence the word Mohamed, or even that he used some such ambiguous phrase as "I will go with thee. . . ." Nothing easier than to make a Moslem in those days. The patient was taken before the judge, where, after being stripped of his old clothes, the ceremonial ablution was duly performed, and he was invested in the garments that denote the

Faithful. A crowd of jubilants then chaired him to the Mosque; prayers were recited over him, he was directed thrice to repeat Mohammed's creed—and, if he did it fluently, a minor miracle was got up—next came circumcision, the eating a bit of beef, a change of name, a feast, and, lastly, a very concise course of instruction in the ceremonial part of the new faith."

"With the vulgar the excitement of making one convert bred a desire to make another and another. When opportunities were rare, they were obliged to content themselves with robbing the Pagans: Friday—the Moslem Sunday—being generaly selected as the time for these small St. Bartholomew displays. There were few towns in which a Hindoo could safely leave his house between Thursday evening and Saturday morning." During the Moharrum and other Muslim fasts and feasts, Hindus were obliged to shut up their shops all over the country.

Nor did the proselyte obtain any worldly advantage for changing his religion. He rarely rose to fortune or distinction and seldom commanded the confidence of his new co-religionists, while his return to Hinduism, when practicable, was accompanied by many disagreeable conditions.

It was certainly the operation of the Law of Karma that the persecuted race could revenge themselves indirectly. To the prince they were a necessary evil. The Amirs required for pleasure the time demanded by business, and not the uncivilized Muslim, but the literate Amil, could be entrusted with the management of the country, and in some cases even of their subjects. But he acquired influence to be abused: he fomented intestine and family feuds, corrupted the principal Muslim officers of the State and sadly confused all ideas of *entente cordiale* with neighbourin and allied kingdoms. The Baniya's command ready money also gave the Hindu a certa power over his ruler, who, looking to his reven as a means of present gratification or to help h accumulation of wealth, farmed its sources to th *sahukar* for any sum which could be had imm diately. But the latter employed the opportuni to grind the faces of the poor tax-payers, wh were mostly Muslims. His ways were le objectionable when he closed his shop witho notice and might be for an indefinite period, as protest against ill-treatment, but it was highl inconvenient to his rival who completely depende upon him for his necessaries.

The extreme cunning, industry, intellige and perseverance of the Hindu and the comple demoralization of his oppressor, not only sav the former from utter extinction, but also enabl him to adhere to the country that he had n reason to be proud of. He is also remarkabl for "passive courage"; in suffering he is "brave than any woman"; and could not this, to som extent, account for his unwillingness to escape t the neighbouring countries under British rule, o to Cutch, Gujerat, or Rajputana, all inhabited b persons of his faith?

An oppressor's rule is short. The gay, th proud, the licentious Talpurs, surrounded b "pleasure, power and affluence," had wasted "thei thoughtless hours in giddy mirth and wanto often cruel, riot" and had little thought of "t the sad variety of pain" that tormented not only their Hindu subjects, but also the subjects wh belonged to their own belief, and their actio destroyed them.

"Earth is sick,
And Heaven weary, of the hollow words
Which States and Kingdoms utter when they talk
Of truth and justice."

Wordsworth
—*The Excursion*, *Book V.*

# DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE

## By SANTA DEVI

ANANDA was born in a very orthodox Hindu family of Calcutta. Though his family had been living in the metropolis for five generations, the tide of modernism had swept by, leaving it totally untouched. Ananda's ancestor, who was perhaps his great-great grandfather, actually plied the trade of a blacksmith. His descendants had not wielded the hammer actually, but they had carried on a hardware business for four generations. They squatted on wooden bedsteads in the shop, with cash-box in front, and wrote accounts in cloth-bound ledger books, with quill pens. The furniture had remained the same for four generations. No one had the temerity to introduce tables and chairs, and none had dreamt of replacing the quill pen with a fountain pen. They still carried good-sized watches in their pockets and had no desire to exchange these for wrist-watches. In fact, it is doubtful whether they knew what a wrist-watch was, because they had received only very elementary education, which did not include a knowledge of modern and current fashions. As soon as the boys of the family learnt to read and write correctly, they were taken out of school and put into the shop to serve a course of apprenticeship. They never advanced up to college classes and so never learnt to use new-fashioned shoes, dresses, pens and eyeglasses. They never even learnt to smoke cigarettes.

It is needless perhaps to say, that the ladies of the family were no more modern than the men folk. For generations, the girls of the family had been married off before twelve and settled down to enjoy lives of matrimonial bliss. Before marriage, their days had been occupied in performing minor tasks for their mothers and aunts and playing at leisure time. They had also taken care of their younger brothers and sisters and had roamed about amongst the neighbouring houses at their will. They had heard and enjoyed gossip of all kinds, chiefly about their own marriages. As soon as they got married, their lives began to follow a well-known track, from which there were no deviations. The wheel of existence rotated ceaselessly and monotonously. There was no going forward, no looking backward, the present occupied their whole attention. They had passed daily from the bedroom to the kitchen, and had returned from the kitchen to the same bedroom. One after another, children had come to their arms, to grow up into future masters of the hardware business or to die untimely for want of proper care. If the child happened to be a girl, she passed on to another family, in due time, after causing some expenditure of hard-earned money. Motherhood came to these women involuntarily, and the children grew up in the same way. The mothers' desires had nothing to do with their upbringing, and they had no part in shaping the destiny of these children. After their own children had grown up, the grandchildren arrived and the same round had to be gone over again with these newcomers. No innovations had crept in, no new-fangled theories followed. Household duties and the bearing and rearing of children took up their whole existence. It did not look as if these women were conscious of anything else in the world. If the men had earned more money than was actually necessary for maintaining the family, perhaps a few recreations, such as festivals or dress and jewellery, might have crept in, as superfluous money has to be disposed of somehow. But the goddess of wealth had not been over-munificent with this family. These people had just sufficient for their simple needs and no more. So no variety and diversion had crept in through this loophole.

The family went on thriving exceedingly in the number of children, but the business did not thrive quite so well ; it lagged far behind. When affairs had reached really a low ebb, Ananda was born in this family. His childhood passed off exactly as the childhood of the other children had passed. But when he was about ten years of age, his luck took a sudden turn. Some friend of his father advised the gentleman to put Ananda in a high school. If Ananda learnt English well, so ran the argument, he might become a magistrate or a judge in time and thus revive the falling fortunes of the family. Ananda's father determined to be adventurous for once, and actually put Ananda in a high school to learn English. He went even farther, he decided to let the boy become a real modern youngster.

Up to this time, Ananda had only heard about the outside world, but never had any first-hand knowledge of it. His home and his father's shop made up his world. Suddenly he was thrown straight into the midst of this other world. His father also engaged a private tutor for him in order that the boy might become a tolerably good schoolboy and not shock anyone with his lack of manners and general knowledge. The tutor came of a family which had produced schoolmasters for generations, and who talked school language even in his dreams. Ananda had hitherto heard only about dull markets and slumps, creditors and debtors, export and imports, but now he began to hear about, "getting good marks, standing first, cramming," etc.

At first everything seemed strange to Ananda. He could not understand the pride and joy of getting good marks. What did it matter if some one wrote a number on an exercise book, which bore his name? Ananda had been trained up to believe in money alone. But these marks brought no money. So why should even old greyheaded persons go wild with joy over them?

But he was young and learnt very soon. He understood that it was more modern to go crazy over abstract things like marks and hearts and likes and dislikes, than over concrete things like money. He never could forget that he was the pioneer of modernism in his own benighted family. His manners changed and even his way of speaking. He was extremely careful of his accent and pronunciation, so that no inkling of his former cockney dialect might creep in. He used all the English words he knew in and out of place and took great pride in it. Before he had finished the second primer, he gave up writing letters and doing accounts in Bengali. Though his first attempts at English correspondence evoked unbridled mirth, Ananda never lost heart. Whatever outsiders thought, his own family regarded him as an infant phenomenon. His mother was the most enthusiastic of his admirers. "Why Ananda," she would exclaim, her face glowing with pride, "you are actually writing like the Sahibs!"

"Why mother," Ananda would answer, using as many English words, as he could put in, "I shall soon be a collège student. If I remain weak in English, even now, how shall I follow the lectures of the professors, and answer their questions? So I read as many 'outbooks' as possible and have to pay for it by writing tasks." The mother hardly understood anything of this jargon, but it made her exceedingly proud, nevertheless.

The day Ananda entered college for the first time, he felt actually reborn. He threw away his old coats and coaxed some money out of his fond mother, with which he had some new-fashioned *punjabis* made. He had noticed that the college boys never wore coats or shoes, but put on *punjabis* and 'albert' slippers. So if he did not dress exactly like them, they might guess his 'lowly' origin and turn up their noses in scorn. He had begun to feel extremely ashamed of his ancestors who worked as blacksmiths and of his present-day relatives who dealt in hardware. He knew his newly found friends would hold these old-fashioned people in scant esteem, so he carefully hid their existence from anyone's knowledge. These people dealt in iron and they looked made of iron, too. Had their dealings in iron brought in a stream of gold, it might have made matters better, as money covers a multitude of sins. But even this redeeming golden touch was absent. So he decided to ignore their existence in public.

He would say to his mother, "Mother, if ever the store-house of iron receives the contact of a touchstone, it would be solely due to me. I wonder, how I came to be born in this house."

The mother thought her son was dreaming of future wealth and would answer, "Yes, my darling, surely you will bring the touchstone. I am living in the hope of seeing you driving off all the misfortunes of the family."

"But mother," Ananda would say, "I am not talking of a real touchstone, but of a figurative one."

"Oh, it is all the same," the mother would answer. "It is just your way of speaking. You speak the language of educated people and I, that of ordinary womenfolk. May you live long, my treasure."

Ananda gave up all hope of converting his mother to modern modes of expression, and retired. But he could not always resist the temptation of having a fling or two at the cast-iron conventions of his family. He thought it cowardice to give up all attempts at bettering things.

He had taken good notice of everything in his teacher's house. He liked the way their drawing-room was furnished, and went and got two cane chairs for his own room. He spent the whole day in arranging and decorating it. After a whole day's labour the room began to look a bit modern But after a stroll in the evening, he came back and regarded his room in dismay. His father had come in some time after Ananda had gone out, and placed a wet towel on one of the chairs. On the other chair was reposing his brother's cast-off coat. Ananda had covered his table with a big sheet of brown paper, for want of anything better, and some one had upset a bowl of mustard oil on it. The person responsible for this outrage, had also taken his rest there, it seemed. He must have sat in the chair, and placed his feet on the oil-stained table at first. Then he had removed his feet from the table, and placed them on the opposite wall, thereby making big stains on it. The wall looked decorated with grotesque oily 'frescoes' of huge human feet. A storm of rage swept over Ananda, rendering him powerless to move for the moment. He threw away the dirty coat and towel, but seeing that the chairs had become quite stained and discoloured, he burst into tears of anger.

But he had not yet estimated correctly the extent of his misfortunes. He had improvised a curtain for the door with the aid of an old bed-sheet, and some coloured borders from his mother's *saree.* As he looked at it, he saw that a square piece, of the size of a handkerchief had been torn off it. On the rest, some sooty utensil had been cleaned. And on the wall somebody had written the milkman's account with a piece of charcoal. Ananda felt as if some insulting vandal had swept through his room, leaving marks of destruction everywhere. He sighed deeply and gave up all hopes in his heart of modernizing his home.

But it was impossible to curb his enthusiasm completely. Though he had despaired of his elders and his home, he still cherished some hopes of the younger generation. He took his youngest brother in hand. He determined to keep him in a modern atmosphere as far as possible, and with this object in view, he began to take the child along with him to his teacher's house and sometimes even to his college.

But even this last venture did not prove very successful. One day he dressed the boy up in his best clothes, and gave him detailed instructions about behaviour, and finally took him to the college. The boy feared his brother very much, so at first he sat very still. He was taken to the commonroom of the students. He was a very chubby child, and so was not left alone for long. One after another person came and chucked him under the chin and pressed his fat cheeks. The boy tried his best to bear these annoyances for a minute or two. But repeated attacks did away with his forced patience and he aimed a blow at the face of the aggressor, crying "Go away, you monkey." All the students roared with laughter, but poor Ananda's face became red as fire. He felt sure that everybody must be thinking his people utter boors, who did not know manners. After this he never took the boy with him anywhere.

He tried once to reform the dress of

the inmates of his home, but met with stubborn opposition everywhere. New dresses meant fresh expenditure. The authorities did not see the necessity of providing dress for the children, who had hitherto been satisfied with food alone. One *dhoti* or *sari* had been deemed sufficient for the adult population, and any addition to it was thought great extravagance. "Away with your fashionable ideas," they all cried. "You want Bengali people to sit all dressed up even at home. Next you will want them to dine at a table and adopt ball-dancing. Your college education has turned you into a complete *Feringhee*."

Bitter retorts would rise to Ananda's lips, but he did not venture to answer his elders. At last, Ananda had to acknowledge defeat to himself. He knew that it was impossible to change the mentality, fostered by decades of hardware business, and desisted. He determined to live for himself after this.

He was considered as one of themselves by his teacher's family. He was always welcome. Though the master of the house was a poor schoolmaster, he was related to and acquainted with many rich and influential persons. Ananda, too, began to get on friendly terms with these people, though he was very careful to conceal his parentage from them. If anybody asked about it, he would always reply, "Know me as my teacher's pupil. That is my best credentials."

A small party was going on that day at his teacher's house. The room was full of boisterous young people, and Ananda had joined in the merrymaking with his whole heart. He knew how to become one of them. It was the highest ambition he had, to become an ideal to these people, in knowledge and intelligence, good manners and good taste.

He had not been exactly asked to this party, still he had come. He had heard of it from a friend and had put in an appearance taking his invitation for granted. He was busily engaged in decorating the drawing-room and in choosing songs to be sung in the evening and had already made himself indispensable. Nobody would have taken him for an outsider.

He was now fixing the hanging lamp of the room. He was standing on a stool, with his sleeves rolled up. As the light was turned on, a girl shot into the room, like another flash of light. To Ananda, her appearance was like the appearance of some divinity who suddenly swung into sight without previous notice. She was really a phantom of delight and effulgence.

Ananda turned pale in dismay. Who was this vision of loveliness, who had surprised him in this awkward position? He did not know how to remove this deplorable first impression from her mind. The other girls in the room greeted the newcomer with shouts of laughter. The faces of the young men glowed with pleasure.

"Come here, Ujjala," cried Baruna, a daughter of the house, "let me introduce you to Ananda Babu. He is one of the cleverest of father's pupils. He is famous in our circle for his many-sided talents and intelligence."

Ujjala smiled brightly and said, "I hope I too shall learn to appreciate you like all these people."

"But you too are a celebrity, are you not?" asked Baruna. "Do you know Ananda Babu, a person can never forget Ujjala, if he sees her once? She has scores of admirers; so you must beware."

Ujjala felt a bit awkward. After all Ananda was a total stranger, she was not prepared for such familiar talk at the very first meeting. She gave Baruna a push smiling shyly. "Now, now," she said, "no more of your nonsense."

Then she turned round smartly and marched to the other end of the room to greet the people assembled there. Ananda caught a bright look from her eyes and a flash of the gold-embroidered end of her *sari*, then she was gone.

Ananda gazed at her, enraptured, from behind. How gracefully she walked! He had read in fables, that at every step of the beautiful princess's feet, a lotus bloomed into sight. If she smiled, a shower of diamonds fell, if she wept, a stream of pearls. He felt as if the princess of the story book had stepped down from the volume. No anklets tinkled at every step of hers, but he actually felt as if he saw flowers blooming on her path. Her smile lighted up the room more brightly than any real diamond could have done. And her tears? Ananda felt, that the man, for whom she would shed them, would be the most fortunate one on God's earth.

Ujjala was bowing to her friends with her small flowerlike palms, joined together. How beautiful were her arms and even her finger-nails and how gracefully she did everything. Baruna had been looking at him sharply all this while. She now came behind him and whispered: "Are you going to enrol yourself as one of the band who worship Ujjala? If you do, you will very soon beat your predecessors."

Ananda blushed like a girl, but he felt proud and glad within him. He did not want to take Baruna's remarks as mere joking, it hurt his pride. Still he said, "Please don't jest. I am not worthy of such a great honour."

Ujjala had become surrounded by her numerous admirers, who were looking hungrily at her for favour of a smile of recognition. Everyone felt jealous of everyone else, thinking Ujjala was making distinctions, and smiling more brightly at one, than at the other. Ananda was thinking of the day, when he would oust all other admirers off the field, with the sharpness of his intellect and reign supreme in her favour. But that day was still far off. He did not want to waste in this turmoil the beautiful speeches he was preparing in his mind. Those verbal gems would get lost in the crowd, and Ujjala would pay no notice to them perhaps.

The sky remains aglow with colours even long after the sun has set. So even after Ujjala had departed, the gladness she had brought with her, remained in the party. The memory of her beauty burned in poor Ananda's heart like a sacred beacon. He wanted to know who she was, and all about her, but he dared not ask Baruna anything for fear of her sharp jests.

Alone he had to fight against a host like the young hero Abhimanyu of old. Though the stake was not a kingdom of the earth, but of a damsel's heart, yet the fight was none the less serious. And it required far greater skill. Ananda was confident that he would come out victorious in this contest. It was a battle after his own heart, and he began to sharpen all the weapons of speech and to rehearse all modes of attack. To his surprise, he found an unexpected ally in Baruna. Very frequent invitations began to arrive both at Ujjala and Ananda's place, to take tea with Baruna, on her small terrace. It was really a small place, and could not hold a big party. So very few were ever invited. Besides, as Baruna was the hostess, she could not afford to have a large number of people at the same time. So she gave very small and select parties, but Ananda was always one of the chosen. "Have you made a secret pact with Baruna?" Ujjala would sometimes ask Ananda laughingly. "You seem to be the only constant factor at her otherwise changeable parties." "But the constancy is not due to my attractions," Baruna would answer mischievously. "Ananda Babu really needs no invitation. He knows, where Ujjala is there he must be to keep her in a joyous frame of mind."

Ananda had to protest for the sake of politeness. "I am indebted to you for your everlasting kindness," he would say to Baruna. "Because I cannot express it in words, don't think I am not grateful for it. Still if you call me an intruder or a trespasser, I must plead not guilty to the charge."

Then he turned to Ujjala, in the manner of a finished courtier. "I admit," he would say, "that I have not been able to conquer temptation. Your nearness is a priceless treasure to me. Still I don't want to enjoy it by stealth like a thief."

Baruna burst out laughing. "You are not a thief, Ananda Babu," she said, "but an invader. You are determined to break through the walls of partition. Ujjala is surrounded by sevenfold walls of flattery, love and homage. But with the aid of your genius, you will surmount all the obstacles. But you must admit that I, too, am helping you greatly. If I gave as much opportunity to the other invaders, who are roaming around, as I do to you, you would be outnumbered in no time."

Ujjala would feel very shy. She did not like so much plain speaking. It looked as if Baruna was purposely throwing them together so frequently.

But Ananda felt immensely proud. His

hopes of victory increased. Why was he given so much chance, if the young ladies did not mean him to win ?

At last the hoped-for day arrived. It was a moonlit evening, and they were sitting on Baruna's terrace. Baruna suddenly went down to welcome a third guest. Ananda looked up. Fleecy white clouds, looking like a string of white chrysanthemums, were passing across the sky. His hand touched that of Ujjala's, as if by accident. She did not take her hand away ; on the contrary, she clasped his hand in her own. She smiled shyly at him. Next moment, two glittering drops rolled down from her eyes.

So it was really the princess of his dreams ! She really wept tears of pearl !

She smiled through her tears and asked, "Why have you come so near to my heart ? What do you want of me ?"

"I want to hold this hand, in my own, for the rest of my life," replied Ananda.

"Do you know whose hand it is ?" asked Ujjala. "You have got wealth, name and fame, but what have I ? I am not worthy of you."

"Everything I have and everything I am was dedicated to this end of winning you. Else everything is meaningless. You do not know what a fortress of iron, I had to break out of, in search of you. The worth you have invested me with, is my only worth. I can claim you on its strength alone. I have nothing else."

"A man is nothing more than what he makes of himself," said Ujjala. "If I did not believe in this doctrine, I would never have ventured to speak to you. Wealth, family and society might invest a person with sham splendour, but it wears off only too soon. Real gold is only discovered, it cannot be manufactured."

Their days passed on like one sweet dream. Suddenly, one day, Ananda said "Ujjala, we have now acquired a thorough knowledge of each other's heart. But the outer world also has claims on us both. I must tell you what I am and who I am. You will be surprised to hear, that none of the women of our family know how to read or write. The men too can only sign their names and do accounts. And—and my grandfather always used to sign his surname as Das Karmakar (blacksmith). We have omitted the 'Karmkar' now, as it is too humiliating."

Ananda was trembling, beads of perspiration had appeared on his brow. He smiled wanly and looked at Ujjala.

But he found Ujjala's face lighted up with a joyous smile. "What of it ?" she replied. "My father used to sign his surname as Das Charmakar (tanner). When I was put into a girls' hostel in childhood, the headmistress omitted the 'Charmakar."

Then the last scene of the drama. A letter from Ananda came to Ujjala.

"Ujjala, I shall say nothing about myself," Ananda had written, "because I no longer have the right to say anything. But you know, don't you, what a mother is ? And the claim she has on a man's life ? My mother has taken to her bed, after she heard about us. How shall I wound her to the heart in this way ? I shall have to renounce all hope of happiness and fulfilment and still cling to her.

"Forget unfortunate Ananda. He is not really worthy of you.

Ananda"

*Translated by* SEETA DEVI

# ENGLISH IMPRESSIONS OF RAMMOHUN ROY BEFORE HIS VISIT TO ENGLAND

### By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

RAMMOHUN Roy went to England at the very end of his long and eventful life and he died there. Living there in the midst of a cultured society and kindred spirits, in the full glare of publicity, the last two or three years of his life are lit up with information from a variety of sources, and these have been utilized in the earlier and well-known biographies of the Rajah. But it should never be forgotten that long before he left for England or even contemplated a voyage there, his remarkable intellectual powers, moral courage, versatile attainments and essentially modern outlook, caused him to be regarded by the European society of India in his days as a prodigy. He impressed the more thoughtful and liberal-minded among the British sojourners in this land—particularly the Unitarians and the orthodox Christian missionaries,—as a sort of new planet that had swum into their range of vision from a most unexpected quarter. Who could have imagined that a "native" was capable of such performances?

These early English impressions of Rammohun Roy are unknown in India and would serve as a useful supplement to the chapter devoted to the same subject in Mary Carpenter's work, which deals with the *last* days of Rammohun.

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THE MONTHLY REPOSITORY OF THEOLOGY AND GENERAL LITERATURE, 1821, Vol. XVI, p. 515.

Clapton,
September 3, 1821.

Sir,

* * *

A few days since I was introduced to the acquaintance of an officer of the British army in India, who bore a distinguished part in the late Mahratta war, of which he has since become the very able historian.* In conversation with this gentleman, who, on the close of that war, resided at Madras, and has very lately returned to England, I sought to gratify my curiosity respecting Rammohun Roy, whom I soon found to be his friend and correspondent. My new acquaintance very obligingly offered me the two pamphlets which you have reviewed, and a letter from Rammohun, which had accompanied them.

This letter is dated Calcutta, Sept. 5, 1820. After expressing "grateful acknowledgments" of his correspondent Colonel B—r's [Blacker] "frequent remembrance," Rammohun thus proceeds:

"As to the opinion intimated by Sir Samuel T—r, respecting the medium course in Christian dogmas, I never have attempted to oppose it. I regret only that the followers of Jesus, in general, should have paid much greater attention to inquiries after his nature than to the observance of his commandments, when we are well aware that no human acquirements can ever discover the nature even of the most common and visible things, and moreover, that such inquiries are not enjoined by the divine revelation.

"On this consideration I have compiled several passages of the New Testament which I thought essential to Christianity, and published them under the designation of *Precepts of Jesus*, at which the Missionaries at Serampur have expressed great displeasure, and called me, in their review of the tract, an injurer of the cause of truth. I was, therefore, under the necessity of defending myself in an *Appeal to the Christian Public*, a few copies of which tracts I have the pleasure to send you, under the care of Captain S—, and intreat your acceptance of them.

"I return, with my sincere acknowledgments, the work which Sir S. T. was so kind as to lend me. May I request the favour of you to forward it to Sir S. T., as well as a copy of each of the pamphlets, with my best compliments, and to favour me with your and Sir S. T.'s opinion respecting my idea of Christianity, as expressed in those tracts, when an opportunity may occur; as I am always open to conviction and correction."

Rammohun then expresses his determination "to leave India" for Europe as soon as he can arrange his affairs, and his desire, which, however, he did not accomplish, "of going in the same ship" with his correspondent. Yet Colonel B. has no doubt of Rammohun's continued determination to visit England....

J. T. RUTT

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THE MONTHLY REPOSITORY OF THEOLOGY AND GENERAL LITERATURE, 1822, Vol. xvii., p. 584.

*Free Press and Unitarianism in India*

"It must gratify every friend to the progress of human reason to learn, that notwithstanding the difficulties so long considered insuperable, a glorious change is effecting in British India. The free press of Calcutta has operated most powerfully in reforming the most inveterate and revolting abuses. The effect of seven native presses at work in that great city has been to triumph over Hindoo superstition in its strong hold. During the last festival of Jagarnaut there were so few pilgrims present that they were unable to drag the car. The Brahmins called in other aid, but no devotee could be persuaded to sacrifice himself to the Idol. They now talk of removing the Rath to a more central situation. The wily priesthood have sagacity enough to perceive that they must remove the theatre of their sanguinary superstition beyond the sphere of a free press: or that the bigotry of thirty centuries will disappear. To the permanent glory of our Indian administration, a large portion of the population of Bengal are receiving the rudiments of an improved system of education, while thousands of elementary works are circulating throughout our empire. Even Hindoo women, against whom widowhood, and consequent burning alive, are denounced for learning the alphabet, and who must not read the Veda, under pain of death, have placed their daughters at the public schools. The celebrated Hindoo Reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, has held public monthly meetings at Calcutta, for the purpose of freely discussing the tenets of his religion, and exposing the cruelties practised under it. By the way, a Mr. Adam, a Baptist Missionary, awakened by the arguments of this Hindoo Reformer, has declared himself a Unitarian, and established an Unitarian press. This conversion gave great umbrage in a certain quarter, and the Attorney-General was applied to, to interpose the shield of some antiquated statute, to protect spiritual intolerance. As become his talents and his character, the enlightened lawyer assured the...that these days were passed. Mr. Adam, consequently, remains at Calcutta, supported and encouraged by some of its respectable inhabitants, who are about to erect an Unitarian Chapel for him. Such are the blessings of unfettered discussion."

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* V. Blacker: *Memoir of the operations of the Br. Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818, and 1819*, 2 vols. (1821).

We copy the above paragraph from the *Morning Chronicle*. The statement with regard to Ram Mohun Roy and Mr. Adam is quite correct, as we hope for an occasion of shewing very fully ere long. Can the writer mean that the blank in the passage should be filled up with the name of Dr. Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta? Is it thus that Episcopacy displays its novel front in the East Indies? Has the learned Bishop no reliance upon his fond argument against the Unitarians from the Greek article, and would he uphold the doctrine of the Trinity by banishing its opponents from the earth? Happily, the recent law for the protection of Missionaries in our Asiatic dependencies is as good for Unitarians as for Athanasians and Calvinists.

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## THE MONTHLY REPOSITORY OF THEOLOGY AND GENERAL LITERATURE, Vol. xviii. pp. 433-39.

### Rammohun Roy: Controversy between the Bramuns and Missionaries.

(From the Baltimore "Unitarian Miscellany," for May 1823).

... ... ...

We have before us two letters from Rammohun Roy to a gentleman in Baltimore, the first dated Calcutta, October 17, and the other, December 9, 1822. These letters contain valuable facts, some of which will be seen in the extracts below. They are written in English, and manifest a perfect acquaintance with that language. In the first letter the writer observes:

"I have now every reason to hope, that the truths of Christianity will not be much longer kept hidden under the veil of Heathen doctrines and practices, gradually introduced among the followers of Christ, since many lovers of truth are zealously engaged in rendering the religion of Jesus clear from corruptions.

"I admire the zeal of the Missionaries sent to this country, but disapprove of the means they have adopted. In the performance of their duty, they always begin with such obscure doctrines as are calculated to excite ridicule, instead of respect, towards the religion which they wish to promulgate. The accompanying pamphlets, called *The Bramunical Magazine*, and published by a Bramun, are a proof of my assertion. The last number of this publication has remained unanswered for twelve months.

"If a body of men attempt to upset a system of doctrines generally established in a country, and to introduce another system, they are, in my humble opinion, in duty bound to prove the truth, or, at least, the superiority of their own.

"It is, however, a great satisfaction to my conscience to find, that the doctrines inculcated by Jesus and his apostles, are quite different from those human inventions, which the Missionaries are persuaded to profess, and entirely consistent with reason, and the revelation delivered by Moses and the prophets. I am therefore, anxious to support them, even at the risk of my own life. I rely much on the force of truth, which will, I am sure, ultimately prevail. Our number is comparatively small, but I am glad to inform you, that none of them can be justly charged with the want of zeal and prudence.

"I wish to add, in order that you may set me right, if you find me mistaken,—my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal Father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour, or creed; notwithstanding, they may be justified in the sight of the Creator in manifesting their respect towards each other, according to the propriety of their actions, and the reasonableness of their religious opinions and observances.

"I shall lose no time in sending you my *Final Appeal to the Christian Public*, as soon as it is printed."

In the second letter Rammohun Roy remarks:

"Although our adversaries are both numerous and zealous, as the adversaries of truth always have been, yet our prospects are by no means discouraging, if we only have the means of following up what has already been done.

"We confidently hope that, through these various means, the period will be accelerated, when the belief in the Divine Unity, and in the mission of Christ, will universally prevail."

What the author calls his *Final Appeal*, relates to a controversy in which he has been some time engaged with the Missionaries, and which we have before noticed. He published selections from the New Testament, in which it was his object to bring together the practical parts, and avoid such as have divided Christians. For this he was censured by the Missionaries......

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## THE MONTHLY REPOSITORY OF THEOLOGY AND GENERAL LITERATURE, Vol. xviii. pp. 439-442.

### Correspondence with the Editor relating to Rammohun Roy.

The first of the two following letters is referred to in our Correspondence p. 432. When we then acknowledged it, we had no idea of making any public use of it; but having since had an interview with Mr. Buckingham, the highly intelligent and patriotic Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, who is now in England, we put it into his hands, and have received from him the following letter in reply, which will be gratifying to our readers. To render Mr. Buckingham's communication intelligible, it is necessary to publish the letter that gave rise to it, though it contains one passage at least which we are the reluctant instruments of circulating, and which we could not have admitted into our pages if it had not been followed by Mr. Buckingham's satisfactory confutation.

### LETTER I.

Eltham, June 19, 1823.

Sir,

I have perused with interest the several papers respecting Rammohun Roy, which have occasionally appeared in the Monthly Repository, and being desirous to further the object of their insertion therein, am induced to trouble you with what follows.

A relation of mine, who for some years filled a high and important official situation at Calcutta, was acquainted with Rammohun Roy, and I lately read to him the preface of "The Precepts of Jesus a [the] Guide to [Peace and] Happiness," which bears his name as its author. My relation observed first, that it is not fact (as asserted in pages 2 and 3 of the perface), that "the knowledge of Sanscrit is indispensable to the caste and profession of a Brahmin," and said that thousands of Brahmins were altogether ignorant of it.

"The Dewan," he said, "is not," (as described in page 3), "chief native officer in the collection of the revenues, but a kind of steward to a private gentleman."

About the time when he is said to have become Dewan, *i.e.*, in 1814 or a little earlier, my relation knew him, and says that he possessed but the merest smattering of the English language; and though he allows him to have been perhaps the most intelligent of all the natives with whom he ever conversed or had anything to do, considers his intellect as far below the standard of a moderate European intellect, and altogether decidedly unequal to the acquirement of our language in the degree of perfection which is necessary for criticism, translation, or controversy. His age too, at the time, was beyond the period when people acquire languages with facility. And moreover, he did not appear to him to have a remarkable talent for their acquisition, but the contrary; and, considering his advantages, spoke our language much worse than he ought, or might reasonably have been expected to do. Considering these circumstances, and how soon afterwards he is represented as the author of several learned works, it is incredible to my relation that he was or could ever be the author of such productions, and that he should have entered into controversy with Dr. Marshman, and have converted either him or any missionary of good talent to Unitarianism or any other faith, is still more wonderful and incredible to him.

He regards the whole as either a fabrication by persons whose zeal to further their objects has carried them to the length of imposing upon the ignorance of people in this country their own productions, with the additional weight which would be due to them from the pen of a native author of them; or that if Rammohun Roy have any hand in them, he must have received assistance from Europeans equivalent to their having written them almost entirely themselves.

As to the character of Rammohun, my relation regards him as a man who would not scruple for a sufficient bribe, to lend his name to any publication whatever.

Now, Sir, the high estimation in which I hold the talents and integrity of my relation obliges me to listen to his testimony. At the same time, I cannot in any manner satisfactorily account for the Baptist Missionary Society having acknowledged and complained of the conversion of their missionary, (Dr. Marshman, I believe; is it not ?) by Rammohun Roy, on any other ground excepting that of his being really the author of the works attributed to him. For the missionary could not be deceived in this. His own jealousy as well as that of the Society of Baptists would have detected the above mentioned imposition had it been attempted. "But who" (urges my friend) "are the persons that report these extraordinary facts, that I should yield my own experience to their testimony ? Why am I to believe an incredible story upon the testimony of anonymous writers in a periodical pamphlet ?"

If this testimony can be better established than it has hitherto been; if any more particular proof that Rammohun Roy is the real and not the fictitious author of the writings attributed to him; that he is of respectable character; that he really did convert the missionary, and that a missionary was in fact converted by a native, and that native was Rammohun Roy; and, lastly, if those who report these things to the people at large in this country, can, better than has hitherto been done, satisfy such as my relation, who oppose their own experience to their report, that what they allege is true; and if you can do this or get it done, you will much oblige a constant reader, and perhaps enable him to turn such interesting facts to some useful account.

T. L.

### Letter II.

68, Baker St., Portman Sq.
Aug. 4, 1823.

Sir,

I have read the letter addressed to the Editor of the Monthly Repository, signed T. L. dated from Eltham, relating to Rammohun Roy, and I have great pleasure in offering you the following brief remarks on the several points alluded to, giving you entire liberty to use my information or authority in any way that may seem to you most likely to be productive of benefit.

It certainly is *not* fact that the knowledge of Sanscrit is necessary to the *caste* of a Brahmin; because that is a distinction which he derives from his birth, and is neither dependent on knowledge, nor virtue, since idiots and villains may be as pure Brahmins as the most learned or the most upright. But it *is* fact that a knowledge of Sanscrit is indispensable to the profession of a Brahmin, because all his priestly offices are performed and uttered in that tongue; and although there are thousands of Brahmins *born* that are ignorant of Sanscrit, there can be none of these in the *profession* as *officiating* Brahmins,—for they would be unable to discharge the commonest portions of their duty.

The *Dewan* is the chief native officer in the collection of the revenue, although that title is also sometimes, but not always, given to the stewards of private gentlemen—the titles for these last, being more frequently *Banian* and *Sircar*. I can scarcely imagine any one long resident in India to be so ignorant as to dispute this; for the great act of the Mogul, by which the *Dewannee*, or collection of the revenue, was granted to the Company, is as familiar to all India readers, as the term *Charter* by which they hold their monopoly of that country.

I do not know what was the proficiency of Rammohun Roy in English in 1815; but I can declare that in June 1818, the month of my first arrival in Calcutta, I was introduced to Rammohun Roy, at the house of Mr. Eneas Mackintosh, (now in London,) and was surprised at the unparalleled accuracy of his language, never having before heard *any* foreigner of Asiatic birth speak so well, and esteeming his fine choice of words as worthy the imitation even of Englishmen. My first hour's conversation with him was in Arabic, that being the Oriental language most familiar to me, and not knowing at first that he spoke English with ease and fluency; but accident changing our discourse to English, I was delighted and surprised at his perfection in this tongue. I know, moreover, that he is a profound scholar in Sanskrit, Bengalee, Arabic, Persian, and Hinduee, all of which he writes and speaks with facility. In English, he is competent to converse freely on the most abstruse subjects, and to argue more closely and coherently than most men that I know. His attention has also been lately turned to Hebrew and Greek, for literary purposes, and to French for colloquial intercourse. To represent a man with such acquirements at the age of thirty-five (for he cannot be much more) as deficient in intellect, must either be the work of extreme ignorance, or malice, or both. For myself, I have no hesitation in declaring that I could not name twenty Englishmen in India, whose intellectual endowments I thought even *equal* to his own, although I have come in contact with most of the distinguished men in the country. He is in short one of the wonders of the present age, and requires only to be known, to excite admiration and esteem.

It is barely possible that some of his earlier works might have been revised by an English pen; but I am convinced that if ever such revisions were made, they must have been *merely* literal. The subject was all his own. And as to his later writings, his controversies with the Missionaries of Serampore, I do not believe that they have one word in them which is not *wholly* his own. The Missionary converted by Rammohun Roy from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism, is a Mr. Adam, and not Dr. Marshman: which Mr. Adam was originally deputed, it is understood, from the mission at Serampore, to discuss personally with Rammohun Roy the several points of difference between their creeds, and being honestly bent on the search of truth, had the frankness to confess the arguments of his opponent to be convincing. Mr. Adam accordingly separated from the Baptist Mission at Serampore, and in conjunction with Rammohun Roy, and others of the same faith, established a Unitarian Chapel and an Unitarian Press in Calcutta. The late Bishop of Calcutta, on hearing of Mr. Adam's embracing Unitarianism, applied to the Advocate-General, Mr. Spankie, to know if it would not be possible to have Mr. Adam banished for preaching this *heresy*, in a land where idolaters, widow-burners, and slayers of human sacrifices, are allowed to preach their degrading doctrines and practise their abominable rites with impunity. Mr. Spankie then replied that by the law as it applied to India, any man might be banished for any thing which the Governor-General might deem sufficient cause; but he thought the day was past when it would be safe to banish a man for his opinions on religion, and there the matter ended.

If Rammohun Roy had been the wretch which the friend of T. L. supposes, he might have had abundant opportunities of receiving rewards from the Indian Government, in the shape of offices and appointments, for his mere neutrality; but being as remarkable for his integrity as he is for his attainments, he has, during the five years that I have known him, and that too most intimately and confidentially, pursued his arduous task of endeavouring to improve his countrymen, to beat down superstition, and to hasten as much as possible those reforms in the religion and government of his native land, of which both stand in equal need. He has done all this, to the great detriment of his private interests, being rewarded by the coldness and jealousy of all the great functionaries of Church and State in India, and supporting the Unitarian Chapel—the Unitarian Press*—and the expense of his own publications, besides other charitable acts, out of a private fortune, of which he devotes more than one-third to acts of the purest philanthropy and benevolence.

I am ready to meet any man living and confirm verbally what I here commit to writing for your use; for nothing will delight me more than to do justice to one whom I honour and esteem as I do this excellent Indian Christian and Philosopher.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM

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## THE MONTHLY REPOSITORY OF THEOLOGY AND GENERAL LITERATURE, Vol. xviii, pp. 575-78.

[As everything relating to Rammohun Roy is interesting to our readers, we extract from the *Edinburgh Magazine* (Constable's) for September, the following account of him, drawn up apparently by a personal friend.]

Mr. Editor,

The attention of theologians, and literary men having lately been called to this extraordinary and enlightened Bengalee, in consequence of the extensive reading, intelligence, and zeal he has displayed in combating the attacks made by the Serampore Missionaries upon his religious writings in favour of Christian Unitarianism, the doctrine which he himself has adopted, it may very probably prove acceptable to your readers, to receive some authentic particulars of this singular character, with a list of his writings.

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* In his letter (from 39 Circular Road), dated 10th September 1823, William Adam, the Unitarian Minister, applied to the Chief Secretary to Government for a licence for a work in the English language called *The Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany*, to be printed and published periodically at "76 Domtollah Lane" (the present Ezra Street). The licence applied for was granted on 11 September 1823. *(Home Dept. Consultation 11 Sep. 1823, No. 5.)*

Files of this periodical are not known to exist in any Calcutta library, while the British Museum possesses only the first volume, *viz.*,

The Unitarian Repository and Christian Miscellany Oct. 1823 - Dec. 1824, Vol. 1, No. 1—XII (See B. M. Cat. "Periodicals—Calcutta)."

Much interesting information relating to Rammohun—particularly his religious belief, is likely to be found in this periodical.

Rammohun Roy was by birth a Brahmun, the highest dignity in Indian society; but being, from an early age, accustomed to be near Europeans, he saw the advantage, and availed himself of the opportunity, of becoming master of the English language, to which he afterwards added Latin and Hebrew. With the Arabic, Persic and Sungscrit tongues, together with the several vernacular dialects of Hindoostan, he is perfectly familiar.

His proficiency in English is best shewn by the style of his composition, as the powers of his mind are by the force of his reasonings, which have been declared, by one of the ablest judges living, to be stronger and clearer than anything yet produced on the side of the question which he has espoused.

From what period we are to date his renunciation of the Brahmunical Holy Mysteries, or Secular Privileges and Honours, is not ascertained; but to take an active solicitude in spreading through small tracts in the native languages, portions of the Vedas and Shastras, which oppose Idolatry, and the cruel and unauthorized devotion of widows to death on the funeral piles of their husbands. The Bible, however, has been his favourite study; and there are few, perhaps, who retain more accurately, or comprehend more clearly, its important contents. He is conversant, too, with the works of most of our celebrated divines; and, by his Lordship's own invitation, had some particular conferences with the late learned Bishop of Calcutta, on the subject of the Christian religion; and though he was not convinced by the Bishop's opinions and persuasions, he was wont to speak of the Right Reverend Prelate's erudition, piety and urbanity in terms of respect and admiration. It is a well-known fact, that the Rev. Mr. Adams, [Adam] sent out by the London Baptist Missionary Society to Calcutta for the express purpose of converting Rammohun Roy to the tenets of his sect, was himself converted, and still continues a disciple of Christian Unitarianism, through the arguments employed, and the perusal of the authors recommended by the redouted ex-Brahmun; being at present the officiating minister in a Unitarian chapel in Calcutta, built by a subscription raised by Rammohun Roy and his friends. Yet such is the humility and generosity of Rammohun Roy's sentiments, that he never makes mention, much less a boast of this triumph, ardently supplicating 'God to render religion destructive of differences and dislike between man and man, and conducive to the peace and union of mankind.' *(Vide Appeal to the Christian Public*, p. 32). To the diffusion of useful knowledge and science, the freedom of the press, and civil and religious liberty, he is a firm, but rational friend. Of this, a note which he addressed to the author of the present outline, without the slightest aid or preparation, bears decisive evidence.

The note in question, which we shall here insert, was a reply to a gentleman who lately saw him in Calcutta, and relates to the institution of a Native subscription school which that gentleman had originated high up the country, but which, after a promising commencement, was blighted, though not destroyed, by the ingenious subtleties and engrossing selfishness of priestcraft, conscious of its own unrighteous usurpations, and which, in India, as elsewhere, is eager to denounce and resist every step towards intellectual improvement, or the correction of superstition.

"Rammohun Roy presents his compliments to —, and begs to return the Persian prospectus which — kindly sent him two days ago. R. R. is sorry to learn that —'s humane attempt has for the present failed to meet with success; but he hopes that friends of literature and liberty will not be disheartened by this unhappy circumstance: as — justly observes, 'Rome was not built in a day.' R. R. feels obliged by —'s kind offer of hospitality,* and he shall not fail to avail himself of it, should Providence enable him to visit that land in which, and which alone, he places his hope for either civil or religious liberty in India. —'s Moonshee favoured R. R. with a visit; he is a nice young man, possessed of good abilities. R. R. has the pleasure of sending a few copies of his publications, and three numbers of the Brahmunical Magazine, the production of a friend, of which he begs —'s acceptance.

"R. R. fervently wishes — a speedy and agreeable voyage, and the enjoyment of the company of his friends in England.

February 15, 1823."

But the lively interest he took in the progress of South American emancipation, eminently marks the greatness and benevolence of his mind, and was created, he said, by the perusal of the detestable barbarities inflicted by Spain to subjugate, and afterwards continued by the Inquisition, to retain in bondage that unhappy country.

'What!' replied he, (upon being asked why he had celebrated by illuminations, by an elegant dinner to about sixty Europeans, and by a speech composed and delivered in English by himself, at his house in Calcutta, the arrival of important news of the success of [the] Spanish patriots,) What! ought I to be insensible to the sufferings of my fellow-creatures wherever they are, or howsoever unconnected by interests, religion or language?'

For the recent commencement of the Bengalee and Persian newspapers in Calcutta, much, if not all, is due to Rammohun Roy's patronage and exertions; and many of the best articles published in them are ascribed to his pen. His argumentative talents are of the first order, and are aided by a remarkable memory, exceeding patience, and the gentlest temper. He cherishes a grateful sense of the vast and various blessings Great Britain has communicated to his country, formerly a ready prey to the lusts of tyrants, the rapine of banditti, and the desolations of civil war; whilst he is, at the same time, fully yet candidly alive to the imperfections in the British Government of India, more attributable, he conceives, to the negligence or incompetence of its servants, than to the system itself. The endearing private virtues and inappreciable public qualifications of the Marquis of Hastings, as a soldier, a statesman and a citizen, he greatly admires, and distinctly acknowledges; for he considers his eventful and glorious administration as having conferred *immediately*, more benefits, and, *consequently*, more happiness and prosperity, on Hindoostan, than was ever done before.† He has long had an intention of visiting Europe, solely to enlarge his knowledge and experience, and gratify a laudable curiosity ; but it is at present unknown when he will be able to carry his scheme into execution. His age may be, perhaps, forty-five ; in person, he is tall and stout, with a most intelligent, pleasing and commanding countenance. He possesses a very handsome private fortune, the greater portion of which is devoted to useful or charitable purposes ; one-third of his income, it is said, being assigned to his relations, another third employed in works of benevolence, and only the remaining third reserved for his personal expenses."

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* Referring to his design to visit Europe.

† "He is partial to the society and conversation of English gentlemen, counting in the list of his particular and intimate friends, many of the first wealth and respectability in Bengal."

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Revd. Sir,

As Mr. Roberts, who is about to leave India for England, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or parcel that I might wish to send to Europe, I embrace this opportunity of expressing the gratitude I have felt for your kind notice of me, and of rendering you my sincere thanks for the encouraging letter which I had the honor of receiving from you a few months ago. I at the same time should consider myself guilty of ingratitude if I neglect to offer you my warmest acknowledgments for the numerous essential benefits I have derived from that most valuable production your "Improved Version" ; it is unquestionably the best of all the versions that have hitherto appeared in English, and it is read before the Unitarian Society in Calcutta at their times of Worship by its Minister the Revd. Mr. Adam whose abilities and acquirements joined with his piety, sincerity, zeal and diligence had rendered him a real honor to our Community. Since my compiling and publishing the "Precepts of the New Testament" I have been under the necessity of defending myself against the attacks of the Baptists and other Missionaries ; although it was my wish to avoid as much as possible any ground of disputation with so many worthy characters. These persons are not destitute of zeal, but appear in common with a great number of their fellow believers deficient in discretion ; For they know or ought to know, that the more they employ their ingenuity in support of the idea of a Triune God, the more they expose Christianity itself to the objections of the intelligent among both Hindoos and Mussulmans and the further they drive away from all attention to their doctrines such Christians as, besides having been so brought up, can think for themselves and have sincerity enough to preserve a correspondence between their sentiments and professions.

From the annexed quotations No. 1 and 2 from missionary works lately published, you will perceive that these Gentlemen are obliged to make the confession that in religious discussions they have little or no chance of a firm stand against those Hindoos who have rejected Idolatry and whom they consider imbued with Socinian principles.

There is one circumstance which has for a long time perplexed me, and I still feel myself unable to understand. It is that a body of such honorable and learned men as is formed by the Dignitaries and Common Clergy of the Church of England should so uniformly continue during their lives to manifest their adherence to those 39 articles of Faith which they so solemnly subscribed to on first assuming the duties of their office, notwithstanding the fluctuations of opinion, to which their mind might naturally be supposed subject, from new arguments under perpetually changing circumstances continually presenting in the course of studies or communications with persons of a different mode of thinking. Were the doctrines contained in the articles alluded to, such self-evident truths as acquire only to be plainly stated in order to secure immediate assent from any person of plain understanding, I could comprehend the existence of such conviction of their truth, as no argument however subtle should be able to shake. But as it is notorious on the contrary that many of the doctrines they contain are prescribed solely as articles of Faith, deduced from authority which it is impious to dispute, though avowedly incomprehensible to human reason, it is to me most surprizing that arguments coming in aid of the understanding and reconciling to reason the sacred authority deduced as they are from a variety of at least plausible sources should so very seldom seem to weigh at all in the minds of any individual members of so numerous a body. It might be unfair to doubt their sincerity yet how else to account for such an uniformity of opinion amongst so many men studying those subjects during their whole lives, I must confess myself quite at a loss.

If Providence permit my visiting England one of the greatest pleasures I promise myself is the enjoyment and benefit of your company, I am glad to inform you that the Revd. Mr. Fox has been kind enough to send to Mr. Adam your excellent commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, for which we are all thankful. I am inclined to think those are the works of yours which you intimated your intention to send me. With my sincere wishes that you may enjoy health and happiness in your declining years,

I remain with the sincerest esteem
Yours most obediently
Rammohun Roy

P. S. Since the receipt your letter I have not seen Mr. Mills, I will execute your commission when I meet him—R. M. R.

The Revd. Thos. Belsham.*

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THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL, 8th March 1822, p. 77.

### ON A FREE PRESS IN INDIA

*To the Editor of the Asiatic Journal.*

Sir,

* *

Ram Mohun Roy, the great Hindoo Reformer, held public monthly meetings in the metropolis of our Eastern Empire, for the purpose of freely discussing the tenets of the Hindoo religion, and the cruelties and polytheism practised under the prevailing superstition: he is author of many tracts and newspaper paragraphs, "exposing the impostures as well as the absurdities of the present Hindoo mythology, and the frauds and artifices by which the Brahmins exercise a mental tyranny over their votaries." Ram Mohun Roy tells us, he has translated into the Bengallee and Hindoostanee languages, the Vedant, hitherto concealed by the Brahmins within the dark curtain of the Sangscrit. He has endeavoured to prove that every rite has its derivation from the allegorical adoration of the Deity, and that he alone is the object of propitiation and worship; though at the present day the Hindoo deems it heresy, and even blasphemy, to assert the unity of the Supreme Being. This wise Brahmin distributes his work free of cost to his countrymen...

London. 15 Aug. 1821. LEICESTER STANHOPE

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* The original of this letter is now in the possession of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee who has very kindly allowed me to reproduce it in this article.

# SLAVE MENTALITY—ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL

### BY DHIRENDRA N. ROY, PH.D.

A few years ago I happened to be a passenger in one of the Empress boats on the Pacific line. There were many Americans coming to the Far East on various kinds of mission work and I had quite an interesting time with them all, discussing things rendered important by the inevitable idleness of the journey. There was one Japanese first-class passenger who seemed to prefer our company to get rid of the aristocratic exclusiveness in the first class. One day he came down apparently to get acquainted with us. I was enjoying an idle conversation with a young man from Philadelphia, when the Japanese gentleman posted himself near me with an air of careful indifference towards our conversation. Being myself an Oriental, I felt naturally interested in him and, forgetting for the time being all the formalities of introduction which the West had taught me, I made bold to begin conversing with him. Soon he became one of us. We talked about many things and in the course of the conversation he put two significant questions, one to me and the other to my American friend. He asked me if I had gone to America to study, and the American, if he was coming to China to teach. We both answered in the affirmative, but then I began to feel different and less disposed to talk, for the two questions, as put to us, meant something which was hardly as simple as the answer.

Again, after our boat had left Shanghai for Hongkong with some new passengers, mostly Chinese, I was given to answer another significant question,—this time by an American woman, the wife of a presbyterian missionary with whom I happened to be rather intimately acquainted—which revealed to me a fact I did not see so clearly before.

Most of the Chinese who embarked at Shanghai were in dresses characteristically Chinese. It was the time when China had been, after a long period of hibernation, aroused to a real spirit of national consciousness. So they were all moving round on the deck quite confidently. But I noticed that the American missionaries bound for the interior of China appeared to cast rather critical glances at them. One American lady, undoubtedly somewhat simple-hearted, came to me and whispered smilingly: "Don't you think it is a real task for us to teach these Chinese to give up this queer sort of dress?" At this I smiled, and whatever answer she might have understood from it, I meant certainly much more than she could think of.

Two distinct types of psychology—oriental and occidental—revealed themselves in these questions. Both are slavish. Our Japanese friend by asking such questions gave out the idea which most people in the Orient are led to harbour, at least in their subconscious selves, that the relation between the East and the West is one of the pupil and the teacher, and in no sense can it be the reverse. The American lady, intoxicated with that proverbial missionary zeal, had, of course, a double reason for being so impudently certain that she was in the East to teach—and only to teach. There was nothing at all for which the Japanese was to be blamed, for he represented the typically Oriental mind as it was then and is today, somewhat loosened from the soul of the Orient and brought under the spell of a cleverly regulated process of foreign dictation. Nor was the American lady responsible for what she said; she was just repeating one of the familiar formulas which the vanity of her people had put into her head. So she did not know what she said.

It is a long history—though not so very long, that we in the Orient have slowly been led to believe we must learn a good deal from others, unlearn an equally good deal of our own, and remember that we have little, very little to teach. There was a time when Asia was not the East and the West was not the West; when civilization was not advertisement and culture was not a vociferous self-consciousness. It was a time when elevated humanity did not think of a scientific bifurcation of lands into the East and the West and of an arbitrary division of mankind to cultivate the art of misunderstanding one another. The spirit of that time began to give place to the new spirit since the campaign of Alexander or more accurately since the defeat of the Muhammadans at Vienna.

This new spirit has never failed to minimize the importance of the past, for the past were days of a spirit before which it would not grow so luxuriantly. If we now hear so much of the wonders of the Egyptian civilization, it is because it is dead and there is nobody of the great race of the Pharaohs to claim a respectable position in the name of that ancient civilization. Glorification of the absent is a safe indulgence, for there is no danger of its being exacting. If there are still some civilizations which, with their equally glorious past, seek to inspire the people who inherit them,—civilizations other than the one resulting from the activities of this new spirit, nothing must be left undone to cry down their values so as to maintain its absolute position intact. If there was a time when these civilizations of old had many things to give, today their surviving values even are often declared as anachronism and relegated to a status with a distinct 'backward' brand. The whole judgment may be unpleasant to their countless devotees. But how can it be set aside when it comes from the new spirit that has got up a 'modern' civilization?

Is it still difficult to apprehend the true nature of this powerful spirit? It is self-love in its most destructive sense,—destructive, because inseparable from hatred! It shows its love more by hating others than by truly loving itself. As its hatred kills the feeling of admiration in others, it seeks to admire itself. Self-admiration emerges into a systematic propagandism, which in its turn causes confusion both in others and in itself. Our slave mentality is due to this sad confusion.

Perhaps, it is necessary here to make it clear that those who come to tell us that we in the Orient have only to learn from them, are no less slavish in their mentality than we are. It is a vicious circle in which we are both caught, but for which they alone are responsible. They in their blind self-love seek to overlook their own weaknesses, magnify their virtues and thus lose the sense of correct judgment. They misjudge others, look down upon them; and then seek to attack all that makes them different. When the attack is well organized from every direction and is persistent, it is first tolerated after a slight resistance by those attacked and then even justified. Some submit slavishly, make new gods and offer daily worship in the form of flattery and imitation; others accept their things, catch the infection of the spirit and then launch a counter spirit of hatred in return. So we are told of the "menace of the world" in the one case and the "yellow peril" in the other. At any rate, both these classes of people develop slave mentality,—one by simple imitation and the other by a highly accelerated imitation whose modern name is competition; for in both there is the tacit admission of non-confidence in their own and consequently in themselves. This slave mentality of the people produces boastful and imperious habits in their masters, who then hardly know what they do or say or think. It is a truism, the weight of which may be felt in the strange difference between these self-appointed teachers and their countrymen who prefer staying at home to know themselves. "The white man's burden" idea is equally devastating to the burden and the ass.

This is indeed unfortunate. The Oriental people, through a long process of cultural evolution, came to realize that it is wisdom and not power which constitutes the ultimate good. They passed through the epic period of splendid chivalry and then sought to cultivate the finer virtues which alone would refine the mind for the attainment of wisdom. These very finer virtues have now become their weaknesses by engendering in them a sort of stoic forbearance even in the face of domineering impositions by insolent minds. The proverbial hospitality of the Oriental people, their politeness and sincerity of heart, give others an advantage over them; for even in cases of positive rudeness, if not physical violence, they of the East seek to restrain themselves with the consolation that, if a dog bites one, he should not bite the dog in return. True indeed, but when the dog is a biped with such striking resemblance to the *genus homo,* stoicism may let loose the canine species to overtake it. Then it is no more stoical to forbear; since there is no alternative,—then it is slavery. This is just what has happened to the Oriental people.

Most of the foreign people who come to live in the Orient are those who have had no chance at home. They come with the ostensible idea of helping the native people to live a better life, while the real motive lies in their pocket. Being usually the misfits of their motherland, they can hardly be expected to fit in with the other land. When they find that these 'damned' natives are so 'funny' in their ways of life, they swear and curse and growl. They do whatever they want and, however wrong, they do it with impunity. They become important and begin to speak and write. And what would all this be about if not the cursed natives! They make sensational statements against the people, indulge in the widest generalizations on the bases of individual cases of weakness and thus flatter their racial vanity. They do so and in an unabashed manner they shout they are the chosen race of God.

The evil effect of this pretentious life is not immediately perceived by the people of the Orient. They, being possessed of a highly noble tradition of cultural life which appears to have entered into their very being by long practice, do not feel immediately perturbed in any noisy demonstration against them. But the masses, who usually do not go deeper into their national soul, are not so well intrenched in their own culture as to unheed the shallow interpretation of narrow-minded foreigners. They are told over and over again of the rottenness of what they have, and their political helplessness stands as a strong argument for it. Voluminous literature is carefully got up in defence of such idea and then imported to feed the mind of the Oriental people. When such things continue to educate the people who find themselves truly becoming worse while their foreign masters are doing better amidst them, scepticism is bound to disturb their good faith. The deep-rooted love for their tradition may keep them outwardly devoted to things of their own but there begins an imperceptible change in their mental conditions. Outwardly they may grumble against the criticism of their life by these intrusive foreigners, but proportionately there is a loss of confidence in themselves and a muffled feeling of respect for all that their masters stand for.

There is a popular story in India. Once a Hindu bought a fine lusty goat in the market. Some mischievous rogues saw it and were much tempted. They conspired together to get it from him without paying the price. After due consultations they posted themselves in several groups at various places on his way home. The man was returning home with the goat when it was near evening. One of the first group of these knaves came forward and addressing the man asked him with an air of indifference why he was carrying a pig. The man cast a curious look at him and confidently asserted that it was a goat and not a pig. The whole group joined with the first man to declare that anybody could recognize that it was a pig and that there must be something wrong with his eyes to consider it to be a goat. The Hindu left them in disgust telling them that he knew quite well the distinction between a goat and a pig and that the one he was carrying was a goat. After walking a short distance he met another group, one of whom asked him in a curious tone, if he was a high-caste Hindu. As he answered in the affirmative, he was further asked what he was going to do with that pig. He got excited and said that it was not a pig but a goat. At this the rest of the group began to laugh, saying to one another loudly that he must be crazy for he called a plain pig, a goat. The poor Hindu heard it and, though he protested outwardly against their mistake, he began to revolve within himself how it could be a pig. He met a third group and the same judgment was passed upon his goat. He quarrelled with them, but much of it was meant to confirm his inward doubt. As he was walking on with the animal, he was looking at it and again thinking that probably it was his mistake and that it was a pig. He met a fourth group and the same thing happened. He felt it must be a pig and, when he passed the fifth group who did the same, he looked this way and that, kicked away the goat, and then went home alone.

Perhaps, the story is not a perfect analogy, but it is a good one. It may be doubted, though the reasons for it are not sufficie that there is any conscious intrigue to h the people into a false conviction, but it true that there is too much noise raised over-confident foreigners against what t Oriental people hold so dear and in favo of what the former call their 'wonderf civilization. Many among the Oriental peop are affected by such organized propagan and the danger is that, if things continue be what they are now, the very plain g may some day appear to be a real pig, a be thrown away.

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# TAKING MUSEUMS TO THE PEOPLE

## A Way to Popularize Knowledge

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph. D.

IN the past a museum has been regarded as a sort of storehouse of the curious and the antique. It has seldom been thought of as a living thing. An up-to-date museum in America is no longer content to be the repository for valuable records and for strange and beautiful specimens. An American museum, under an able director, is thoroughly alive. It touches the lives of the people through its travelling exhibits and displays. It makes available and intelligible to the people the results of its researches and their application to human welfare. In other words, museums are now being taken directly to the public rather than having the museums await in static patience for the public to come to them.

There are in the United States nearly one thousand museums. Most of them are located along the Atlantic seaboard, and in its northern section. Washington, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other eastern cities have famous museums. But in the Middle-West and in the Pacific coast there are also some great museums. The Field Museum of Natural History is known the world over. It is located in Chicago.

### Establishing of Museums

In a broad way, museums in America fa into four classes, as far as outstandin interests are concerned : history, art, scien and industry. The number of history museu exceeds all others by a large margin. Ma of them are conducted by societies. F example, nearly every one of the forty-eig States of the Union has a historical associ tion, which gathers data and accumulate relics relating to all aspects of local histor Larger museums of the country have histor divisions of a wider scope.

Art museums come next in order, and th science group now has become practical as strong. Each is represented by score of important institutions.

Industry is a newcomer in the museu field, and the number of industrial museu is small. But since this machine age ha glorified industry, substantial growth of industrial museums is the forecast of museum experts.

The city of Washington is looked up by museum officials as being the ultim natural centre of museum activity a influence. The United States Natio

Museum and the Smithsonian Institution of Washington have many valuable collections. No better museum for scientific research is to be found anywhere in the world than the United States National Museum. Its Division of Economic Geology contains more than half a million different exhibits, and is the world's foremost collection of its kind. One may find here any sort of exhibit, from a huge meteorite weighing thousands of pounds to a few grains of sand.

The National Museum contains a collection of exhibits which enables the visitor to read the story of American history and American progress at a glance. Here he may see the relics of George Washington, among them his sword, army coat and his camp kit. In another case one beholds the relics of General Grant of the Civil War fame, still in another those of Abraham Lincoln, and so on all the way down through the whole line of American men of fame. In other rooms he may see the entire story of American railroad transportation, from the earliest engine down to the present day. Here is the first clumsy typewriter ever invented, and there one of the latest models of the combined writing and adding machine. The collections in the National Museum are worth lakhs and lakhs of rupees. It is difficult, however, to estimate the value of museum collections in terms of money as there are many objects which could not possibly be replaced at any price. What money, for example, could buy the sword of George Washington or the aeroplane in which Colonel Lindbergh made his historic flight across the Atlantic? Reproductions could be made, but they would not be the real things. Such objects are priceless.

### EDUCATIONAL WORK

Museums are of two characters : National museums and private museums. National museums are established at public expense and maintained by regular state appropriations, such as the National Museum at Washington. Sometimes private generosity establishes a museum through the gift or bequest of some notable private collection. These private museums are, as a rule, endowed to provide for their continued proper housing and maintenance. There are, however, cases where the founder of a private museum leaves the public to care for and develop it. The great Smithsonian Institution at Washington, founded for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," was established by the private bequest of Mr. James Smithson. And although the original half a million dollars endowment still produces an income, its development and expansion into a national institution has required regular appropriations from the United States Congress. Smithson built better than he knew.

The educational activities of nearly all the leading museums in this country may be grouped under two main headings: extra-mural and intra-mural activities. The intra-mural activities include lecture courses at the museum, exhibition hall instruction and guidance for visiting groups, special courses for teachers, evening classes for adults.

The instruction given through the lectures in a museum is mass instruction, in which many school students are present. In order to give more intensive instruction than is possible in such a public lecture, some of the museums have recently developed a series of exhibition hall talks. Under this plan a single class of pupils is taken into one of the smaller rooms personally to examine and handle material under the guidance of a museum instructor. After about half an hour in this room, the group is taken into the exhibition halls to examine the larger collections pertaining to the particular subject of the talk.

The American Museum of Natural History, New York City, has developed a specialized branch for the instruction of the blind. It may be noted in parenthesis that the blind children in New York City are taught in the same public schools as normal children. They are grouped in sight conversation classes in charge of trained teachers. The American Museum makes special provision for these children. The museum staff gives for the sightless children informal talks which can be illustrated with actual specimens or with apparatus. As the blind are able to "see" the objects in the world around them only through their sense of touch, the children so handicapped have the opportunity at the American Museum, under sympathetic instruction, to handle and learn all about animals, birds, flowers, and minerals. Even the blind need not be ignorant. Much of this instruction, it is to be admitted, is psychic, invisible as is the mind itself. But the instruction will, through the future career of pupils, bear copious fruit.

Another interesting feature of the intramural educational programme of the American Museum of Natural History is the Junior Astronomy Club for boys and girls in organized co-operation with the Museum's department of astronomy. Meetings are held weekly and programmes are given alternately by club members and by guest lecturers. Recently a member of the editorial staff of the *Scientific American* gave a popular lecture on astronomy and demonstrated to the youthful members of the club how to construct a telescope. The Junior Astronomy Club is conducted by its own members, and it does much to stimulate the children's initiative and develop their imagination.

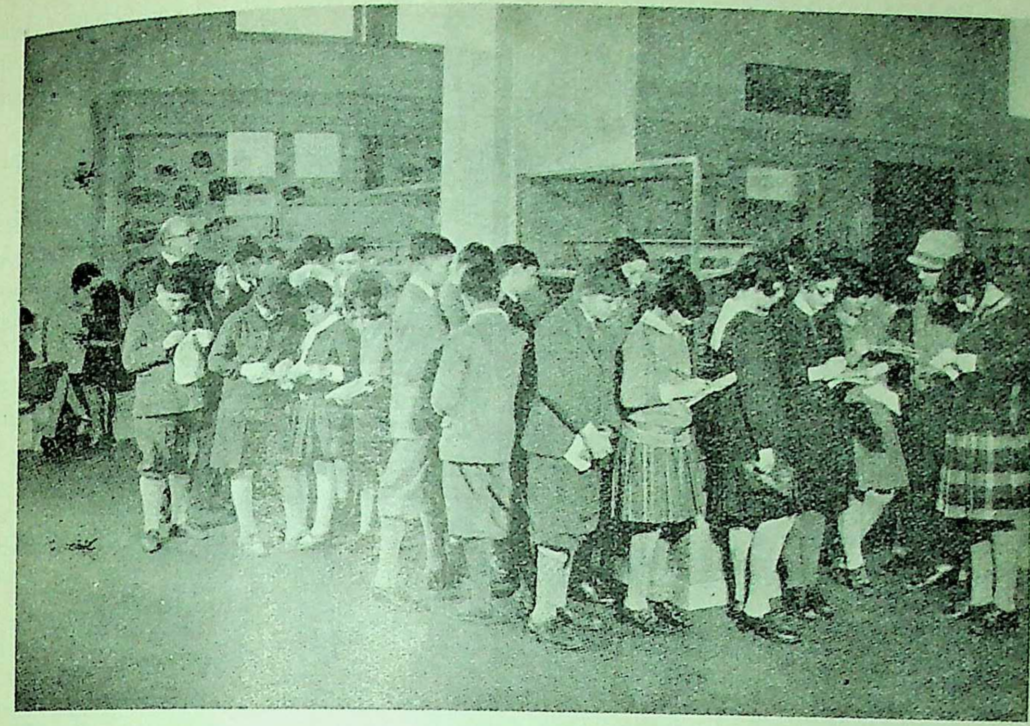
A museum is a wonderland for the child, and a mere admission to it opens opportunity for adventuring among exhibits which cannot help adding to his store of information. Visual education in a treasure-house of knowledge is here sweetened with a flavour of entertainment. Realizing that the impressions obtained in childhood are the most vivid and lasting and that the growing mind should be frequently exposed to stimulating influences, free admission is granted to all museums in America to children and their teachers on every day of the week. Students and professors of colleges and universities are also accorded the same privilege.

Important as are the intra-mural activities of a museum, to me the service it renders to teachers and students outside its walls is even of greater value. In order to make the museum a vital part of the educational system, museum authorities have sought and put into practice more direct methods of reaching the children in schools. They have found it advantageous for the museums to reach out into the schools themselves, by sending portable exhibits on natural history, economics, science, art, and other subjects right into the class-rooms. The museum thus becomes an influence in the lives of thousands to whom it might otherwise remain a stranger.

### Travelling Exhibits

The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago has a method of co-operating with schools, which may be regarded as typical of other leading museums in the United States. The Field Museum has a thousand cases of exhibition material, and these are lent regularly to about four hundred schools. At the beginning of the school year, two cases apiece are delivered to all the schools of the city. At the end of two weeks these cases are collected and delivered to other schools, while others are left in their place. A carefully prepared schedule alternating the types of subjects sent to each school governs this procedure throughout the school year. By this means a school which has a botany and a food case one week, for example, may have a zoology and a textile case the following week, and a geology and a paper industry case after that. Thus constant variety is maintained, and a wide range of subjects is covered. Once a particular case has gone to a school it will be several years before the same case is scheduled for the same school, and so during the student's entire school life he will be reached by cases always new to him, never duplicating those he has seen before. It is plain that one striking advantage of this system, as it has worked out, is that it enables the museum to maintain a close-knit relationship with the schools and their students.

Not only are the cases sent to public schools, but also to private schools, schools for cripples, reformatories, orphan asylums, Y. M. C. A. centres, public libraries and their various branches. Moreover, cases have been sent from Chicago on request to different institutions in many parts of the United States and Canada, and plans and information on the subject have been sent to far-away Japan and England. American ideas of museum management are getting momentum throughout the world.



A School Group Gathering Information About Minerals

It will be apparent then that school students are not the only ones benefiting from this system of object teaching. Their parents, relatives and neighbours also have opportunities for examining the cases. Many adults get their first impulse to visit a museum from seeing these cases.

In addition to sending exhibits, the Field Museum lends lantern slides and motion pictures to class-rooms for the entertainment and instruction of students. They visualize the rare objects of nature, the facts of history, and the achievements of man. They make a school lesson fascinatingly real that otherwise might have been remote, dry, and lifeless.

The growing interest in this country in outdoor life has spurred the Milwaukee Public Museum to conduct field excursions. This museum is located in the city of Milwaukee, on the shores of the Lake Michigan. Persons going on the field trips have an opportunity to become acquainted with the local flora and fauna, and acquire better appreciation of outdoor beauty and open-air life.

Needless to say that the extension work of the American museums, in all their departments, is offered to the public absolutely free. The museum service, including the lectures, is free because it is meant for the good of all the public.

It is the fashion of the trans-Atlantic visitors to accuse America of being the exclusive worshipper of Mammon. During the early period of their history, Americans might have worshipped money monotheistically. The dollar was then the Lord their God. It was the heyday of materialism, the Elizabethan era of the golden calf. But things have changed of late. Since the first quarter of this century, it is noticeable that they are recognizing the existence of other gods and other goods. Indeed, they are making very intelligent use of some of their gold. That Americans should be willing to make generous expenditure for the dissemination of popular instruction is a high tribute to their intellectual vitality and mental alertness, their enthusiasm for knowledge and its humanization.

### American Association of Museums

A good deal of the strength of the museum movement in the United States is due to the efforts of the American Association of Museums. It is an organization with headquarters at the National Museum at Washington. It was started twenty-five years ago for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of all museums in the country and giving well-planned direction to the activities of these institutions. The museums, scattered from one end of the country to the other, form the membership of the Association and co-operate with each other by publishing journals and holding annual regional conferences.

Relations of the Association are extended beyond the United States. A constant correspondence is carried on between the American Association of Museums and museums in Europe and South America. Recently relations have reached to Japanese museums. This correspondence keeps museum officials in constant touch with developments in their field. Finds in any part of the world are quickly reported to all interested museums.

Two innovations in museum management have particularly marked the last few years of the activities of the American Association of Museums. They relate to the extension of museum work to the out-of-doors, and to the establishment of travelling exhibits.

In co-operation with the National Parks, the outdoor museum work of the Association has concerned itself especially with increasing the direct educational value of American National Parks. In certain of these Parks there have been erected small buildings which have been given the name of Trailside Museums. The ideas have been to bring together exhibits which will be readily available to the visitors to the Parks, along their routes of sight-seeing, tramping, and camping. Each such museum is equipped to emphasize the beauties, the wild life, and other attractions of the particular place. Among the notable Trailside Museums already established are those at Bear Mountain in the Palisades Interstate Park, at Yosemite National Park, at the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and at Yellowstone.

The authorities of the American Association of Museums have even gone so far as

School Children studying Skeleton of Prehistoric Animal at Chicago Field Museum

Blind Children studying Natural History

to prepare lantern slides of an educational nature to be shown to groups of campers at their camp fires. In this manner the full instructional value of the material is made so readily available to the tourist that he can scarcely avoid being fully informed of everything of interest in connection with the place he is visiting.

The travelling exhibits are based on the theory that often it is important to move certain unique collections about the country in order to reach persons who might never visit the home town where the owning museum was established. With attendant publicity in parks, towns, and cities visited for periods of a few weeks, the number of persons ultimately to be reached and to obtain the value of inspection is multiplied enormously.

### Courses For Museum Workers

The work of preparing specimens for use in museums has become so technical and scientific that it has given rise to the profession of taxidermy. I learn from my conversations with the curators of museums that in years gone by the typical museum in this country was built up of collections of birds and mammals stuffed with cotton, and displayed row upon row with their meagre scientific data. Cases were poorly designed and the specimens were subjected to the deteriorating influences of insect pests and dust.

The modern American museum presents an entirely different appearance. Birds and mammals are mounted in characteristic attitudes over carefully modelled forms and displayed in the midst of their natural surroundings. A painted landscape forms the background and is skilfully blended with a foreground composed of the actual earth and reproductions of the rocks and vegetation which make up the environment of the species exhibited. To insure against deterioration such habitat groups are installed in dust-tight, insect-proof cases. The effect of realism is heightened by the use of scientific lighting. The whole group is designed to present a lesson in natural history which will give an accurate impression of actual conditions.

It will be perceived that the modern museum director must be not only a first class taxidermist, but must have a knowledge of composition, painting, modelling, and of the preparation of accessories if he is to be efficient.

Courses in museum methods are now offered at a good many American universities; but the State University of Iowa has been the first institution of higher learning in this country to give regular courses in museum work. More than twenty-five years ago, this University organized such courses. The student becomes acquainted with the most modern methods of mounting museum specimens, and as he becomes proficient, he is allowed to assist in the construction of habitat groups, and in arranging the collections intended for general museum. In addition, he secures a thorough training in modelling, in colour work, and in the making of group accessories. Laboratories are equipped for teaching and research in museum work, and an extensive zoological museum is at hand for study and comparison. With the broadening of the activities of American museums, it is natural that museum work should become a regular vocation.

At times it seems to me that the whole American nation is a vast class-room of millions of souls eager to learn. This is one of the miracles of modern civilization. I frankly envy Americans the educational opportunities with which they are endowed. One of the main problems of our time in India is that of the education of the masses. They are not fools. On the contrary, they are struggling bravely under severe handicaps. They can be educated out of these handicaps to be real men and women. But what has been and is being done for them? Suppose we make our museums the agencies of popular education. Suppose we take some of the important, but practically unused and neglected, Indian museums and animate them with the passionate spirit of American mass education. Will not that create new centres of light and hope on earth? Will not that bring the kingdom of Mind nearer to our daily life?

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# ANANDA-ASRAM, DACCA

## By PRAFULLA CHANDRA RAY, B.SC.

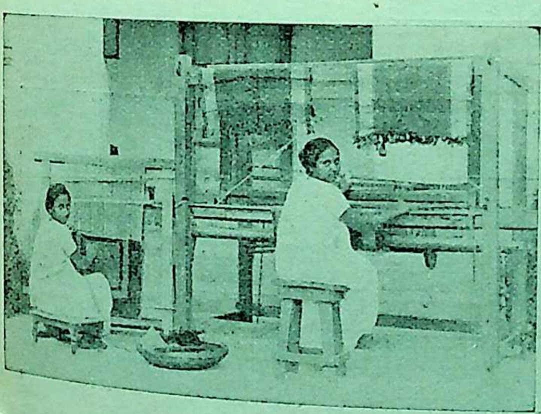
It is very satisfactory to learn that an effort has been made at Dacca towards providing an institution for giving an all-round training to girls and women. I refer to 'Ananda-Asram' Dacca, which owes a great deal to Swami Parmananda of America, the local guiding spirit being Srimati Charushila Devi, a selfless and devoted social worker.

The object of the institution is to enable its students not only to acquire knowledge but also to learn self-help. Self-help is a crying need for a large section of women in this country. There are thousands of women who are not seldom left adrift, and not seldom find themselves utterly helpless. Some even fall victims to snares and pitfalls. In these circumstances, nothing could be more desirable than an institution of this kind, where attention is paid not only to the cultivation of the fine arts but also to the teaching of crafts and trades which would enable helpless women to become self-reliant.

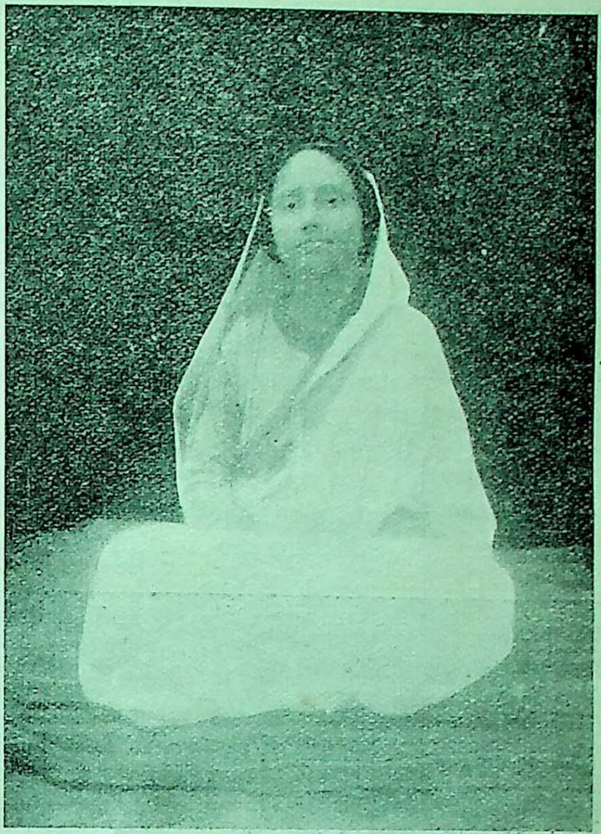
There are eight departments in this institution, namely, the general department, including music, dyeing department, weaving department, tailoring department, spinning department, department for making matches, department for physical training and department for making sweetmeats. The object of the general department is not merely to equip students to pass examinations but to enable them to acquire knowledge and scholarship. Oriental studies are included in the syllabus. Though passing public examinations is n

Swami Parmananda

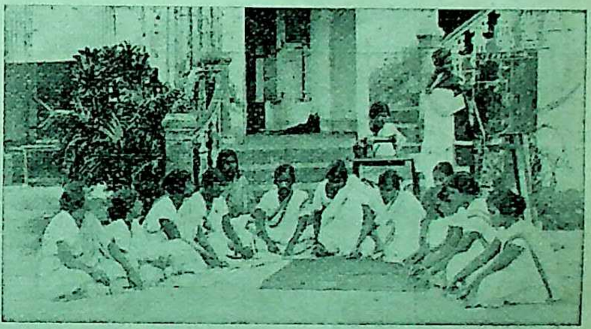
Students Dyeing Cloth



Students Weaving



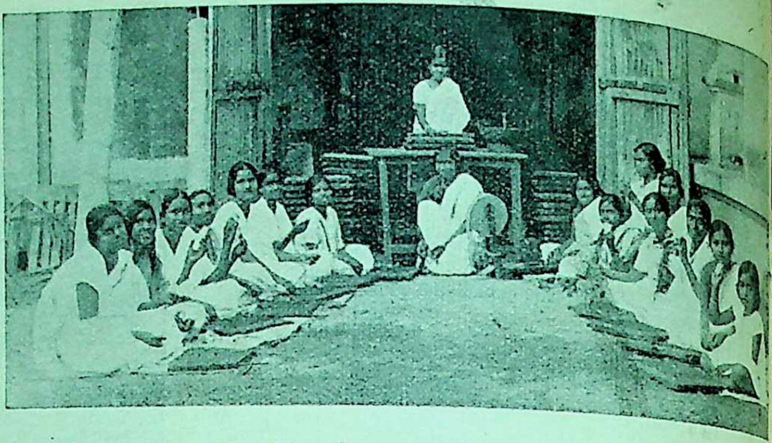
Srimati Charushila Devi



Girls Learning Tailoring

essential, yet those who so desire can sit for them both under the University and the Sanskrit Board. Two distinguished musicians of Dacca are in charge of the music department.

The special feature of the school lies in its technical departments. These teach small trades to the women students, which would enable them to make a living. For instance, the manufacture of matches is a very useful trade. Indigenous factories have sprung up all over the country for making them, but the outturn is not sufficient for the requirements of the country. The dyeing of cloth is a very useful trade and a dyeing expert, a science graduate is in charge of this department. There are arrangments for the teaching, spinning, weaving and sewing. It is satisfactory to learn that the pupils of the school are already turning out very useful articles.



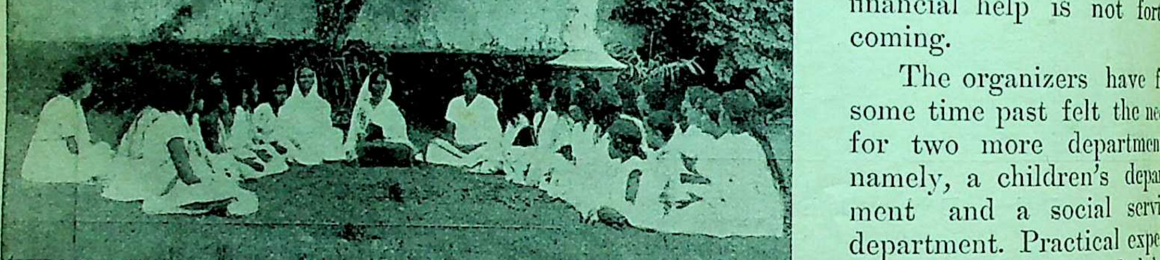
Manufacture of Matches

Proper care is being taken for the physical training of the students. A sound mind in a sound body is a good ideal; but unluckily this ideal is not generally realized in modern times. But the authorities of the school are to be sincerely congratulated on the care they devote to this department.

Anyone who examines the institution will recognize that a good beginning has bee made, but a good deal still remains to b done. A project like thi is always a very difficul financial problem, and furthe development of the schoo will be impossible if prope financial help is not forthcoming.

The Hour of Morning Devotions

The organizers have for some time past felt the need for two more departments, namely, a children's department and a social service department. Practical experience has shown that helpless young widows burdened with



Girls at the Spinning Wheel

children cannot join this institution for want of a children's department. A social service department where women can learn the art of nursing suffering and sick humanity is a great asset for women, and the organizers are to be congratulated on their laudable desire to open these departments.

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# SAFE-GUARDS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTION: FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COMMERCE

By A. M. ARORA, B. A., LL. B.

THE second session of the Round Table Conference has come to a close and the Premier has once again reiterated the official declaration made by him in the first session. It would appear that the position remains much the same as it stood before, though it cannot be denied that some issues have been more clarified than before by discussions in the second session.

The question of responsibility at the centre has been affirmed once again. The Premier has declared :

> "With regard to the Central Government I made it plain that, subject to defined conditions, His Majesty's late Government were prepared to recognize the principle of responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature, if both were constituted on an all-India Federal basis. The principle of responsibility was to be subject to the qualification that in the existing circumstances defence and external affairs must be reserved to the Governor-General; in regard to finance such conditions must apply as would ensure the fulfilment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India."

Thus "external affairs" are proposed to be treated as a reserved subject under the new constitution directly under the charge of the Governor-General owning no responsibility to the federal legislature. Apparently it looks that the British cabinet in England will govern the subject through the Governor-General in India, who will be responsible to the parliament in Great Britain. There will be little scope for the Governor-General in the matter, who will primarily and in practice act as an agent of the cabinet in the matter and only translate or communicate the wishes of the cabinet to the federal government of India on the subject.

The words used in this connection are "external affairs" or "foreign affairs" or "relations with foreign Powers." No attempt has so far been made to define these words or to say what will constitute such affairs or relationship, so far as India is concerned. There is no doubt that it will be clearly defined in the new constitution how the Governor-General or the Governor-General-in-Council, as the case may be, will administer the subject under the federal constitution with ultimate responsibility to the parliament in Great Britain. It is just possible that some machinery may be devised under the constitution to consult the wishes of the legislature in certain matters.

It is not my object here at present to make any attempt to define such affairs or relationship or to suggest any machinery in the constitution for the consultation of the wishes of the people through Legislature or otherwise.

I only wish to write on how the foreign commercial relations of the country should be dealt with under the future constitution. My point is that commercial matters in all their bearings should be excluded from the pale of external affairs and be entirely included and placed within the purview of the Federal Constitution of India to be dealt with as a central federal subject.

Reservation of any subject in any other but native hands; or by a body or person beyond the control of the governing constitution of a country on whom the people or country has no power and in the constitution of which body they have no share or hand is unnatural and can be justified only under very grave circumstances. As far as the subject of commerce is concerned, it is a domestic affair affecting the economic condition of the people and the revenue of the State, and on both these grounds the handing over of the subject for administration to a body foreign to the constitution of the country cannot be justified.

Commerce is an internal subject, so to say, affecting the conditions of a people or country. Its scope is more or less confined to the development of indigenous industries and helps to yield revenue to the State and they both affect the economic condition of the people of a country. The subject assumes an external aspect when any commercial treaties are to be contracted with any foreign nation. The fact that the treaty is to be made with a foreign nation does not make the subject external or changes in any way the aspect of the problem. The effect of such treaties still remains the same as far as they affect the country and they only affect the revenue of the State and the development of the industries of the country.

The question of treaties with foreign Powers has been agitating the minds of the Indian commercial community since a long time and the various commercial bodies of the country have taken up the question in right earnest since the last ten or twelve years. Some of the commercial treaties ratified or contracted by the Government of India in recent years have helped to secure a most-favoured nation treatment to certain countries, and thus the question has recently come to the fore.

The Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay so far back as 1921-22 addressed a very important communication to the Government of India urging that the Government should invite the opinion of the Indian commercial community before contracting or ratifying any commercial treaty with any foreign Power. A debate on this subject was raised in the Council of State in 1922 by Sir Manekji Dadabhoy, but the Government did not accept the demands put forward either by the Indian Merchants' Chamber or Sir Manekji Dadabhoy in the Council of State. The Government of India replying to the communication of the Chamber were pleased to say in their letter No. 1211, dated March 2, 1922, that "as at present constituted the Indian tariff was based on revenue considerations alone and the question was therefore purely hypothetical."

As observed above, some of the commercial treaties with foreign Powers ratified recently by the Government of India have helped to secure a most favourable treatment to certain nationalities. Thus, it cannot be said, as observed by the Government of India in 1922, that such treaties are made and based on purely revenue considerations.

The fiscal policy of the Government of India has undergone a good deal of change and many of the duties which were formerly revenue duties, have come to be converted into protective duties.

The Indian Merchants' Chamber again in 1929 addressed the Government of India emphasizing the need of consultation of commercial bodies at the time of ratification of such treaties with foreign Powers, but the Government did not still see their way to grant the request and sent in a reply to say that in the opinion of the Government such consultation was unnecessary.

This brief history of the agitation of the commercial community in the country will go to show that it regards the subject to be of vital importance and it did what it could do under the present existing constitution to get a say in the matter and make its voice heard. The present constitution did not offer better opportunities. It should not be understood that either the commercial community will be satisfied or the commercial interests of the country will be served if some machinery is devised under the constitution to consult the wishes of the commercial community and the final say is left in some foreign hands not responsible to the governing constitution of the country or to its people.

The contraction of commercial treaties with foreign Powers is a vital matter of supreme importance to a nation and affects the industrial development and the economic condition of a country and its people. The right can be exercised in a way, as in the past, which may prejudicially affect the future economic progress of a country and its people. Thus the right must be possessed by the people themselves to be exercised by them in a way considered by them to be most beneficial to their interest. Any extraneous far-fetched considerations should not be allowed to affect the decision in the matter. The commercial treaties are not merely formal agreements but are sometimes very important documents with regard to trading relations and thus affect the commercial interest of the country in no mean degree.

I would, therefore, urge that the subject of commerce in all its bearings be included within the purview of the federal constitution of the country and be treated as a central federal subject to be administered as such by the Indian federation, and the commercial treaties with foreign Powers are to be executed by the Crown on the advice of the ministers under the constitution of the Indian federation.

My view is not based purely on sentimental or racial grounds. Constitutionally, too, the right to conclude commercial treaties with a foreign Power has been conceded to the Dominions and the right is now enjoyed by some of the countries possessing Dominion status under the aegis of the British Empire. I will illustrate my point by referring to the history of the constitution of the Dominion of Canada.

The Act of Confederation known as the British North America Act of 1867 came into operation on 1st July 1867. Even before the passing of the Act, as early as 1759, the Canadian Minister of Finance wrote to the Secretary of State for Colonies with reference to the Canadian protective tariff:

> "Her Majesty cannot be advised to disallow such Acts unless her advisers are prepared to assume the administration of the affairs of the Colony irrespective of the views of its inhabitants."

The queen had to allow the Tarriff Bill to pass into law.

In 1871, the Prime Minister of the then new Canadian Confederation (Sir J. MacDonald) was sent as one of the British Delegation to the conference at Washington with the United States of America. In 1877 Canada got the right of "contracting into a treaty" by accepting a treaty made by the mother country within two years. Though in 1879 a special Canadian High Commissioner was appointed in London to assist the British diplomats, he met with a "humiliating rebuff." Since 1882 Canada can herself arrange trade conventions with other countries. In 1893, the whole of the negotiations between France and Canada leading to the commercial treaty of that year were carried out by Sir Charles Tuffer, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. In 1899 Canada got the right of "contracting out" of a treaty signed by the mother country. In 1907 a new commercial treaty was signed between Canada and France through a Canadian Minister going to France.

As the Hon'ble N. W. Rowell, K. C., puts it:

> "The first international agreement to recognize the right of His Majesty's Canadian advisers to advise him on foreign affairs is the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 between His Majesty's Government and the United States of America."

Art. 7 of the Treaty provided for the establishment of an international joint commission of U. S. A. and Canada composed of six commissioners. The three to represent Canada were to be appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of the Governor-in-Council of the Dominion of Canada.

With reference to "technical questions" Canada was invited in 1911 by the United States of America to the convention on "Protection of Industrial Property." In 1912 Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa sent separate delegations to an international conference on radio-telegraphy. In 1914 Canada was represented in the conference on "Safety of Life at Sea."

At the time of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement in 1911, British Columbia alone refused assent and the treaty did not come into force in British Columbia. The Treaty of Versailles was signed by the Dominions and India. In 1919, the right of the Dominions to get elected to the League Council was recognized in a letter signed by President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George.

After 1919 it is all a quick progress towards what Sir Cecil Hurst calls "a distinct international personality." In 1920 the Canadian Government announced in their House of Commons the proposal to have a Canadian at Washington to take charge of Canadian affairs. Canada and the United States of America concluded a treaty in 1923 regarding Halibat Fisheries. Since 1925 there is sitting a U. S. A. minister at Ottawa. Canada has legations at Washington, Paris and Tokyo and a representative at Geneva.

The Dominions were invited to sign the Kellog Pact and they have taken a prominent part in the London Naval Conference on Disarmament.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 expressly iterated "the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs." The appointment of the Governor-General of the Dominion by the Sovereign is to be guided and defended by His Majesty's Government in the Dominion and this has already borne fruit in Australia. Steps have been taken to provide an Empire tribunal and the Imperial Conference has favoured an *ad hoc* Commonwealth tribunal to settle disputes between members of the Commonwealth voluntarily referred to it by the disputants.

It would thus appear that the unifying force of the Crown remains, but the unity is that arising from the Dominions' own voluntary action.

Sir Cecil Hurst from his intimate knowledge observes that the "full powers issued to the king authorizing a recipient to sign a treaty on behalf of any particular part of the Empire is issued on the advice of the Government responsible to that part." Dr. McNair as also Prof. Noel Baker agree with Sir Cecil Hurst in the view that "in the general sphere of the international law as in the League of Nations the Dominions have now acquired a body of rights which confers upon them a measure of international personality." The conclusion of A. G. Dewey also supports this view, since he desires "the eyes of the Dominions to be turned out was to consider their prospects in relation to foreign powers."

Thus through an eventful and persistent progress from 1859 and onwards Canada has gained the status of "a separate person of international law" and enjoys a right to conclude commercial treaties with foreign Powers. It is contended that the same right be conceded to India under the new federal constitution. Thus both on practical and constitutional grounds the right claimed is a just and fair right which has constitutional sanction behind it. The cession of this right cannot be objected to on financial grounds as well, because it does not in any way impair the maintenance of the financial stability or credit of India or unassures in any way the fulfilment of any financial obligations incurred under the authority of the Secretary of State.

The association of the Sovereign Indian Native States in an all-India federation which possess an independent status of their own raises further complications in the matter. No less than forty-one of the States have separate individual treaties with the Government and a large number of them have some form of engagement or *sanad*. If the right to conclude commercial treaties with a third Power has not been conceded in the treaties, the question assumes a constitutional aspect which has to be examined and solved with reference to different treaties and engagements. The States cannot be asked and will not surrender any sovereign rights which they possess under the treaties by joining the Federation. It is a great pity and a matter of regret that the resolution of the Gwalior Chamber of Commerce asking for a special representation of the commerce and industry of the States on the Round Table Conference was not heeded and the commercial rights of the States under the treaties or engagements have not been examined and threshed out as they ought to have been done. I hope no more time will be lost and the question will be gone into thoroughly and constitutionally while still there is time.

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# THE SALARIES OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS

## BY NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

THE salary of the civil servants is now a big item in the national expenditure of every modern country. Various causes have combined together to swell the figure under this head. One of them was the abnormal rise of prices during and after the war all over the world. It pressed heavily upon men with a fixed income and the Governments in different countries had therefore to add considerably to the pay and allowances of the civil servants. The war was thus responsible to a great extent for the shooting up of the salary scale of the civil servants in European countries. India also followed in their wake and added considerably after the war to the pay and pensions of the civil servants. We spend today several crores of rupees more under this head than we did fifteen years ago. This increase would not certainly have been grudged by the people, if it were really legitimate. Unfortunately, however, the pay already given to the civil servants, except in the lowest rungs, was already abnormally high. It was out of all proportion to the considerations which generally enter into the regulation of the salary scale of the civil service in every modern state. Before the increase of salaries in 1919 and 1924, not only was the general scale of pay of the civil service the highest in the world but many of its members were given a salary which was quite princely. The recent additions have enlarged further the emoluments of the civil servants in India. This abnormally high scale of salary for the permanent civil service in an abjectly poor country like ours cannot be justified by any canons of public administration and finance. It can only be explained by historical reasons. We have hence to plunge into history to find out the original causes of the extremely high salary given to the civil servants.

THE members of the Indian Civil Service are the lineal descendants of the clerks of the East India Company who kept its accounts and managed its ware-houses in this country. These clerks came mostly from the lower stratum of the English middle class and many of them came because their parents or guardians could not provide careers for them in England. Generally their education was of the poorest sort and somehow on the eve of their coming out to India they picked up the rudiments of arithmetic and book-keeping. Naturally their pay was very small. They were given free board and lodge and a small salary according to their rank. They were graded into five divisions. A Writer would get only £5 a year, a Factor £15, a Junior Merchant £30 and a Senior Merchant £40. The Governor of a Settlement used to get only £300 as his annual salary. Besides this fixed income, the Company's servants had the right of private trade. Through this source they earned an income which added considerably to the scanty competence they received at the hands of the Company. At the start they had to bear some hardship but as they climbed up the ladder of the Company's service and made also some progress in private trade, they had their adventures and labours properly and amply rewarded. Two to three hundred rupees a month they did earn in average, and in view of the free board and lodge which the Company provided this income was quite large. It was thus not in vain that English boys braved the oceans and the strange climate of India.

The battle of Plassey was a turning-point in the career of the Company's servants. It revolutionized both their political and economic position. It gave the start to the sudden and unexpected windfalls in their fortune. The days of moderate competence were over, the battle of Plassey ushered in an age of luxury and opulence. The Company's servants did not indeed take up at once the reins of administration in their own hands. But they became the power behind the throne. They became king-makers, and in this capacity they utilized with assiduous care all the opportunities for filling their pockets. On the vacant *masnad* of the unhappy Siraj-ud-daula, they placed Mir Jafar who had to pay heavily for this elevation. In all, the Calcutta authorities extorted from the new Nawab the huge sum of two crores and seventy-five lakhs of rupees. Clive himself received a sum of about twenty-four lakhs and not satisfied, added to his fortunes an annual income of three lakhs from a jagir which he extorted from the helpless Mir Jafar. The members of the Calcutta Council also followed in the footsteps of their illustrious leader and each received a fortune to the extent of five to eight lakhs.

King-making was evidently a profitable business, and the Company's servants bore that fact in mind. They repeated thrice over the game which Clive had played so adroitly and profitably in 1757. Between 1760 and 1765 they engineered three revolutions in the rulership of Bengal and each time they profited to the extent of lakhs. The deposition of Mir Kasim involved the Company itself in an expensive war, but it brought only more money into the pockets of its servants.

King-making was only one source of the new influx of wealth into the pockets of the Company's servants. Besides it, there were other avenues also opened out by the victory at Plassey, along which money now flowed into the private coffers of the East India Company's Civil Service. By an imperial *farman* issued early in the century, the English enjoyed an immunity from customs duties. It was, however, confined only to the external trade in which the Company itself was interested. It did not cover the internal trade of the *subah* in which the servants of the Company were individually engaged on their own account. After the death of Alivardi Khan in 1756, the servants of the Company tried to evade the payment of internal duty which under the law they were obliged to make. This evasion would amount on the one side to the defrauding of the state exchequer and on the other to the ruin of Indian merchants who had to pay the duty. The Nawab naturally could not allow this evasion to continue with impunity, and it was one of the causes which led to the war between him and the English. After Plassey, the Company's servants refused to pay any duty which the Indian merchants were compelled to pay. As a result of this invidious distinction, the Indian merchants were mostly ruined and the large portion of the trade was captured by the English servants of the Company whose profit naturally became immense. Mir Kasim appreciated the gravity of the situation and tried to enforce the law. But he was resisted. He then tried to equalize the position of the Indian and European merchants by withdrawing the duty altogether from the statute book. This step, however, led only to outbreak of the conflict between the Company and Mir Kasim. The servants of the Company would not allow the Nawab to bring to an end the unfair competition under which they were carrying on their private trade with so much profit. The Nawab had to leave the *masnad* and the Company's servants continued to tap this source of untold wealth.

The forced presents from the different Nawabs and the unfair private trade did not exhaust the sources of the large illicit income of the European servants of the Company. They never hesitated to extort money and other costly presents from the landed magnates of the province. Although they had yet no administrative function and responsibility, everybody knew that they were the power behind the throne. All persons who had any stake in the country were therefore very eager to curry favour with them. Propitiation of these new divinities became a part of the right management of their estate. The Company's servants, of course, never failed to exploit this opportunity of filling their pockets. Lord Clive, during his second Governorship, collected unimpeachable evidence to the effect that these servants had laid most of the zamindars of Bengal under contribution. In that year the Court of Directors had information that the Resident and his Council at Burdwan extorted from the local Raja at least Rs. 80,000 as present. This extortion had continued from year to year. The Court of Directors had even the suspicion that the sum extorted was possibly greater than Rs. 80,000 a year. Like the Raja of Burdwan almost all other zamindars, big or small, had similarly to make forced presents to the Company's servants.

By all these different illicit methods, the underlings of the East India Company made themselves immensely rich, and while in this country, lived in high, luxurious style. As their pockets swelled, they left for England. Once in their own country, they thought their wealth entitled them to have an easy access to high society. They bought estates, and purchased seats in the House of Commons, the two emblems of the 18th century English aristocracy. The studied attempts which they made to emulate the ways of the ancient families made them, however, a butt of ridicule in their own country. The number of servants they employed, the dresses they wore, the table they maintained and the airs they gave excited mirth and merriment among the lords and ladies of England. They were dubbed the "Indian Nabobs" against the flooding of the House of Commons by whom, William Pitt, the Great Commoner, warned his countrymen.

By 1764, the rapacity of the 'Nabobs' was brought home to the Court of Directors in London. In that year they sent out orders to the effect that the servants would not be allowed any longer to engage in private trade. They must also enter into a covenant with the Company that they would hand over to it all the presents the value of which would exceed Rs. 4,000. They might, of course, keep to themselves any presents whose value extended from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 4,000 but this too only with the previous sanction of the Company. These were the express orders of the Company. When, however, Lord Clive came over for the second time as the Governor of Bengal, he found the old practices in full swing still. The orders of the Directors were openly disregarded. In fact, the servants of the Company took no notice of them and were in no mood to sign the covenants. Lord Clive immediately set about enforcing the orders. He found the offices and factories in the Presidency to be so many nests of corruption and strongholds of illicit gain. He, however, compelled all his subordinates to sign the covenant with regard to the receipt of presents. Then he took up the question of private trade. In this matter, he took upon himself the responsibility for modifying to some extent the orders of the Company. He found that the pay of the servants was exceedingly small, and if the taking of presents and the right of private trade were both stopped and at the same time no increment of pay was allowed, the Company's servants would be driven from opulence to poverty and privation. He accordingly established a monopolistic company for trading in salt, betel-nut and some other articles, the shares of the company being distributed on a graduated scale among the servants of the East India Company in Bengal. Through this source, Clive expected, the servants would draw an income with which they would be in a position to maintain their stations comfortably. The Court of Directors, however, looked upon this step as inconsistent with their orders and the salt company had to be dissolved in 1767. The Court, of course, compensated to a great extent for the loss which the dissolution of the company involved to the civil servants. It granted them a commission of two and a half per cent upon the net collections of revenue in the Presidency. The commission amounted to Rs. 500,000 in 1770-1771, divided into 100 equal shares of which the Governor received 31. Besides this compensation in commission, the salaries of the servants were also increased to some extent. In the early seventies when the Company "stood forth as the Dewan," a member of the Council was no longer getting annually only £40 to £100 as formerly. His salary had now been increased to £250, a factor similarly now received £140 and a Writer no longer started with £5 a year, his salary now being increased to £130.

The Regulating Act of 1773 gave a further stimulus to the increment of salary. This measure provided that the salary of the Governor-General of Bengal would be henceforward £25,000 a year and that of the members of his council would be £10,000. This large increase in the emoluments of the Governor-General and his colleagues at the Council Board became an argument for the increase of salary of the officers in the lower rungs of the Company's service. And in 1777 we find the Chiefs of the Provincial Councils had as much as Rs. 1,200 for their monthly salaries. The other members of these councils were also now given Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 a month. After the abolition of these councils, the Collectors who stepped into their shoes drew the salary formerly given to the chiefs, *i. e.*, Rs. 1,200 a month.

This increase in the salaries, however, made little impression upon the civil servants. Those who made lakhs in the course of a decade by private trade and by extorting presents from the Nawabs and zamindars did not much appreciate the increase which the Directors made in their regular emoluments. They were not ready to give up their old practices, simply because some appreciable addition had been made to their salaries. When Clive tried in 1765 to enforce the orders of the Court of Directors with regard to presents and private trade, almost all the civil servants thought of revolting against his authority. It was only the promptitude and vigour with which Clive met the situation and the strong support he got in this matter from the Court of Directors that cowed the civilian body and made them conform temporarily to the measures of Clive. But once his strong and determined hand was withdrawn, the servants of the Company again relapsed into their old ways. The habit of taking presents which had become deep-seated died hard. Nor was any vigorous and systematic attempt made after the departure of Lord Clive to stamp out this evil practice. Rather, the Governors whose example the other civil servants were to emulate were themselves guilty in this respect. Warren Hastings was guilty of illegally taking and extorting presents in some well-known cases. His successor was also notorious in this matter. The civil servants thus profited by the increase of salary and at the same time continued to extort presents from the Indian rajas and zamindars. Nor did they give up their income from the source of private trade. When Cornwallis came to India, he found that almost every one of the Company's servants was engaged in some kind of trade in the name of some relation or friend. The orders of the Court of Directors had thus practically been thrown into the limbo of forgetfulness and the civil servants made still a huge and fabulous income by tapping the forbidden sources. The Resident at Benares, for instance, enjoyed a not unworthy salary of over Rs. 1,200 a month, but besides this official salary he drew also an annual income of about Rs. 400,000 along the two illegitimate channels.

Very dark indeed was the situation which Cornwallis on his arrival in this country was called upon to tackle. He had drunk deep into the fountain of new political inspiration in England. In the eighties, a reaction was noticeable in English public life against corruption and jobbery which had been its pre-eminent features for over one century. The Younger Pitt was the high priest of this purity movement and Lord Cornwallis was one of his trusted lieutenants. It had now been brought home to His Majesty's Government that the whole civilian body of India had been innoculated with the virus of corruption and dishonest tactics, and if the administration of the Indian territories was ever to be raised from this depth of degradation and this rut of inefficiency, a Governor-General other than an Indian Civilian should be appointed. Lord Cornwallis was accordingly chosen to be the head of the Indian Government. Inspired by the new political teaching, he thought that his foremost duty would be to stamp out the illegitimate and illegal practices which were still so common among the Company's civil servants. The complete eradication of these evils would be the first step towards purity and efficiency.

Lord Cornwallis was, however, convinced that a very large addition to the regular pay and emoluments of the civil servants must be made before they could be compelled to give up the illegal perquisites through presents and private trade. They had been too long used to earning a fortune in the course of a few years and then retiring to England to live there the life of a

'Nabob.' They had been too long used to a life of luxury to settle down all at once to the unpretentious ways of an honest, hard-working and decently, though moderately, paid civil servant. Lord Cornwallis was convinced that they would never be reconciled to the moderate competence with which alone the civil servants of other countries were familiar. The opportunities for corruption which abounded in the country would also warrant that the regular salaries and emoluments should be sufficiently high to place the civil servants above the temptations which would come in their way. Public opinion did not exist at all in the country. If a civil servant demanded some present of any placed man, he would not have the backing of his fellow citizens in resisting the demand. He would make over the present without any fuss and avoid thereby the displeasure of a British officer which he would otherwise incur with ruinous consequences. In the absence of a strong and healthy public opinion in the country at large, the attitude of the civil servants would depend to a great extent upon the tone of morality in the service itself. If it continued to be low, it would be impossible to stamp out the corruption. It was essential therefore that a healthy *espirit de corps* should be developed among the civil servants of the Company. The task involved was, however, quite an arduous one. Its success would mostly depend upon the amount of sacrifice demanded of the civil servants. If the difference between their old irregular earnings and their new regularized emoluments was great, no large body of civil servants was expected to take kindly to the new morality. No healthy *espirit de corps* was then likely to develop. In spite of all the rules and regulations, the channels of corruption would continue to be as deep and as ramified as before. Cornwallis accordingly proposed that the emoluments of the Company's servants should be so settled as to enable them to live in India quite comfortably and to retire to England at an early age with a decent income.

It was laid down that those who would work in the capacity of Collectors would get the salaries fixed for their posts (*i.e.*, at least Rs. 1,200 a month) and also a commission of one and a half per cent upon the net collections of revenue in the districts under their charge. It was calculated that the highest commission which a Collector would annually get was about Rs. 30,000. The emoluments of the Collectors would hence be in average about Rs. 3,000 a month. The Court of Directors demurred for a time to the proposals made by Cornwallis, who, however, reiterated them with enthusiasm and vigour. The servants, he pointed out, who would fill the posts of Collectors would not ordinarily be officers of less than twelve years' standing, and officers of such seniority should not be paid less. The suggestions of Cornwallis were in the main accepted and embodied in the Act of Parliament which renewed the Charter of the East India Company in 17 This statute provided that the civil servants who had put in at least three years' service in India would be eligible for a salary of Rs. 5,0 a year. To reach an income of Rs. 15,000 a year, they must complete at least six years in their Indian service and they must have at least twelve years' service to their credit before they could reach offices whose annual value was Rs. 40,000. The Charter Act of 181 improved further the conditions of the covenanted service. It laid down that officers of only four years' standing might be appointed to posts with an annual salary of Rs. 15,0 and officers with a record of only ten years' service might be given a salary of Rs. 40,0 a year. Young men of twenty-five or twenty-six had under this system not infrequently an income of Rs. 2,000 a month. We have it on official record that a judge and magistrate in Bengal (the two offices were then combined) who was, as a rule, a junior officer, had a salary of Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 28,000 a year and a collector was earning annually in salary and commission Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 45,000. The first Judge of a Provincial Court of Appeal had a yearly salary of Rs. 45,000 and his colleagues received Rs. 35,000 to Rs. 40,000. The senior member of the Board of Revenue had an annual salary of Rs. 55,000 and the Chief Secretary to the Government also drew the same salary. The two other Secretaries to the Government received Rs. 50,000. The Chief Judge of the Sudder Court had in pay and allowances Rs. 60,000 a year and the Puisne Judges Rs. 45,0 Twenty-five years later in 1852, we find this exorbitant scale of salary was still continuing. The members of the Governor-General's Executive Council were still in receipt of Rs. 100,000 a year and the Secretaries to the Government of India had each a salary of Rs. 52,000 a year. The Commissioners of Divisions received in most provinces Rs. 35,000 and the Judges Rs. 30,000.

Already, however, opposition was gaining ground in certain quarters against the exorbitantly high salary given to the Company's civil servants in India. The arguments and reasons which influenced Cornwallis in determining the salaries of the civil servants on such a lavish scale were no longer valid. The civil service had now been purified. The old evil practices had died out altogether. Traditions of the "Indian Nabobs" were no longer living. New traditions of honesty and purity had been developed among the members of the Indian Civil Service. Public morality had also improved considerably everywhere since the eighteenth century. It was time therefore that the inflated salaries of the civil servants should be reduced and brought to the scientific level. The Government also were in favour of some retrenchment. The Charter Act of 1853 now set the ball rolling. It reduced the salary of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council to Rs. 80,000 a year. Two years later a Salaries Commission was instituted to examine the scale of salary given to the civil officers of the Gevernment. As a result of this step some reduction of salary was effected only in the higher grades of the cvil service, otherwise the old high rate of pay continued as usual. The District and Sessions Judges in 1870 still received in Bengal Rs. 2,500 a month, and the Commissioners of Divisions about Rs. 3,000. The salary of the senior member of the Board of Revenue had, however, been reduced from Rs. 55,000 a year to Rs. 48,000. Hence he now had Rs. 4,000 for his monthly salary, instead of Rs. 4,580 which he used to get twenty years before. The average monthly pay of a civil servant of sixteen years' standing was in 1871 Rs. 1,776 in Bengal, Rs. 2,110 in Madras and Rs. 2,750 in the Central Provinces. The civilians in the North-Western Province were suffering at this time from a block of promotion and had a lower average pay. But they sent a memorial to the Secretary of State for the redress of this grievance. Thus in spite of the agitation for the lowering of the salary of the civil servants and in spite of the appointment of the Salaries Commission, the rate of pay of the Indian Civil Service was almost as exorbitant in 1870 as it had been twenty years earlier.

In the year 1912, a member of the Indian Civil Service began his career with a salary of Rs. 400 a month and was automatically promoted to posts with a monthly salary of Rs. 2,500. Many of the civil servants of course rose to superior offices and received salaries ranging from Rs 3,000 to much over Rs 6,000 a month. Notwithstanding this scale of princely salaries, a Royal Commission was appointed in that year to look into, among other things, the pay roll of the civil services. This Commission reported in 1916 and recommended an increase of pay of the members of the Indian Civil Service to the extent of about ten per cent. This recommendation was carried out in 1919.

No sooner, however, had this increase been given effect to, than a fresh demand for further increase went forth from the Service. The civil servants pointed out that there had been a rise of prices to the tune of about sixty per cent, while the pay had been increased only to the extent of ten per cent. The Central Association of the Civil Servants sent a memorial to His Majesty's Government in London and early in 1923 it was announced that a Royal Commission would soon be sent out to examine the pay roll of the Superior Civil Services and any recommendation of that Commission for the increase of salary would be acted upon at once. This announcement was greeted with universal opposition in India. The Central Legislature protested vehemently against the imposition of this Commission upon the unwilling people of this country. It was also an open secret that the Government of India, at this time presided over by Lord Reading, had set its face against the appointment of any Commission. The financial situation of the country was really dark. The Government was faced with a deficit. It was hence no time for entertaining any proposal for the increase of the salary of the civil servants. But in spite of all this unanimity of opposition in India, the Commission was sent out under the chairmanship of Lord Lee. It held a rapid investigation and then submitted its report. The Commission did not recommend much alteration of the basic pay of the Indian Civil Service, but it recommended a considerable addition to the Overseas Pay. The Commission's recommendation involved a twelve per cent increase in the pay of the Indian Civil Servant and this increase, commonly known in India as the Lee loot, became effective from April, 1924. Thus in the course of five years, the members of the I. C. S. got an increase to the extent of over twenty per cent in their pay and allowances which had been already too high.

Under the scale of pay introduced on the recommendation of the Lee Commission, a member of the Indian Civil Service would begin his official life at Rs. 600 a month and would under time scale rise in the course twenty years to a salary of Rs. 2,600 a month. Besides this large salary, he had some extraordinarily liberal conditions of furlough recommended by the Commission and sanctioned by the Government. Four times during his career as an Indian Civil Servant, he would be entitled to first-class return passages to and from England for himself, his wife and to a limited degree for his children. His pension also is now exorbitantly large. Formerly he had to contribute four per cent of his salary towards the £1,000 annuity which was assured to him on his retirement. But the Islington Commission recommended the abolition of this contribution towards the pension fund, and since 1919 the Indian tax-payer has to bear the whole burden of this uniformly large pension of £1,000 a year.

A large number of selected civil servants again go over to posts above the time scale and earn a monthly salary far higher than Rs. 2,600. A Commissioner of a Division, for example, gets under the Lee scheme a salary of about Rs. 3,200 a month and the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Government and the Member of the Board of Revenue get as much as Rs. 3,750. A civil servant who again rises to become a member of the provincial Executive Council is paid at the rate of Rs. 5,333 per month. A Secretary to the Government of India draws a monthly salary of about Rs. 4,200 and a civilian who is promoted to a membership of that Government has a monthly pay of Rs. 6,666. Above these posts are the Governorships of the provinces which in six cases out of nine are open in practice only to the members of the Indian Civil Service. In this capacity, a civilian draws as much as Rs. 10,000 per month. To repeat, the civilians begin their official career in India at Rs. 600 a month and rise automatically under time scale in a comparatively short period of time to a monthly salary of Rs. 2,600. Beyond these are the prize posts whose number, by the way, is not so small, and whose salary extends from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 10,000 per month. The Indian Civil Service is still under-paid!

Below the Indian Civil Service, there are in every province two other civil services. One of them is known as the Provincial Civil Service and the other as the Junior Civil Service. The salary in the former case ranges in most provinces from Rs. 250 to Rs. 850 a month with a selection grade on Rs. 1,000. In the judicial branch of this service, the initial pay is a bit higher and in its selection grade the salary extends to Rs. 1,200 per month. A few officers of the two branches of this service are in every province promoted to what is known as listed appointments. These posts were originally reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service but are now open to members of the lower service. Those who are appointed to listed posts practically get the salary given to an Indian civilian less his Overseas Pay. In the Junior Civil Service, the salary ranges generally from Rs. 150 to Rs. 400 per month with a selection grade on Rs. 450.

THE rate of civil service salary and pension has been fixed in India on principles which are quite extraneous to the question. The foundation of this system of large emoluments was, we have seen, laid down by Lord Cornwallis. The one object which made him an advocate of this principle of high salary for the civil servant was to keep the latter satisfied with his legal emoluments and to persuade him to give up his illegal and unconstitutional perquisites. Cornwallis was convinced that if the weeds of corruption and illegal gratification which had grown so profusely on the Indian soil were to wither and die, the tree of legal and constitutional income must be strengthened and allowed to expand and ramify. It was this laudable object of burying the traditions of the 'Indian Nabobs' that made him so strong a champion of princely salaries for the civil servants of the Company. Years later when the poisonous plants had actually withered and died out, the branches of the Banyan should have been lopped off. But the great tree of large salary is still there with all its old and new ramifications. It is high time that they should be axed off, so that other useful plants may grow on the soil below.

The traditions of Mogul rule have also had a good deal to do with the maintenance of the high scale of salary for the members of the Indian Civil Service. The *mansabdars* of the Moghul Empire were the grandees of the realm. As the heads of *parganas* and *subahs* and as the ministers and heads of departments they represented the person of the Padishah, the supreme autocrat of the country. The Great Mogul himself lived as a rule in high style, amidst pomp and pageant. His advisers at the court and his representatives in the provinces and the districts had also to live with similar ostentation and in similar grandeur, otherwise the prestige of the Emperor might suffer and the glory of the Empire might be dimmed. In order that the officers of the Government might live in dazzling luxury and befitting pomp, their emoluments had necessarily to be large. The *faujdars* and the *subahdars* of the Mogul Empire thus enjoyed large salaries and still larger allowances. The East India Company which stepped into the shoes of the Great Mogul tried to build up its administration on the model of the Mogul system and to give its officers the same position, the same powers and, if possible, the same emoluments as had been enjoyed by the *mansabdars* of the Mogul Empire. Further, if the new Government were to strengthen its foundation, it was thought essential that it must create a sense of awe among the people by the pomp and pageantry surrounding its representatives in the districts and provinces. Even today the British Government have not lost all confidence in this external appeal to the imagination of the people.

Another cause which partly accounts for the high rate of salary given to the Indian Civil Service consists in the fact that until recently it was an exclusive body of foreigners imported from Europe. Though at the present time a portion of the membership of the service has gone to Indians, all the officers are still paid on the old basis. Imported labour is as a matter of course dearer than indigenous labour and when the imports take place from Europe to Asia the disparity becomes greater still. An income looked upon as modest in England with its high standard of living will certainly pass in India as certainly very large. Hence if a British young man is paid in India at the same rate as he expects to be paid for his services in his own country, his salary would be far greater than what should be given to an Indian of the same education and other qualifications. But a British young man would never care to come out to this country, if he is not given a salary far greater than what is available for him in Great Britain. A British officer on this account has to be paid at least five times more than what should be given to an Indian officer of the same education and calibre.

Several causes, historical and political, have thus combined together to make the salaries of the Indian Civil Servants so exorbitantly high. The emoluments of the Provincial Service are indeed far smaller than in the case of the Superior Service, but even these are much greater than what can be justified by the considerations that should rationally enter into the determination of the salary scale of the civil servants of any country. When the well-paid posts were monopolized by the members of the Indian Civil Service who were almost exclusively European, a high scale of pay for the Provincial Civil Service was introduced only as a sop to the Indian aspirations. The Indians themselves, when they found that they were being shut out from the Superior Service, also concentrated a good deal of their attention upon the improvement of the position and pay of the Provincial Civil Service. When the European officers were being paid on such a lavish scale, the Indian public men did not grudge that their countrymen in the Government service should also get a salary higher than what scientific considerations would warrant as legitimate. But time has come when the salary scale of all the civil servants should be revised on a scientific basis and they should be paid only what is legitimately their due. The extraneous grounds on which the civil service salary has so long been determined should now be ruthlessly brushed aside.

It should be remembered at the outset that the Indian state is fast being turned into a democracy. The civilians should no longer regard themselves as the representatives of a foreign despotism. The Government should never again cherish the hope that gorgeous trappings of the headquarters offices in the different administrative units would any longer appeal to the imagination of the people and inspire any awe and veneration in them. They are past that state. The pomp and pageantry with which the officers of the Government like to surround themselves still excite now only smiles and now resentment and heart-burning among the people. The members of the civil service should now regard themselves as the servants of a poor democracy. Their duty is no longer to subserve the interests either of a local potentate or a foreign despotism. They are now the employees of a democratic state. They are to cut adrift from the past traditions and live a vigorous but simple life, working all the while with a new will and zeal for the all-round uplift of one of the poorest nations on the earth. Labouring for the cause of a poor demos, they must look upon unnecessary luxury as out of place in their life. They should be given a salary scale upon which they may live decently and comfortably but not luxuriously and pompously.

It is the aspiration of every modern Government to draw into the public service the pick of the University graduates. The salary should be, so regulated as to make it sufficiently inviting and attractive to these men. It should be such as to make the civil servants economically independent. They should be in a position to maintain a family of moderate size quite decently. Nor should the salary scale be so low that their entry into the civil service might relegate them to a lesser social position than what is in general enjoyed by the young men of similar education and traditions. But to make the conditions of the civil service attractive in this sense does not mean that a civil servant should be paid at the rate at which officers are paid in some business firms. Nor does it mean that the civil servant should be sure of as much income as is earned by a few fortunate members of the bar. In a business concern, there are chances indeed of rapid promotion, of a large pay and still larger commission. But at the same time there are dangers of one month's notice of dismissal. In the civil service, promotion may be slower and pay may be less than in a good business establishment, but the security of tenure here is far greater. The prestige of serving the Government is also an important compensating element. The very thought that he is a part of the great machine of the public administration of his country is certainly stimulating to the civil servant. It is unwise in fact to institute any comparison between the emoluments of the civil servants and those of the officers in private business concerns. In 1922-1923, however, this comparison came very much to the fore. The members of the Lee Commission were very much impressed by the fact that the European business firms in India gave at the time greater comfort to their officers than the Government of India were giving to their civil servants. It was brought to the notice of the Commission that in the business establishments, a considerable addition had recently been made to the salary and commission of the officers and the other conditions of their service had also been improved. The covenanted hands in these firms had their passages to and from England paid for by the firms and not as in the Indian Civil Service by the officers concerned. These facts became an important argument for the increase of salary of the Indian civil servants and also for the grant of free first-class passages to them and some members of their family referred to above. Recent circumstances have proved to the hilt why the conditions of the civil service should not be adjusted to any change for the better in the conditions of service in private business concerns. As a result of business boom after the war, the emoluments of the officers of the business establishments had shot up considerably. During the last two or three years, however, there has been a slump in all kinds of business. As a result of this, during the last few months, not only have many firms cut down their establishment by not renewing the covenants which expired, but also by considerably cutting down the salaries and other amenities of those who are still in service. Several firms have stopped all passage facilities, and discontinued the old practice of giving full pay while on furlough. Some firms have also decided that no commission should be drawn by the officers during the next few years. In private firms there is thus a considerable elasticity in the conditions of service. They are adjusted to the changes in business conditions. In Government service, however, once the salary is increased, it is very difficult to reduce it to its former level. In business concerns, as the slump in trade continued, many officers were given notice that their agreement would not be renewed and the salaries of those who are kept in service were ruthlessly cut down. The Government of India, however, in spite of all the deficit and in spite of all the hard conditions from which the tax-payers are suffering, could not recommend more than a ten per cent cut in the salaries of the civil servants in all grades. If the salary of the civil servants were to increase because the salary of the officers of some private firms had been increased, it should have been in the same ratio reduced as in the case of the assistants and managers of the business concerns.

The large income which some members of the bar are found to command should not excite any jealousy in the civil servant. He must remember that once he enters the service his struggle practically ends, while in the case of the lawyer it only begins as he enters his profession. An income which a lawyer earns after years of novitiate and disappointments may be far larger than what a civil servant may ever hope to get. But security and large incomes hardly go together. It should not be forgotten that to one lawyer earning a fortune there are dozens practically starving. Those who take the risk and show an uncommon enterprise should not be grudged the gains that may come to them.

In modern democracies like England, France and America, the pay of the civil servants is quite moderate and is regulated on principles already enunciated. People there enter the civil service not that they will be able to earn princely salaries and live luxurious lives, but that they will have the pleasure of doing some useful work, acquiring some social prestige and living a decent life. Although the standard of living and the *per capita* income in these countries are far higher and greater than in India, the salaries which the civil servants are paid there are not only much lower than the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service, but are much lower in some countries than even the salaries of the Provincial Civil Servants out here. The *per capita* income in India is, at the highest computation, Rs. 50 while in Great Britain it is at least £50 or 14 times more than in India. In Japan the *per capita* income is estimated at £6 or about double that of this country. But still the pay of the civil servant of the administrative class (the highest class) starts in England at £200 a year or in other words his monthly salary at the start is less than Rs 250 which is the initial salary given in India to a member of the Provincial C Service. Ordinarily again, he does not beyond £900 a year, the maximum salary g to a Principal in a department at White In other words, a civil servant of the hig class in England does not, as a rule, earn, the course of his career of thirty-five y more than Rs. 1,000 a month, a salary wh some senior members of the Provincial C Service are given in India. There are s prize posts beyond the Principalships. But t salaries attached to these prize posts are most cases far smaller than what a mem of the Indian Civil Service is entitled to here under the time scale.

While in England only a handful of m has a salary of more than Rs. 1,000 a mon in Japan which is twice as rich as India civil servant has a salary of more than Rs. a month. In France also, the salaries of public servants are proverbially low. Long a Sir John Strachey in defending the sal scale of the Provincial Civil Services in In pointed out that in France "the salaries the higher judicial and executive officers a smaller than those given to natives in India He, of course, did not point out at the sa time that if the salaries of the French ci servants were smaller than those of the Provin Civil Servants in India, how many times smal they were than the emoluments of the membe of the Indian Civil Service to which Sir Jo Strachey belonged. That is, however, bes the point. The point is that the French ci servants get far less than what is given to Deputy Magistrates. The Prefect of Paris, f instance, has a monthly salary of less th Rs. 500, and the average pay of the civil serva does not exceed Rs. 125 a month.

Now, if these are the salary scales for t civil services in countries with a high sometimes far higher standard of livi and far greater *per capita* inco what should be the salary scale for the ci servants in India ? All extraneous grou which in the past entered into the inflation salaries of the public servants in this coun should now be ruthlessly brushed aside. W should now determine the pay and emolum of the permanent civil service only with eye to scientific arguments and facts. B the Imperial and the Provincial Civil Servi there is in every province a Junior Civil Serv Its salary scale extends generally from Rs. 1 to Rs. 450 a month. Outside the capital ci very few people have an income as large that of these junior civil servants.

Their salary gives them quite a dec dignified and comfortable life. They have th grievances indeed, but they are more of a s mental than of an economic character. T naturally become dissatisfied with the condi of their own service, when they find that in the Imperial Services are living pri lives and men in the Provincial Services are given a far higher pay than themselves. This discontent is strengthened by the fact that the members of the higher services are drawn from the same classes and have had mostly the same educational and cultural traditions as themselves. The discontent is also to a great extent justified by the fact that the duties which the members of the higher services have to perform do not much differ in nature and character from what the junior civil servants have to do. Once the two higher services are merged in the Junior Civil Service, the discontent will automatically disappear and the best educated of our young men will take it as a privilege to enter this service.

The scale of pay now given to the junior civil servants should, in view of the general standard of our living and the average income of the best educated of our men, be quite appropriate for most of the civil servants in the administrative cadre. Once we disabuse our mind of the ideas of high salaries and princely emoluments now enjoyed by our civil servants, the salary scale recommended above will not appear so contemptible as all at once it may seem to be. The salaries given to the members of the Junior Civil Service are at least as high as those of the civil servants of the highest grades in France and Japan. If these emoluments are looked upon as sufficient in these countries with a larger *per capita* income and a higher standard of living, they should be looked upon as quite enough in our country as well. For a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five to command a monthly income of Rs. 150 is not only not contemptible but fortunate in a country where the average *per capita* income is only Rs 4. Economically it places him all at once above at least ninety per cent of our young men with good academic antecedents. To rise again under time scale to a salary of Rs. 400 or 450 is a prospect not to be lightly thought of in India. If a man is not extravagant, he will have enough to maintain his family in comfort and to give his children the best education possible in the country. Beyond this, a civil servant should not expect anything from the state.

Beyond the time scale there should be some prize posts in every province to which would be attached a higher salary. The civil servants, for instance, who will rise to become district officers may be paid at the rate of Rs. 500 a month and those who will rise to the position of secretaries to the Government may be given a pay higher still.

On the judicial side the pay now given to the judges and *munsiffs* is disproportionately high. In no country in the world, the judge can dream of receiving a pay higher than or even equal to the income of the select few among the advocates practising before his court. In the High Courts of India also, the justices receive far less than what the pick of the bar are in the habit of earning. A lawyer of good standing loses in fact a great deal of his income as he moves on to the bench. He becomes a judge not to add to his income but to add to his prestige and social position. In the districts, however, the situation is quite different. Outside Alipur, in no district in Bengal, the income of even the most fortunate members of the bar exceeds in average Rs. 2,000 a month. Even this figure is reached only by a few in the big districts like Midnapur, Burdwan, Mymensingh, Bakargunge and Dacca. In most other districts, the highest income of a lawyer commanding the largest practice does not exceed in average Rs. 1,000 a month. In fact, in all the district bars those whose average monthly income has reached six to seven hundred rupees are counted among the front rank lawyers. The vast majority have to be satisfied with an income ranging from Rs 50 to Rs. 300. Those again whose practice is limited to the Munsiffs' courts fare worse still.

Contrast now the salary scales of the judges in this province. The District and Sessions Judges have a salary ranging from Rs. 1,100 (in officiating cases) to Rs. 3,000 a month. The pay of the Sub-Judges extends from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 and that of the Munsiffs from Rs. 275 to Rs 700. A Munsiff has thus as much as is enjoyed only by the first rank pleaders in most district bars. As for the Sub-Judges, and the Judges, they are placed economically on a pedestal to which even the best and the most fortunate among the district lawyers can look up only with envy and despair.

It is time that this atrociously high scale of judicial salaries should be cut down and the pay of the Munsiffs and Judges should be regulated only on economic grounds. The judicial officers should be so paid as to enable them to live quite a dignified and independent life. Their salary should also be so high as to attract to the bench young lawyers with a sound legal training and with some good practice at the bar. The conditions of judicial service should be sufficiently liberal and generous to serve these two ends. Now if the initial salary of a Munsiff is fixed at Rs. 150 and the maximum salary of a District and Sessions Judge is limited to Rs. 600 the purposes in view will be adequately fulfilled. This scale of salary (Rs. 150 to Rs. 600) will enable the judicial officers to live in decent comfort and dignity. It will also keep up the popularity of the judicial service. When to earn Rs. 100 a month at the bar is quite a difficult business and when hope for a monthly income of six to seven hundred rupees after years of struggle is only a mirage in ninety-five cases out of every hundred, the scale of salary chalked out above for the judicial officers in the districts cannot but be attractive to the young lawyers. Only the most enterprising among them may refuse an appointment in the judiciary and stick to their practice at the bar in the hope of rising to the top. The rest will find it a relief to come out of the uncertain struggle at the bar and will, with real thankfulness, enter the judiciary where they will be sure of a moderately high salary and an excellent social position.

The exorbitantly high salaries of the civil servants in an extremely poor country have been a scandal in India for a long time past. As early as 1879, the late Sir W. W. Hunter tried to bring it home in an address to the British public that the high salaries of the permanent officers was pressing like a nightmare upon the Indian finances. The best remedy he thought, for this absurd situation was the rapid Indianzation of the services. He had his doubts also if the European officers were not being overpaid in India. But he thought if the disease was to be radically cured and the salaries were to be cut down to their proper limit, foreign labour should cease to be imported and India must depend upon her own indigenous agency. In the same year John Bright of honoured memory also protested with his own oratorical vehemence against the fabulously high salaries given to the members of the Covenanted Civil Service. He pleaded that so large a scale of civil service pay might have been warranted in unsettled days of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but it was altogether an anomaly in the later nineteenth century.

There are many reasons why the civil services in India should be manned exclusively by the Indians themselves. One of the most weighty of these reasons is certainly the question of finance. The Indian public has always looked upon Indianization of the services as a method of reducing the cost of our public administration. Unfortunately, however, the appointment of Indians to the all-India services has been followed so far by little relief to the Indian exchequer. Since the acceptance of the Lee Commission recommendations, the Indians recruited to the Indian Civil Service even in England have ceased to receive the Overseas Pay. But this small reduction touches only the fringe of the subject of high salary. So long the Indians have been paid on the European basis. If however, the state is to profit by indigenous labour, it should pay for it only according to indigenous standards.

# VOTING STRENGTH OF MUHAMMADANS
# CAN IT BE PROPORTIONAL TO POPULATION?

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

THE Franchise Committee under the presidency of the Marquis of Lothian, now touring the country, has issued a lengthy questionnaire regarding the range of enquiries it proposes to undertake. One of the questions regarding the franchise qualifications, *viz.*, 2(b), is as follows :

> "Assuming that communal electorates of some sort are retained, it has been suggested that each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers, and that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result, in so far as it may be practicable."

Let us discuss the above question with special reference to Bengal. With the existing franchise qualifications, somehow or other, the voting strength of the Muhammadans is generally less than their population strength throughout India, as far as the council electorates in the different Governor's provinces are concerned.

Let us tabulate the results province by province showing the comparative voting and population strengths of the different communities.

| | NON-MUHAMMADANS | | MUHAMMADANS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Population ratio p. c. | Voting ratio p. c. | Population ratio p. c. | Voting ratio p. c. |
| Assam | 65.9 | 69.8 | 32.3 | 30.1 |
| Bengal | 45.1 | 53.0 | 54.6 | 45.1 |
| B. & O | 88·2 | 88·8 | 10·9 | 10·9 |
| Bombay | 78·9 | 81·0 | 19·8 | 17·[illegible] |
| C. P. | 95·4 | 91·6 | 4·4 | 8·4 |
| Madras | 90·0 | 93·0 | 6·7 | 4·7 |
| Panjab | 32·0 | 32·1 | 55·2 | 43·7 |
| | 11·1 (Sikhs) | 24·1 | | |
| U. P. | 85·4 | 86·0 | 14·3 | 14·1 |

It is only in the Central Provinces that the voting strength of the Muhammadans is greater than their population strength. This is because about one-fourth of the C. P. is not subject to the reforms. Though these are technically "backward tracts," these do not form part of any constituencies as such have no voters. The Muhammadans are few or none in these areas.

That the voting ratio of the Muhammadans is not still lower is due to differential franchise qualifications operating in their favour in some provinces. For example, in Bihar and Orissa, one of the qualifications is holding land liable to pay cesses amounting to Rs 4-8-0 in Bhagalpur, where the Muslims are 10 per cent, or amounting to Rs 3 in the contiguous district of Purnea where the Muslims form some 40 per cent of the population. The result is that the proportion of Muslim voters is 10 per cent in Bhagalpur, but 52 per cent in Purnea.

The questionnaire 2 (b) suggests that 'each community should be given a voting strength proportionate to its numbers' and 'that the franchise system should be so contrived as to secure this result.'

Now, having regard to the facts and local conditions of Bengal, this is a sheer physical impossibility, so far as the Muhammadans are concerned, in whose interest the above suggestion has been made. We will make our meaning clear anon, as we deal with several subsidary questions.

Adult suffrage is the goal and, assuming that adult suffrage is granted, the Muhammadans of Bengal, though they formed 53.99 per cent of the population in 1921, formed 48.6 per cent (considerably less than half) of the adults, *i. e.*, those who are really over 21. In 1931, so far as we are aware, the percentage of the Muhammadans has slightly decreased to 53.82. (See *The Modern Review*, February 1931).

This is so, because 53 per cent among the Muhammadans are below 20, as compared with the 46 per cent among the Hindus or the non-Muhammadans. We get this by using the crude figures of ages as given by the persons enumerated. But the Muhammadans deliberately overstate their ages more often than the Hindus. This is not the view of partisan or communally-minded Hindus, but the deliberate conclusions arrived at by Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, the Government Actuary, in his report on the age distribution, etc., deduced from the Indian census returns of 1921 and previous enumerations. Says he :

"Any disturbance of the normal age distribution by famines, plagues, malaria, etc., is of trifling significance compared with the large and systematic mis-statement of age...and the rates of mis-statement are greater amongst the Muhammadans than amongst Hindus."

The respective numbers of the non-Muhammadan and Muhammadan Assembly voters and Council voters in the general constituencies are given below. (The figures are for 1926 as no separate figures for women are given in the Cmd. 3922.

| | Council. | | | Assembly. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male. | Female. | Total. | Male. | Female. | Total. |
| Non-Muhammadans | 593,414 | 29,803 | 623,217 | 145,147 | 12,319 | 157,466 |
| Muhammadans | 522,892 | 7,103 | 529,995 | 60,844 | 2,476 | 63,320 |

The effect of the higher property qualifications for the Assembly voters is seen in the fact that the Assembly electorate is only about one-fifth of that of the Council. Further, it has affected the different communities differently. It has reduced the non-Muhammadan electorate in the proportion of 100 : 24 for males, and 100 : 40 for females ; for the Muhammadans it reduces in the proportion of 100 : 12 for males ; and 100 : 35 for females.

The Bengal Government made an enquiry into the possible result of the lowering of the franchise qualifications to the level of the Union Board electorate. They calculated that the lowering of the franchise would increase Muhammadan vote from 513,000 to more than 1,121,000 ; and the non-Muhammadan from about 540,000 to about 900,000. In the rural constituencies, the percentage of Muhammadans alone was 55.33 and of the non-Muhammadans 44.67. Of the voters in the Muhammadan and the non-Muhammadan rural constituencies in the 1926 electoral roll the percentage of the Muhammadans was 48.84 and of the non-Muhammadans 51.16. With the lowering of the franchise to the Union Board level, the percentage of Muhammadan voters would be 57.75 and of the non-Muhammadans about 42.25. Thus the voting strength of the Muhammadans will not only come up to their proportion in population, but exceed it.

The above conclusions of the Bengal Government were embodied in their Report on the Working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal, and submitted before the Simon Commission.

The conclusions of the Bengal Government's enquiry has influenced, rather misled, the Simon Commission into thinking that the effect of the lowering of the franchise qualifications would be to bring the economically backward and the Muhammadans in greater numbers within the electoral range, and thus accord with their ratio in the population. The Simon Commission says :

> "They are more depressed economically than other sections of the community, and, therefore, on a given property qualification these classes will secure a lower proportion of votes than others."

While it is broadly true that with the lowering of the franchise qualifications, more Muhammadans are relatively brought within the electoral range, the conclusions of the Bengal Government are totally wrong. Let us quote from an article "The Electorate in Bengal—its Problems," published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1931 :

> "But there seems to be some error somewhere. In 1926-27 the population of the Union Boards was 17,363,000 and the number of Union Board voters 1,131,000. If the proportion of voters to population remains the same, out of a population of 46 millions, the estimated number of voters will be something like 3 millions and not 2 millions as estimated by the Bengal Government. As a matter of fact, in 1928-29, out of a Union Board population of 31 millions, there were 2,293,000 voters. Then again the statement showing the results of adopting Union Board franchises given at pp. 276-277 of the Bengal Government's memorandum appear to be based upon estimates, the method of arriving at which has not been explained. Moreover, some of the results arrived at are quite arbitrary. For example, as a result of lowering the franchise, 31,000 non-Muhammadan Council voters in the 24-Parganas dwindled down to 17,000 ; 33,000 non-Muhammadan voters in Mymensingh to 15,000. It has been estimated that the Union Board electorate for Murshidabad will be 41,000 out of a population of 13 lakhs, while not a single Union Board existed in 1926-27. Khulna with a population of the 14½ lakhs has been estimated to have 51,000 voters, Dinajpur with its 17 lakhs has been estimated to have 125,000 voters. Now that there are 43,000 Union Boards in Bengal, a fresh enquiry should be started by a mixed commission of officials and non-officials.
>
> In the Union Board electorate the Hindus are at a disadvantage, not because they pay less in rates, but because of the peculiar wording of Sec. 7 of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act (V of 1919), which prescribes qualifications of voters, and of the election rules framed by the Local Government. Both under the said section and under the election rules, members of a joint family (which cannot have more than one vote, however much it may pay in rates, and which is the normal condition of the Hindus) are under special disadvantages."

We should like to point out further in this article that in Nadia, out of a Union Board population of 1,345,055 there were in 1926-27, some 93,689 Union Board voters ; so out of the total of Nadia's 1,487,572, the number of estimated voters would be 103,620 ; but the Bengal Government estimated it to be 119,689, or some 15 per cent more.

In Dacca in 1926-27, out of a Union Board population of 2,538,971 there were 278,374 voters ; the estimated total for Dacca's 3,125,967 would be 342,732 voters. But the Bengal Government's estimate for the entire Dacca district is 140,543, *i. e.*, some 138,000 *less than* what it actually was in 1926-27.

In 1926-27 there were 194,197 voters out of a Union Board population of 2,374,655 ; therefore proportionately for Mymensingh's 4,837,730, the estimated number would be 403,766. But the Bengal Government's estimate is 79,201, which is less than the actual number of voters in 1926-27, and some 400 per cent short of the true estimate. Further 65,787 Muhammadan Council voters came down to 64,214 !

Even assuming the figures for the Union Board electorates for the 22 districts as given by the Bengal Government to be correct, we find that in nine districts only the percentage of the Muhammadans in the Union Board exceeds their population ratio, while in thirteen districts, their percentage is less. The Muhammadan population affected in these nine districts is some 74 lacs as against the 153 lacs in the other thirteen districts.

Thus, with so large a number of Union Boards in Bengal, we venture to repeat our suggestion that a fresh enquiry should be started by a mixed commission of officials and non-officials.

The late Mr. S. C. Hart, I.C.S., who owing to his long association with Panchayet Union Committees and Union Boards had special opportunities of studying village self-government in its practical aspects, makes the following pertinent observations in his *Self-Government in Rural Bengal* :

> "If the provisions of this section* were interpreted as requiring formal and express nominations for the purposes of the election they would be contrary to the usages of this country. There is, however, no reason why the section should be interpreted so strictly. It is not provided that the nomination must be formal or in writing. An implied nomination can and should be regarded as sufficient. The *Karta*...... should *prima facie* be presumed to represent the family in Union Board elections, as in all other affairs."

On the effect of the election rules Mr. Hart says:

> "It is probable that at least 75 p. c. of the people who pay union rate or chaukadari tax are members of joint undivided families, but hardly any families take the trouble to nominate one of their members to represent them in Union Board elections. If this rule were applied strictly almost all joint-families would be excluded from the register. In practice this rule is always relaxed but it is desirable that the rule should be modified."

If the rules be modified on the lines of the Bengal Municipal Election Rules, the Hindu voters will have their due share in the Union Board electorate. So far as rating strength is concerned, the Hindus are not behind the Muhammadans. They can muster 900,000 voters in spite of the artificial drawbacks of the enfranchising section and rules.

This being so, the real causes of the weakness of the Muhammadan's voting strength must be sought elsewhere. As under the Muhammadan law, both sons and daughters inherit the properties of the deceased parents, a wife inherits her husband and by marrying carries away her share in the properties of her first husband, it is to be expected that among the Muhammadans wealth would be sub-divided and distributed more minutely and equally over a larger number of persons. All other conditions being equal, the average value of an individual Muhammadan's property would be generally less. The fact that 53 per cent of the Muhammadans are below 20 as compared with the 46 per cent of the Hindus should be borne in mind in this connection. So ordinarily more Hindus possessing a given amount of property are to be found within the electoral range than the Muhammadans.

The main cause of the comparative paucity of the Muhammadan voters is that he escapes assessment and pays less in rates and taxes. Payment of cesses is one of the qualifications for rural voters; and it is proportional to the rent payable by the person. Roughly speaking, the cess payable is proportional to the gross rental in a given area. The gross rental of the Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions respectively in 1925-26 was Rs. 4,57 lacs and Rs. 1,49 lacs. The respective number of the persons supported by agriculture are 58 lacs and 48 lacs. So, the average rental paid by an individual in Burdwan is some Rs. 7.1 and in Chittagong Rs. 3. Ordinarily, therefore, it is to be expected that there would be more voters in Burdwan for a given population than in Chittagong, or, in other words, the proportion of voters would be greater in Burdwan than in Chittagong. Now this is exactly what we find. The Muhammadan population of Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions are respectively 10 lacs and 44 lacs; and the respective number of rural voters 24,348 and 62,582. Taking Burdwan as the standard, there should have been at least 108,000 voters in Chittagong. We have compared the Muhammadans of Burdwan with the Muhammadans of Chittagong to eliminate all possibilities of error due to differences in the law of succession between the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

Another way in which the Muhammadans escape taxation is in the payment of Union rates. The Union Boards impose yearly on the owners or occupiers of buildings within the Union an assessment according to the *circumstances and the property within* the Union. Suppose a Hindu and a Muhammadan are assessed equally, as they have equal circumstances and means within the Union. On their deaths, the Hindu's property would be inherited by his sons only, who would continue to occupy his house. These sons would then be assessed;

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* Section 7 runs thus:

"Every male person of the full age of 21 years and having a place of residence within the Union... (iii) who is a member of a joint undivided family, which, during the year immediately preceding the election, has paid a sum of not less than one rupee as such cess, rate or tax.

Shall be entitled to vote at an election of members of the Union Board;

Provided that only one member of a joint undivided family qualified under clause (iii) and nominated by the other qualified members of that family shall be entitled to vote on its behalf at any such election."

it may be a lesser amount individually, but the aggregate would remain the same. But in the case of the Muhammadans, his widow and his sons and daughters all would inherit. In the ordinary course of things daughters are generally married outside the village. When the Muhammadan's heirs are assessed each would be assessed according to his circumstances and property within the Union, generally a smaller sum than what the deceased used to pay. But the aggregate would not equal the amount paid by the deceased, as some daughters at least would reside outside the Union. Nor could she be assessed at her husband's place, as she is neither the owner nor the occupier of her husband's place in the legal sense of the term. Perhaps some small fractional co-sharer would be hit by the exemption clause of being too poor to pay the minimum amount of rates. If our premises are correct, then we would expect in areas preponderatingly Muhammadan a less payment *per capita* of Union rates than in areas overwhelmingly Hindu.

| | No. of Rate-payers | Payment of Union-rates under sec. 37 | Payment per capita | Per cent of Hindus |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burdwan Div. | 666,395 | Rs. 915,081 | Rs. 1-10-9 | 82·4 |
| Chittagong Div. | 593,752 | Rs. 626,796 | Rs. 1-0-10 | 23·8 |

It may be objected that the comparison is not appropriate, inasmuch as the people of Chittagong pay less in Union rates because they are poorer or their circumstances are more straitened than those of their brethren at Burdwan. But such is not the case. The Census Superintendent, Bengal, in his Report for 1921 discussing the comparative wealth of the cultivating classes in different parts of the province gives the following figures :

> If all the cultivating classes—male or female, adult or child—shared the gross produce of the soil equally and each individual in Midnapore got Rs 100 worth in a year then the average individual in the other districts would get

| | Rupees Worth |
|---|---|
| In Bankura (Sadar Sub-division) | 135.4 |
| On Noakhali mainland | 139.5 |
| In Mymensingh | 142.3 |
| In Tippera | 140.2 |
| In Faridpur | 142.6 |
| In Rajshahi | 148.1 |
| In Dacca | 148.8 |
| In Bakarganj | 153.3 |
| In Nadia | 173.2 |
| In Jessore | 174.6 |

Thus it would be seen that in areas where the Muhammadans form the bulk of the population, each individual of the cultivating class—and cultivators form the bulk of the total population—has more to spend, and is economically better off. It may be urged that as the cultivator has to pay rent, this amount should be deducted before making a comparative estimate of the cultivator's wealth.

But says the Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee :

> "Rent in Bengal is not competitive but customary and follows the prevailing rate of the locality irrespective of the demand for land. The rate varies for ordinary rice-bearing land from Re. 1 to Rs. 10 per acre in different parts of the province. It is comparatively lower for the same class of land in Eastern and Northern Bengal than in Western and Central, although the former is more productive."

The sizes of the agricultural holdings also differ in different parts of the province. It will be apparent from the following table that in Muhammadan areas the average size is greater.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Midnapur | 1.29 acres. | Bankura | 1.69 acres. |
| Jessore | 1.78 ,, | Dacca | 1.52 ,, |
| Faridpur | 1.39 ,, | Bakarganj | 2.54 ,, |
| Tippera | 2.03 ,, | Noakhali | 2.46 ,, |
| Pabna | 1.09 ,, | Bogra | 2.05 ,, |
| Murshidabad | 1.27 ,, | Birbhum | 1.43 ,, |
| Khulna | 2.82 ,, | Mymensingh | 2.79 ,, |
| Chittagong | 1.26 ,, | Rajshahi | 2.26 ,, |
| Burdwan | 1.44 , | 24-Pargs. | 1.80 ,, |

It, therefore, so happens that those Muhammadans who are more prosperous escape assessment and as a consequence go unrepresented. It may therefore be suggested that the franchise qualifications be further lowered, say halved, in Chittagong to that of Burdwan ; it will have the effect of bringing within the electoral range more men, both Hindus and Muhammadans. This sort of differential franchise qualifications in different parts of the same province, would cause needless complications in the preparation of electoral rolls, or it would have the effect of bringing in the electoral roll those persons who proportionately pay less in taxes in spite of their ability to pay. Let us make our meaning clear by an example. Suppose it is decided that a man paying 8 annas in Tippera will have the vote ; while in Burdwan the minimum payment must be Re. 1. The man from Tippera, because of the greater gross productivity of the soil and the smaller payment of rent, etc., will be economically more sound. Let us assume his income to be Rs. 50 per annum. He will be paying only 1 per cent of his income to get the vote. The man from Burdwan who pays 8 annas in taxes is by far the poorer. Let us assume his annual income to be, say, Rs. 40. He will be paying 1¼ per cent of his income, and yet not get any vote. This consideration applies equally to the Hindus and Muhammadans of both the regions. The Hindus of Tippera will be relatively over-represented compared with the Hindus of Burdwan. Similar will also be the case of the Muhammadans of Tippera.

Another reason why the voting strength of the Muhammadans is proportionately less is the peculiar age distribution in the several parts of the province. Let us give some quotations from the Census Report of Bengal :

> "At the present time the proportion of children below the age of 5 in Western Bengal is barely three-quarters the proportion below the provincial figure for whole. It remains below the provincial figure for the age 5-10, but is about the same between 15 and 20, and is very much higher between 20 and 60.
>
> "The proportion of children in Central Bengal also is below the average for the province."
>
> "The age distribution in North Bengal is very much the same as that for the population of the whole province, though the proportion of children, especially in the ages 5-10 is higher."
>
> "In the Dacca Division the proportion of children, though not as high as in the Chittagong Division, is very much higher than in the province as a whole."
>
> "The Chittagong Division has a phenomenally high proportion of children and of young people up to the age of 20, but adults are proportionately fewer than elsewhere."

It will be seen that in those areas, where the Muhammadans are preponderant, the proportion of minors and children is very high. The above facts have affected the Hindus equally. Thus 66 lacs Hindus in the Burdwan Division show an electoral strength of 148,000. Proportionately 15 lacs of Hindus in the Chittagong Division are expected to show an electoral strength of 34,000 but they show a strength of 29,000 only.

In the table of occupations by religion (Imp. Table XX, p. 362) a list of 12 main classes and of 56 subsidiary classes of occupations are given ; in every one of them, excepting (i) ordinary cultivation, (ii) building industries, (iii) transport by water, (iv) inmates of jails, etc., and (v) beggars, prostitutes, etc., the number of Muhammadans is less than that of the Hindus alone, not to speak of other classes of non-Muhammadans. In (ii) and (iii) the majority of Muhammadans over other non-Muhammadans is small ; and as nobody proposes to enfranchise the inmates of jails, lunatic asylums or beggars and prostitutes, we need not consider their case separately.

It will thus be seen that by basing the franchise qualifications on payment of cess or union rates the Hindus are already at a disadvantage compared with the Muhammadans, to say nothing about the peculiar wording of Sec. 7, the enfranchising section of the Village Self-Government Act.

The ideal form of franchise qualifications will be that which will bring out or reflect the relative contribution of respective communities to the State or for common welfare in the electoral roll. It is not a question of richer men paying more for the welfare of the poorer. It has been already assumed that different communities have different interests. If that be so, why should the man who pays nought or less should be given or attempts should be made to give him the upper hand to tax the man who already pays more ? Undiluted democracy without any communal representation is welcome to most Hindus.

But when it is a question of taxing the other and richer man we are democrats, and when it is a question of safe-guarding narrow sectarian intersts we must have separate communal representation—this sort of 'heads we win, tails you lose' policy of the Muhammadans we most emphatically object to.

Finally, we are definitely of opinion that no sort of uniform franchise qualifications based on payment of taxes or based on possession of property will ever give the Muhammadans a voting strength proportional to its numbers ; not even adult franchise without any property qualifications will help them ; unless, of course, it is proposed that no one will have a vote unless he eats beef or some such arbitrary rule, 'made to order' to qualify the Muhammadans and disqualify the Hindus, is accepted.

# BOOK REVIEWS

**B**OOKS in the principal European and all Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

### INDIA'S CASE FOR SWARAJ

*By Mahatma Gandhi. Edited, compiled and published by Waman P. Kabadi, Ballabh Mansion, Forjett Street, Bombay. Price Re 1- pp. XIV+157.*

The speeches delivered by Mahatmaji in England on the political condition of India, during his stay there as the sole delegate on behalf of the Congress, have been collected together in this present volume. They breathe a fearlessness, a frankness, a clearness which once for all puts India's case in a nutshell, and this emphatic and unequivocal declaration for complete independence, the bold stand on behalf of the untouchables, the impassioned plea for the fitness of the Congress to represent India,—all these which read so well on their first pronouncement have been collected together for our benefit. The pith of every speech has been prefixed to it, and the general arrangement is excellent, except for a few pages towards the end, from p. 130 onwards, where advertisements interfere with the matter of the book and interrupt the reader who is further put into difficulty for want of a proper index. The foreword by Srimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and the introduction by Syed Abdullah Brelvi will be read with interest and the numerous sketches and pictures of Mahatmaji set off the book to much advantage. It contains also Gandhiji's favourite hymn. "Lead, Kindly Light" and the one by Narasingha which was sung by his followers recently on his arrest. Altogether the matter, both in quality and quantity, compares most favourably with the price.

What is more pathetic than the appeal made by him: "I urge you then to read the writing on the wall. I ask you not to try the patience of a people known to be proverbially patient!" What is more bold than his affirmation for civil resistance? "I should re-deliver this message of non-co-operation and civil resistance to millions of India, no matter how many air balloons will float over India, or how many tanks will be brought to India. They have no results. You do not know today that they produce no results even upon tender young children." What more noble than his statement regarding the untouchables: "We do not want 'untouchables' to be classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain such in perpetuity. So may Moslems and Europeans. Will the 'untouchables' remain 'untouchables' in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than 'untouchability' lived." Sentences like these compact with original thoughts, deserve to be read over and over again by all students of the Indian movement.

### MAHATMA GANDHI

*By Romain Rolland. Translated by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar. 2nd Edition. S. Ganesan, Madras. 1931. Pp. 98. Price 8 as.*

It is gratifying to learn that this book has reached a second edition, for even with Mahatmaji's name on the cover, the book-buying capacity of our reading public is rather limited. The enterprising publisher is to be congratulated upon the success of his venture and all lovers of India will feel grateful to M. Rolland for his efforts in explaining and interpreting the personality of Mahatma Gandhi, and in making him known to the people of Europe and America.

It may be noted in passing that there is some discrepancy between this version under review and the other English translation issued by the Ruskin House, London.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

### PANCHATANTRA AND HITOPADESA

*(Great Short Stories of India, Vol. I). By A. S. P. Ayyar, M. A., (Oxon), I. C. S. Price Rupees Five. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay.*

Much scholarly work has of late been done on the old fable literature of India—especially on the Panchatantra which has been seriously stated to be the most popular work in the world after the Bible (*Panchatantra Reconstructed*—Egerton—Introduction). It w this work that came to be translated or rather adapted into various languages of the medieval world.

But very little has so far been done in modern times to present it to the general body of readers in a popular, up-to-date and attractive form. In the work under review an attempt has fortunately been made in this direction by Mr. Ayyar who has already earned reputation as a forceful writer by the publication of two volumes of collections of Indian stories.

Here we have a collection of 48 stories, 4 from the Hitopadesa, a later version of the Panchatantra, and the rest from the Panchatantra. The selection is good. The stories have been narrated in a simple language and in a charming manner.

In the long introduction besides making incidental digressions to topics like the date and origin of the Panchatantra, Mr. Ayyar has collected much useful and valuable data regarding the social and cultural history of India, as can be gathered from a study of the stories of the Panchatantra as collected by him. Highly interesting and useful is the section of the introduction giving brief comments on each of the selected stories in order to bring out their "striking merits and to show how most of the truths inculcated are universal or at least applicable to India even today."

We commend the work of Mr. Ayyar to the notice of people who are not students of Sanskrit and hope they will find it to be of benefit and interest if they care to go through the book.

We also eagerly await the publication of other works in the series by the enterprising publishers. This will go a great way in popularizing the vast and valuable storehouse of fables and stories which India is fortunate in possessing. It is a good sign of the day that scholars in different places have already begun to tap this source and bring within the reach of people in general its contents. Thus works like the *Dasakumaracharita* (Story of Ten Princes) and *Kathasaritsagara* (Ocean of Stories) have already appeared in an English garb.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

*Proceedings of Meetings, Vol. XII. Government of India, Central Publication Branch; 1930; pp. 214.*

The inevitable suspension of the annual session of the Indian Historical Records Commission last year, owing, as we understand, to the financial stringency of the Government of India, only brings home to our mind the manifold services of this learned body of experts in stimulating historical research throughout the country. Perhaps Nemesis cast her look of envy on the Records Commission which met last time in 1929 at Gwalior amidst unprecedented pomp and splendour of the Sindhia Darbar. It was for the first time that the Commission was honoured with unstinted hospitality; for the first time its *ex officio* President, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, who happened to be at that time no other than Sir Frank Noyce, presided over the meeting of the Commission, and for the first time ladies were co-opted as members of the Commission.

This volume (XII) of Proceedings under review contains 20 papers contributed by experts and specialists. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's paper on the House of Jaipur invites the attention of scholars to the importance of the Jaipur archives as a source of the history of the Mughal Empire from Shahjahan to Muhammad Shah. Some extracts from letters of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, quoted by Sir Jadunath, vividly portray the picture of the unhappy close of the life of this Wolsey of the Mughal Empire who fell a victim to the Emperor Aurangzib's ingratitude. Under the unattractive title "Present needs of Maratha History" Mr. G. S. Sardesai, the last flickering light of Maharashtra, has given us very interesting glimpses into the life-history of Bajirao I, the greatest of the Peshwas. The orthodox section of the Maratha community was scandalized when 20 years back Parasnis and Kincaid told the world that Bajirao I was addicted to spirituous liquor. Rajwade's reply to the charge in the *Kesari* to a great extent consoled them. But Mr. Sardesai is constrainted to admit that though there is no documentary proof, perhaps the Peshwa's Muslim concubine Mastani might have induced him to drink wine occasionally *(Marathi Riyasat*, Madhyabibhag I, p. 397). The same historian, in the course of his perusal of the Peshwa Daftar, has made a more shocking discovery which hardly admits the possibility of a refutation. Bajirao's younger brother Chimaji Appa writes to his nephew Balaji Baji Rao at Poona : "During a ride the Raw accosted a certain Patil of a village in unguarded words; not knowing what he was saying he casually asked the Patil to go and fetch him some *fowls.* These tendencies proceeded from Mastani......There is no hope of a righteous life till we get rid of this devil......If Mastani conveys any false reports about you to the Raw, we shall not then be in a position to contradict them." (Quoted in Proceedings, Vol. XII, p. 25). Mastani was half Hindu...being the daughter of Maharajah Chhtrasal Bundela by a Muslim concubine of his. Bajirao I was a bold man; his love for Mastani made him bolder. It is said that the Peshwa intended to make a full-fledged Brahman of Mastani's son Shamsher Bahadur by investing him with sacred thread; but the opposition of the Brahmans baffled his object *(Marathi Riyasat* Madhyabibhag I, p. 397).

Dr. R. C. Majumdar's paper, "An Account of the Sena Kings of Nepal" is interesting and instructive. Those who compile bibliography from catalogues of MSS. may have sometimes as pleasant a surprise as Dr. Majumdar had in the India Office Library. He says he went there to trace "*Ratna-Sena-Kulvamsa*, genealogy of Sena kings in the South by Bhavadutta," as described in Aufret's *Catalogus Catalogorum*; but on the examination of its contents it turned out to be an account of the Sena Kings of Nepal! This MS. may throw incidental sidelight on the history of Delhi kings as events happening in Delhi—*e. g.*, Nadir's invasion of India—are sometimes alluded to (p. 62-66). Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M. A., I. E. S., read a paper, "Two Captures of Gwalior Fort" in which he has quoted the non-official contemporary account of the first capture in 1780 by Popham written by Popham's Persian interpreter Jonathan Scott (pp. 19-20). Scott tells a thrilling story in a befitting manner apparently without any embellishment. Dr. Bhandarkar read another paper in this very meeting, "Capture of Gwalior in 1780," challenging the accuracy and fidelity of Jonathan Scott. The learned doctor has discovered *a copy* of the letter of Popham written two days after the capture of the fort; the original of this letter is not found in the Imperial Record. This is a dry though accurate official despatch from the pen of a blunt and prosaic soldier. Dr. Bhandarkar has certainly done a great service by placing this document before the public. But his criticism of Scott's account and reflections on poor Scott appears to be harsh, unjust and groundless. In appraising the value of a non-official document, Dr. Bhandarkar has assumed a stiff and narrow official attitude, playing rather the advocate than the judge. At any rate, the learned doctor has exposed himself to as much blame as a judge responsible for miscarriage of justice owing to his own "misdirection to the jury." Authentic history will certainly suffer if Scott's account is as summarily rejected by any other student of history as Dr. Bhandarkar would like it.

Dr. Balkrishna's paper, "The European Records on Shivaji" is of a rather radical character and stands unique both for the process of reasoning as well as for startling conclusions. Dr. Balkrishna would have us unlearn many things that we have hitherto read in most authentic books about Shivaji. He doubts whether Shivaji had any *Vaghnakh* (Tiger's claw) at all with him when he went to visit Afzal Khan; whether Shaista Khan leapt over the wall or slipped through the window in his escape from Poona; or whether Shivaji fainted away in the darbar of Aurangzib. The learned doctor starts with the hypothesis that Foreign Records, particularly English Factory Letters, never err about the life of Shivaji. Without entering into any controversy we shall quote in all fairness an example of Dr. Balkrishna's process of historical reasoning; the learned doctor quotes evidence from 12 authorities beginning with Sabhasad Bakhar (1694) and ending with *Busatin-i-Salatin* (1834 A. D.), and *arranges them not chronologically* but according to the nature of weapons, Vaghnakh, dagger or lancet with which these authorities arm Shivaji when he went to interview Afzal Khan. Then he weighs evidence apparently not by quality but *by quantity*, and pronounces that "the last eight sources throw a doubt on the use of well-known Vaghnakh" (p. 43). Among these 12 authorities, Dr. Balkrishna has misquoted *Shiva-bharat*, and misinterpreted Khafi Khan. *Shiva-bharat* does not mention the *Bhawani* sword as Dr. Balkrishna says; the translation of the relevant passage stands as follows: "Bearing a dagger in one hand and *a sword* in another, he looked like Vishnu incarnate with his Dandaka sword and his mace (Source Book of Maratha history, i, 73 Rawlinson and Putwardhan). Khafi Khan's testimony is rather in favour of the use of Vaghnakh than against it as Dr. Balkrishna holds; the relevant passage being: "*Harba-e ke ba-istilaa-i-Dakin bichhua me-guand dar angushtan-i-dast zer-i-astin qism-e pinhan namudah* (A. S. B. edition, ii. 117), which may be translated as follows: 'a weapon called Bichhua in the dialect of the South, hidden within fingers of the hand under the sleeve.' This leaves no doubt that Khafi Khan "confused the bichhua or the dagger with Vaghnakh or Tiger's claws" (See Source Book of Maratha history, i. p. 142, foot-note). Dr. Balkrishna has been fairly consistent throughout in arranging his authorities in any other except the chronological order; *e. g.* on p. 47 *Alamgir-nama* is quoted after Dow. The learned doctor's statement that "*all* contemporary and ancient authorities are unanimous on the point that Shivaji did not fall down in a swoon" is very questionable; though he has taken great pains to consult such authorities as Orme and Dow, he forgot curiously enough to look up for the testimony of another very important contemporary, namely, Bhimsen Burhanpuri, who says: "Shivaji...wept and fainted away...they fanned and sprinkled him with rose-water. Apparently, he was overcome by the splendour a magnificence of the imperial court; but *none* w *acquainted with his real disorder.*" (Source Book o Maratha history, i. 162). Though Sabhasad does n clearly say that Shivaji fainted away, he makes significant hint by the words "The wild tiger *chafing from heat*" (Source Book of Maratha Histor i. 106). What does a man suffering from heat d he raves; he flings his hands and legs and si down. This is what according to most reliable nati authorities Shivaji did, though we cannot say wheth the symptoms were real or simulated. Dr. Balkrishn rightly urges the publication of all available materi on the heroic life of the "maker of Maharashtra." Th is worthy of the ambition of a Tabari or a Masudi but we doubt whether such stupendous labour w benefit those who go on arguing like the learn doctor.

We draw particular attention of all serio students of history to Appendix F. of the Proceedin (pp. 149-214). A glance through it is itself a profita study.

K. R. QANUNGO

## THE FIVE LAWS OF LIBRARY SCIENCE

*By S. R. Ranganathan, M.A., L.T., F.L.A., University Librarian, Madras, with a Foreword by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and an Introduction by W. C. Berwick Sayers, F.L.A., Chief Librarian, Croyden Public Libraries; Madras Library Association (Publication Series 2), 1931: Demy 8vo. pp. XXXII+558+vi and 10 plates. Price Rs. 5.*

Library-science or economy is a branch o knowledge not widely cultured in any country a yet. In India the subject is little known even t university students and a public library moveme is comparatively of recent origin. The publication o Mr. Ranganathan's *Five Laws of Library Science* i a proof that the movement has not only grown o late but has also taken a firm root in the soil o this country. Works on Library economy hither published in India are very few, and they all b upon the aspects of particular interest to Ind Mr. Ranganathan's volume is one of the very fir publications in our country that are of wider a general interest, although it treats of the subj from the view-points of a peculiarly Indian min and in view of the very lucid and logical way i which the whole thing is put the present work ca be safely classed among the standard text-books o the subject.

The whole field of library science has be presented in five cardinal principles, called the *Fi Laws*, which are as true as axioms, governing th entire subject. Any rules or bye-laws of librar organization or service must appear as so ma corollaries to one or another of the five laws. th ignoring of any one of those laws renders th service defective or inefficient. The Five Laws a (1) books are *for use*; (2) books are *for all*; ( *every book* must be allowed *to find its readers* w need it most; (4) *a reader must be given all facili* be saved of as much time as can be possibly d and (5) *a library is a growing organism*, and such provision must be made for its growth in a directions. Under the first law the author at o goes to show that an unused book hardly serves purpose, and a library is not merely a store-h of books. This is discussed in the first chapter covering 73 pages of the work proper. The author touches upon all the preliminaries, such as location of the library, its hours of service, the necessary equipments as also the qualifications of the librarian and of other library workers, their responsibility towards the reader and the society at large, and also to the provision, in the form of salary, for such workers. The next three chapters are devoted to the discussion of the second law, *books are for all*. Under this law the author gives a history of the evolution of the science and shows how the library movement has been the result of the idea of service and of democratic influences. The desire to extend the benefits of learning to the people at large has been the cause of the foundation of many a public library. The modern library is open to all, men and women, old or young, rich or poor, literate or illiterate, deaf and dumb and to those who have eyes or have no eyes, actually or metaphorically. People are served not only within the walls of the library building but at their homes as well by circulating methods or by means of travelling libraries; to women who do not come out of their homes; to patients confined to hospital beds; to travellers by land or sea. Under the third law, *every book must find its proper reader*, the author discusses in chapter V the shelving arrangement, 'open access' system, reference work, opening of popular departments such as newspapers room, periodicals room, children's section, etc. Chapter VI is devoted to the fourth law, *time of the reader is to be saved*: under this the author discusses 'open access' *versus* 'closed' shelves, cataloguing, charging systems, etc. The third and fourth laws govern all facilities that can be offered to the reader.

In the last chapter the fifth law, the *library is a growing organism*, is discussed at length, in the course of which the author introduces among others a new scheme of classification, called the Colon Scheme, started by him and employed in the first instance at the University Library at Madras. Men in the library profession will be eager to see Mr. Ranganathan's Colon classification. The mathematical brain of the author has been able to confine the whole science of library economy to five simple laws or *sutras* as it were; and in the forthcoming volume of the series we may expect easily understandable non-cumbrous short symbols or *pratikas* to denote complex items and the logical mind of the modern librarian may no longer feel bewildered at an arrangement of subjects in a more or less arbitrary way, but may find in the Colon scheme a scientific presentation of subject heads in a precisely logical sequence.

The foreword covering 3 pages and the learned introduction of 8 pages are an important feature of the present work and are themselves original contributions of interest equally to any reader with a general culture as also to the specalized critic or a professional librarian. Any library will be proud to possess a copy and will surely benefit by the use of such a unique publication.

S. C. GUHA

## FEDERAL POLITY

*By B. M. Sharma, M.A., B.Sc., with a Foreword by A. Rangaswami Iyengar. Published by the Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lucknow. Price Rs. 6-.*

At the time when the Government of India published at a huge cost the little monograph from the pen of Sir Frederick Whyte, the popular first President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, entitled "India: A Federation?" it was felt that an average post-graduate student of political science in an Indian University would be able to write a better essay on the subject. The truth of this view has been demonstrated by the publication of "Federal Polity" by a research scholar of the Lucknow University, a book, which, whatever its shortcomings, is decidedly more erudite, more ably written, and more helpful in understanding the nature and development of Federalism than the monograph of Sir Frederick Whyte. Mr. Sharma has dealt in a short compass, in a pithy and readable style—no mean achievement in a young author—with the nature, origin, growth and fundamental features of Federalism, without making any reference to the present Indian problem or the political conditions in other countries. And it must be said that as an essay on the nature and evolution of Federalism the *Federal Polity* is a creditable performance. However, the book suffers from certain serious defects. In any case, the person who expects new light on the present Indian problem from the book will be sorely disappointed.

Apart from this Mr. Sharma's whole approach to the subject is purely academic and even antiquated. No doubt he quotes now and again a contemporary writer like Prof. Laski and gives indication of having read recent literature on political theory and practice, but otherwise the book might have been written in 1901 instead of in 1931. There is no discussion of the practical problems or the difficulties experienced in solving them in Federal countries. There is no mention of the tendencies displayed by the constitutions of newer aggregations like the Union of South Africa and the federation of modern Germany. And curiously enough the Union of South Africa—in spite of the description given in the chapter on the distribution of powers—is classed as a federation! There is nothing in the book which can throw any light on the problem of distributing powers, although one long chapter is devoted to the subject. The book does not deal with the problem of allocating sources of revenue to the Federal and State governments. The treatment of the objections against Federations urged by their opponents is both poor and inadequate; and the section dealing with the future of Federalism is most disappointing. There is neither an index nor a bibliography which is inexcusable in a book which is purely academic. However, it should be mentioned that the omission of the bibliography is not so serious as the book contains exact references in the shape of foot-notes; though the three long appendices are not very useful—as the three constitutions reproduced are easily available in more comprehensive collections. None the less, the book is a useful addition to the literature on federalism.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

## LIBRARY HANDBOOK AND INDEX

*By R. G. Kanade*

The perusal of this small book raises mixed feelings of delight and disappointment in the reader's mind: delight at the thought that an Indian should think of writing something about a subject though of vital importance in itself, hopelessly neglected in this country; and disappointment at the poor production. The object of this compilation—for there is very little of originality—is not altogether clear unless it be to collect in its compass, varied, but to a certain extent incomplete, and inaccurate information about the library movement in general, and to compile a list of the libraries of India, with a chapter on the progress of the library movement especially. Even a cursory reading of the book will show that sufficient pains have not been taken with proof-reading—for the book is not free from misprints—and much attempt has not been made to verify the information about Indian libraries, which was not altogether impossible. The compiler has tried and succeeded to a certain extent in tracing the history of libraries in various countries of the world, and as is natural, much could not be said in such a brief survey of the subject. Anyhow it is a good index for any one wishing to pursue the study further. It may again be said that ample justice has not been done in describing some of the important libraries of India, while too much importance has been given to others, which smacks of partiality.

At places, the information given is ridiculous and rather misleading. The Counemara Public Library, a library over hundred years old, gets no share in the descriptive portion. The Asiatic Society of Bengal is confused with the Royal Asiatic Society and treated as if it was a branch of the latter, just like the Bombay Society. Again, the statement about the Asiatic Society of Bengal that "benefactions to the extent of 40 lacs of rupees between 1912 and 1929 were made to the Society by the public-spirited persons in *the* Great Britain" is obviously wrong. If the case had been so, it had not to deplore at its every monthly meeting the fall in the number of its membership. The index contains some useful information, but neither properly arranged nor complete. The bibliography ought to have been arranged in a definite order—by subject or otherwise, but preferably according to subject. Index No. 3 not only could have been improved by mentioning the nature of the catalogues—dictionary, subject, author etc.,—but ought to have given correct information. The entries about the Imperial Library catalogues, and the Oriental Public Library, Patna, are apparently wrong, and if other entries were checked by the respective libraries to which they pertain, some more mistakes might be discovered. Index No. 4 has no mention of the Panjab Library Association and its organ, the *Modern Librarian.* No. 5 has similarly its own inaccuracies. No. 6 is not free from omissions. Moreover uniformity in the supply of information about various libraries is conspicuous by its absence. The figures given are not always correct and in places, even totals are wrong. Under the heading Imperial Library, four Hindi newspapers are mentioned, and while the English and Bengali ones are omitted, the total is shown to be 45. "Official parliamentary publications" could have been expressed in an accurate way, only if the compiler had perhaps known the difference between the two kinds of publication combined by him into one. Under Panjab (Lahore) some important college libraries have been left out; *e.g.* D.A.V., Islamia, Dyal Singh and Sanatan Dharma. While again some of the Government Intermediate Colleges have been mentioned, others are omitted. The principle followed in selection is not clear. This list would have become very useful, if some statistics would have been added to it. While making a mention of the Indian States' libraries, the compiler has omitted to make any mention of the valuable collections at Rampur and Bhopal etc. The Asifya and the State libraries of Hyderabad get a place in the list, but no mention of the activities of these libraries is made, when enumerating the efforts of Indian States in the direction of library movement. A list of the High Schools of the Bombay Presidency and C. P. only is meaningless. Other defects are left to be found out by the reader.

The language and composition require improvement.

K. M. ASADULLAH

## A PRIMER OF HINDUISM

*By D. S. Sarma, M. A. Macmillan & Co. Limited, 1919.*

This primer has been written in the form of questions and answers and provides a common platform for children of all classes and sects. It deals with religion so far as life and conduct are concerned. Techniques and dogmatism have been avoided as far as possible. The work may be suitable as a text-book of religious education in Indian schools.

## VAISHNAVISM

*By A. B. N. Sinha 1929.*

In his *Vaishnavism* the author has made an attempt at giving in a nutshell the history of the origin and development of the Vaishnav religion in India. He has made a vain attempt to trace the Vaishnav religion from the Vedas. The author has collected materials to prove that Vaishnavism existed during the pre-Buddhist, Buddhist and Post-Buddhist periods. There is not a shadow of doubt that Vaishnavism existed before the advent of Buddha. Accounts of the lives and teachings of the Vaishnav reformers have been given in brief. The discussions on the radical reforms introduced by Chaitanya in Bengal and Ramanand in the United Provinces and Bihar are interesting though not thorough. The descriptions of some of the Vaishnav saints speak volumes but are not up to the mark. Madhva has throughout been spelt as Madhava who is however other than Purnaprajna. Lives and traits of the characters of Tulsidas, Ramanand and Ramdas are very meagre. Accounts of some of the living Vaishnav leaders are, however, passable.

AMULYA CHARAN VIDYABHUSAN

## MAHATMA GANDHI

*Sketches in Pen, Pencil and Brush by Kanu Desai, with an Essay by Verrier Elwin. The Golden Vista Press, Fetter House, Fetter Lane, London. Price not mentioned. Printed by B. Rawat at Kumar Printery, 2707 Raipur, Ahmedabad, and perhaps to be had there.*

This slender volume is far more valuable than its physical dimensions might lead one to suppose. Of the thirteen sketches, the following are in colours: (1) The War-Path, (2) In the Untouchable Quarters, (3) The Prayers, (4) East and West, (5) The True Vaishnava. There are also a silhouette of the Mahatma on the cover taking a determined stride, a silhouette of his face with eye-glasses on the title-page, and three pen and ink sketches of the Sabarmati Ashram and Gandhiji's cottage there. The Frontispiece entitled "Lead, Kindly Light," is in gold and black. It is also printed in black on the orange jacket. The "Essay" of Rev. Verrier Elwin is sub-divided into the following sections: The Explorer, The Ascetic

The Labourer, The Poet and Artist, The Rebel, The Spirit of Joy, The Heart of Sorrows, The Devotee, The Lover of Men, and The Universal Soul. In these the writer has "tried to portray Mahatma Gandhi in the forms in which he has touched my heart and helped me," giving in some passages an interpretation of some sketch or other by the Artist. For example, in "The Explorer" he writes :

"Of all Kanu Desai's pictures I think my favourite is the one entitled variously 'In Search of Truth' or 'Lead, Kindly Light.' There is spiritual genius as well as great art in this conception of the explorer stepping out into the darkness, with just sufficient light for his immediate needs. G. K. Chesterton has written somewhere of the mystery of the human back; Kanu Desai has caught this mystery—the back of the Mahatma, dignified, bent yet vigorous in its sublime purpose."

Again :

"One of the earliest lovers of the 'untouchables' in Gujarat was the poet Narsinha Mehta, author of the song, 'He is a true Vaishnava who knows how to melt at another's woe.' Kanu Desai has given us a symbolic picture of the tender and noble spirit of Narsinha Mehta brooding over the Mahatma and inspiring him with his own great love. In another picture he has shown us the Mahatma in the 'untouchable' quarter of a village, his friends crowding about him, bringing their children to him, responding to his love."

Mr. Kanu Desai's portraitures of the dignified figure of the 'untouchable' mother and of the refined faces of the 'untouchable' girls are true to life in many cases, not idealizations ; for many a person among that class one finds who are not in the least mean- or sordid-looking.

There is no space to show by actual quotation how full of insight many of Rev. Verrier Elwin's interpretations of the aspects Mahatma Gandhi's personality are. We conclude with his interpretation of another picture :

"The picture 'East and West' in this collection reveals to us something of the possibilities of intimate fellowship and mutual service between India and England. Here is England at the feet of India—where she ought to be—making some reparation for the years which India has spent under the feet of England. Such a new relationship of service rather than domination will do great honour to England. The picture is a permanent challenge to the people of England to come in humility and love to serve their Indian brothers. The picture also promises those who will do so an untold-of reward of friendship and affection. The Mahatma, of course, would not himself put it like that. Like Christ, it is his joy 'not to be ministered unto, but to minister,' .."

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

## CONFIDENTIAL TALKS TO YOUNG MEN

*By Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantalankar, Gurukula University, Kangri, Hardwar. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Anarkali (Hospital Road), Lahore.*

This book has been written as a guide for students. The author is himself a teacher of the Gurukula University. It is a pity that people with no special knowledge of the difficult science of "Sexology" should rush into print and assume the rôle of a teacher in sex matters to young students. The book is full of inaccuracies and is a biassed production. Quotations from eminent authors have been taken out of their contexts to give an apparent support to the author's views. For instance, on page 171, the author cites a passage from Albert Moll's *Sexual Life of the Child* and apparently tries to prove the harmfulness of an abnormal practice. If the author had carefully considered the views of Moll he would have seen that the conclusions arrived at by that eminent sexologist were entirely opposed to his own. This book lays an unwarranted emphasis on the supposed harmfulness of certain physiological manifestations in sex life and will needlessly frighten young people. The book is positively a mischievous one though written with the best of intentions.

G. BOSE

## THE HOLY AND THE LIVING GOD

*By M. D. R. Willink, S. Th. London: Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street. 1931. Pages 293. Price 10s.*

Most readers will be conversant with Professor Otto's book *The idea of the Holy*. Mr. Willink in a prefatory note points out that he had been working at the same theme since 1911 before Dr. Otto's book appeared. The purpose of the book is to show that "behind the unfamiliar and often distasteful symbolism of a bygone age which we find in the Old Testament there is a vision of real powers at work, and that possibly some of the lack of energy in our spiritual life which we regret to-day is due to our having, in discarding the old symbolism, lost some of the power of the real underlying truth for which it stood. The idea of the Holy, too, taken as a background thought in the minds of prophets and lawgivers, appears to me to throw light on many things both in the Old and New Testaments which are otherwise obsecure." (Page 9).

The author is concerned throughout the book with showing the development of the idea of the Holy and is equally insistent on the great loss we have sustained owing to the fact that the idea has been belittled in modern thought. "This idea is two-fold. The holy power of which, as Professor Otto says, all peoples seem to be aware as something *more* in their universe—the divine in whatever form it is conceived : and the visible things which belong in some way to the holy, the "hallows," which to some extent partake of its nature. Because this power is outside our experience we cannot describe it or its workings or attributes adequately in terms of our plane of existence. But we have no others. We have to use anthropomorphic ideograms which those who use them know do not express fully what is in their minds, and which those who are not in the same way conscious of the power take literally and misunderstand."

The book should be of special interest to Indian readers. It has been frequently observed by students of Indian religions that the idea of the Holy seems to be of lesser importance than other conceptions of God. Here is a book which emphasizes that idea and Indian students will do well to compare the presentation of God as Holy with their conceptions of the Deity.

P. G. BRIDGE

## THE SUPERSTITION OF KHADI

*By S. Ramanathan, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, N. S. Varadachari*

This is a discussion on khadi carried on between a city-bred advocate of the machine age and two prominent khadi workers of Andhra and Tamil Nad. Unfortunately, the discussion has grown acrimonious at times, on the part of the former. But the chief point raised by Mr. Ramanathan deserves some consideration.

He claims that scientific knowledge should be taken advantage of in lightening human labour and in bringing prosperity to our land by the increase of production. Instead of this, he finds the masses being deliberately taken back to the ancient, inefficient days of craftsmenship, petty proprietorship and its attendant evils.

It may be said however that craftsmanship and petty proprietorship need not necessarily go with the evils from which Indian villages have suffered in the past, just as machines need not be held responsible for the evils suffered by industrial civilizations at the present day. The ultimate cause lies neither with machines nor with particular systems of proprietorship. It rests in the end with human nature. If humanity learns its lesson of service well, the real time will come for making a choice between increased production through machines on the one hand and petty craftsmanship on the other. But situated as India is today, an unwilling raw-material-supplier to British industries, she cannot afford to think of the above problem. That should rather be left for nations who build their own machines and then manufacture. For India, the choice lies only between starvation on the one hand, and the meagre, but steady relief offered by the charkha on the other. Mr. Ramanathan will perhaps find the best answer in Mahatma Gandhi's own words :

"No one suggests that hand-spinning should replace any wage-earning occupation...It has always been regarded as a supplementary occupation." "The only question that a lover of India and humanity has to address himself to is how best to devise practical means of alleviating India's wretchedness and misery. No scheme of irrigation or rather agricultural improvement that human ingenuity can conceive can deal with the vastly scattered population of India or provide work for masses of mankind who are constantly thrown out of employment···What is the work that these men and women can easily do in their own cottages so as to supplement their very slender resources ? Does anyone still doubt that it is hand-spinning and nothing else ?"

## BENGALI & SANSKRIT

### BRAHMAVIDYA

*By Sj. Debendra Mohan Chakravarti. Published by the author at 53-B. Masjidbari Street. To be had of all booksellers in Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review is a Bengali commentary on the *Kathopanisad*, together with a Sanskrit *tika* by the author himself, mainly based on Sankara's *Bhashya*. Both in his Bengali commentary and the Sanskrit quotations the author has ably dealt with the principal ideas and teachings of the Upanisad and has been very careful all throughout to bring out their practical bearing on the life of a spiritual seeker after truth. From a study of the commentaries it appears that the author has tried to approach the deeper truths of the *Katha*, the most fascinating perhaps of the ten principal Upanishads from the right spirit of *Sraddha*, and not from a mere academic view-point. This also has enhanced the value of the book to a considerable extent.

The style is simple and elegant. We hope that this edition of the Katha, embodying the most ennobling story of Nachiketas, unravelling the eternal mysteries of Death, will commend itself to all those, who delight in studying the Hindu Sastras for spiritual guidance and solace.

Saroj Kumar Das

## BENGALI

### BRAHMA-SANGIT

*Eleventh Edition. Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pages 102+1112. Price : paper covers Re. 1-14 ; and Rs. 2-6, Rs. 2-8, Rs. 2-10 and Rs. 2-12 according to different styles of binding.*

This neatly printed book of hymns and other religious songs contains more than 2,150 songs in its twelve hundred pages. For convenience of reference there are : (1) contents, with the songs divided into chapters according to subjects ; (2) alphabetical index of first lines ; (3) index of *kirtans* arranged according to *tal* and tune. The book also contains mottoes indicative of the teachings of the Brahmo Samaj, the fundamental truths of Brahmoism, and a form of Brahmo divine service with a brief exposition. The *Rag* or *Ragini* and *tal* of each song is given under it, and if there is any musical notation of it in any book the name of the book is also given.

Most of the songs are in Bengali. Besides these there are some Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu songs in Bengali script, with explanatory foot-notes.

Most of the songs belong to the modern period of Indian history. In addition to these, some hymns of the Vedic *Rishis* and of Kabir, Nanak, Mira Bai and other saints have been added. Of the modern writers of songs whose compositions are included in the book several do not belong to the Brahmo Samaj. The largest number are from the pen of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, he being responsible for about five hundred.

The Committee entrusted by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj with the publication of this volume have made a wise selection. It shows catholicity of spirit, feeling for poetry and an ear for music. The editing bears marks throughout of the carefulness and method characteristic of Mr. Satish Chandra Chakravarti, Secretary to the Committee. The eighth paragraph of his Preface evinces spiritual insight. The book is fit to be used by all devout Bengali-speaking persons believing in a Supreme Spirit.

### JAYANTI-UTSARGA

*Visvabharati Granthalaya, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 499 Royal 8vo. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a neatly printed and well got-up collection of contributions on different aspects of Rabindranath Tagore's work in literary and other fields and tributes to him by various writers, presented to him on the occasion of his septuagenary. Writers of the older generation like Sir J. C. Bose, Jaladhar Sen, Sir P. C. Ray, Nagendranath Gupta, Mrs. Kamini Ray, Pramatha Chaudhuri, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, etc., are among the contributors. There are many younger writers too. An interesting and instructive volume.

Ramananda Chatterjee

## MARATHI

### UJJAYINI MARGADARSHIKA

*By Keshav-rao Balawant Dongre. Pp. 196+xxviii, with one map and 16 illus. (Alijah Darbar Press, Gwalior). Re. 1-8.*

Ujjain, the first capital of Maharajah Sindhia and the stage on which Kalidas played, may well dispute with Benares the title of "the Athens of India," only that its glory departed long ago, while Benares is still a living centre of Hindu religion and literature. But the name of Ujjain is inseparably bound up with the golden age of Sanskrit literature. A guide book to this city was long needed and the present work supplies that want in a way that leaves nothing to be desired, considering its scope and size. The author is himself a well-read man and has utilized the best sources of information, epigraphic and literary (particularly the erudite work of Luard and Lele on Malwa). He has besides had the great advantage of having acted as Magistrate of Ujjain, so that he writes with accurate and firsthand knowledge of the place.

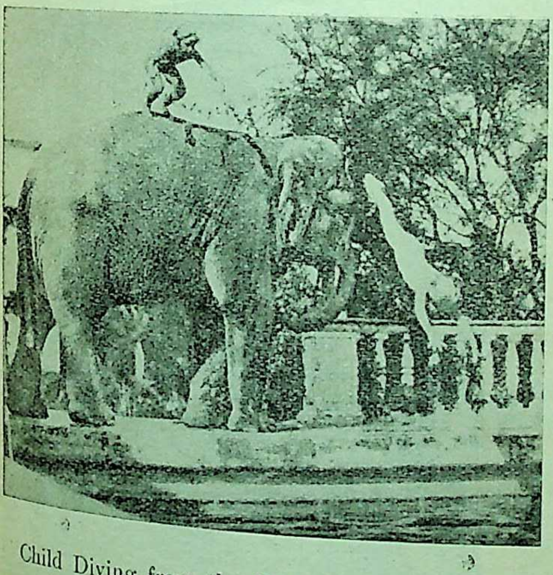
After a short geographical sketch, he traces fully its history (in the Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Maratha periods) and describes its religious shrines and holy days, its famous temples and places worth a visit. The work concludes with the stages on the various roads that passed through Ujjain (as a pivotal point) in the Mughal age (taken from J. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzib: statistics, topography and roads*) and a very serviceable programme for visitors. The plan of the city and its environs is very useful, while the printing and illustrations are beautiful and distinct. We wish this admirable hand-book were translated into Hindi and issued in a cheaper form (in paper cover) for the benefit of the pilgrims from all parts of India to whom the Avanti of Vikramaditya and Kalidas is not dead, but a "city of the soul."

J. SARKAR

# GLEANINGS

### The Hobby of a Millionaire's Son

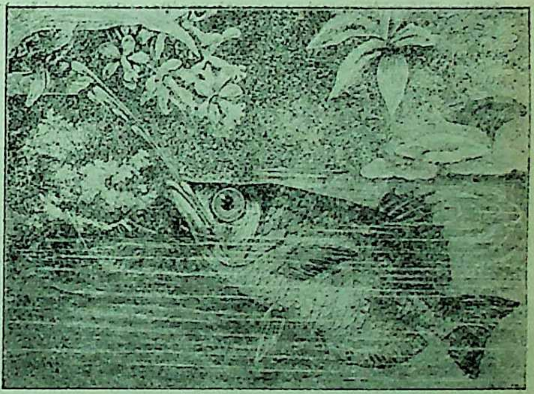
All children love animals. But in the case of rich men's children the hobby takes a more or less novel and expensive turn. To keep an elephant and use it as a diving platform is the newest hobby of a millionaire's son in Florida.



Child Diving from the Back of an Elephant

### The Archer Fish

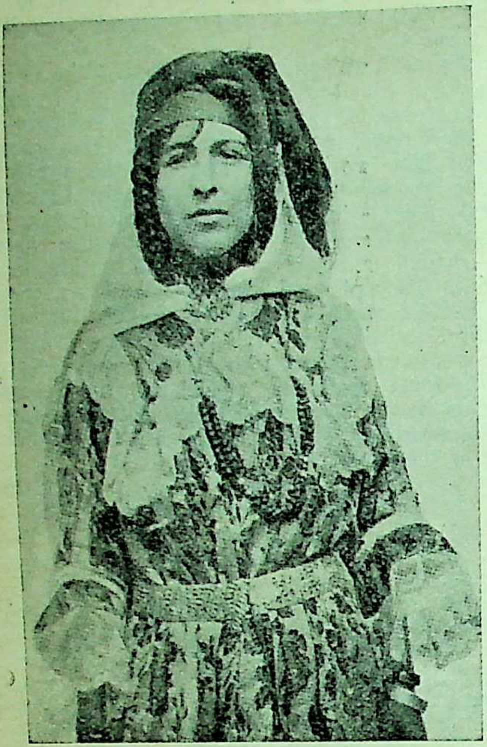
This fish, found widely in the Indian Archepelago, has the unique habit of catching insects by spouting water from its mouth. The drops of water are surely aimed and, enveloping the desired insect, cause it to fall into the water ; it is instantly seized as prey. It can project a drop of water to the height of 4 or 5 ft. Another species of fish, akin to this and also a Javanese one, possesses the same power, and the Chinese in Java keep it for their amusement, causing it to practise its art by placing insects within its range.



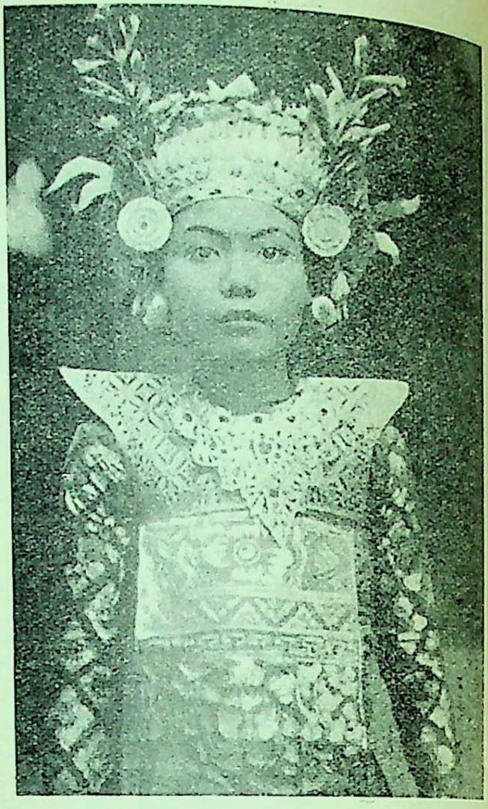
The Archer Fish

### Women of Far Off Lands

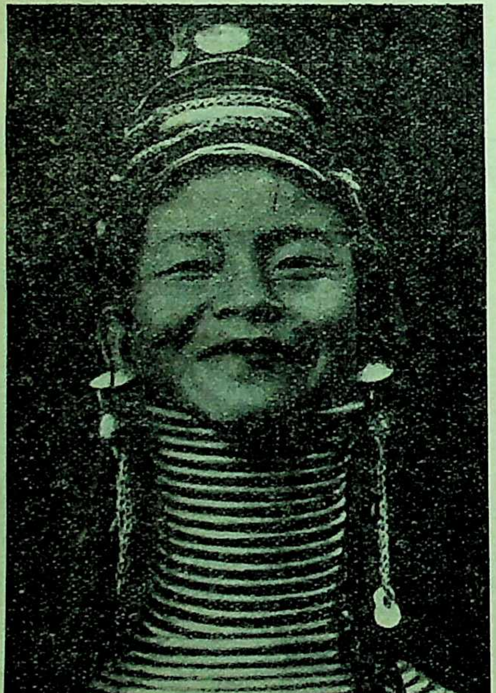
All women of Africa, contrary to the usual belief, are not dark. The Arab women of Sahara are fair and elegantly dressed.



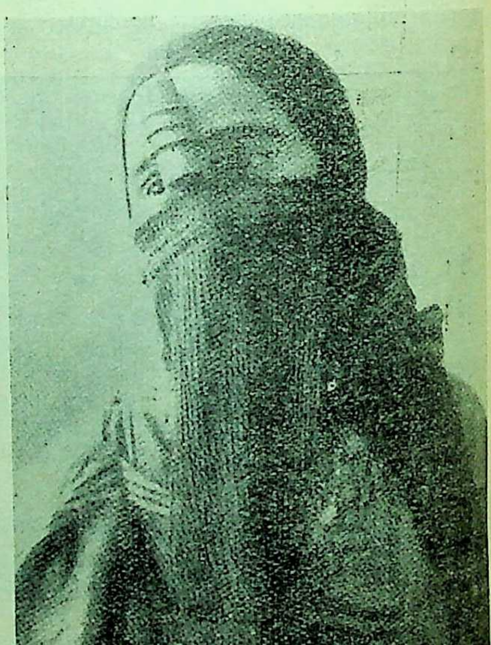
A Woman of Sahara



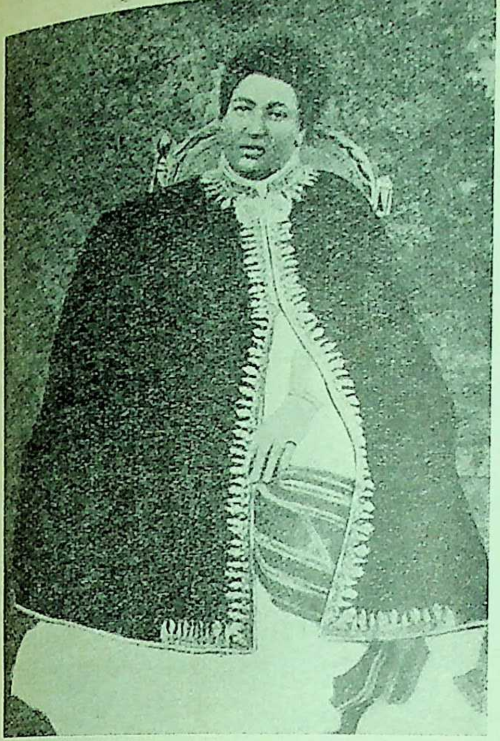
A young dancer from Bali



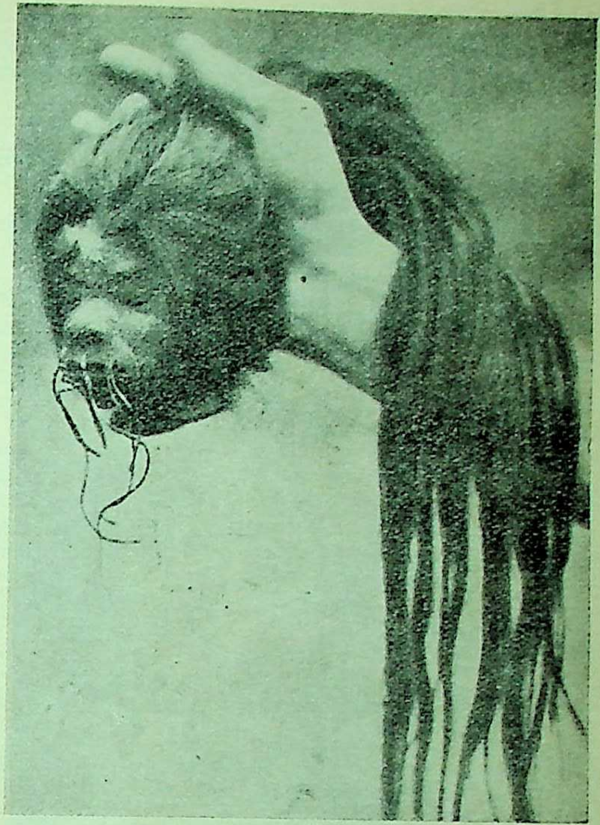
The Padang women of Burma wear this curious collar of brass rings



A veiled Arab woman



The Empress Zaoditu of Abyssinia



A Woman's Head kept as Trophy

## Scalping among Indians

Marquis de Wavrin, a Belgian explorer, recently explored some of the unknown regions of South America and penetrated into some of the most difficult tracts of the country. After traversing large areas of forest, he reached the district of the Jivaro Indians, who still practise the cruel custom of scalping their enemies. After they have killed the enemy they carefully cut away the hair and the skin of the head and face and bring it away. The flesh and the skin is then stuffed with pebbles and sand and, by means of a process of shrinkage, reduced to a small size, so that the model can be held in the hand. This reduced head is then hung in the houses of the Jivaro Indians as trophy. The picture shows the shrunk face of a woman victim of this tribe. The contrast between the small face and the flowing hair is particularly striking.

# INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Prabhavati Basu has taken the M.Sc. degree in Chemistry, a subject in which no woman student has hitherto taken this degree.

Miss Surama Mitra passed the M. A. examination in Sanskrit in 1930 and has obtained a research scholarship from the University of Calcutta and is now engaged in research under Professor Surendranath Das-Gupta.

Miss Priti Gupta stood first in one of the groups of Sanskrit in the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University this year.

Mrs. Prabha Banerji, the wife of Professor Amiya Chandra Banerji of the University of Allahabad, has been appointed an Honorary Magistrate of Allahabad for two years. She will try only juvenile cases, and no political cases will be brought before her.

Miss Prabhavati Basu

Miss Priti Gupta

Miss Surama Mitra

Mrs. Prabha Banerji

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## WORLD AFFAIRS FROM THE WORLD'S PRESS

### The Private Citizen's Plight

It was only the other day that a Lord Chief Justice of England drew attention to the new tyranny that is ruling the lives of men of today, and this in spite of the existence of an extreme form of democracy. No less emphatic is the decisive opinion of Mr. Hilaire Belloc about the powerlessness of private citizens. But, like a militant man, Mr. Belloc refuses to bow down to the new tyranny. In *G. K.'s Weekly*, he urges the private citizen to make a beginning by doing the little that can be done:

There never was a time in the the history of Europe when the private citizen had less to say to public affairs; there never was a time when he was more arbitrarily governed and had the whole of his life—even to its domestic details—imposed upon him by no choice of his own.

This truth is particularly evident in such a crisis as we are passing through today. Our currency has been ruined through no fault of our own by half a dozen bankers, through their greed of usury and ignorance of Europe combined; those bankers themselves, much as they were to blame, were dependent upon the international forces centred in New York. If, later on, we have not enough to eat in England, the private citizen will have had nothing to do in producing the rationed famine and will have very little power to relieve it. He has nothing to say to the huge taxes which burden the tilling of the soil; he has nothing to do with the freight system which imposes a further burden; he has no control whatsoever over the great monopolies—such as the milk trust—at whose mercy he stands and over the money-lending trust, to which in the great majority of cases the farmer's land is mortgaged. He is not even allowed to criticize the public men who govern him, for any attempt at exposing their corruption is narrowly watched by the lawyers—and no printer dares to take the risk.

It would seem therefore that in the increasing peril which threatens the country today the private citizen can do nothing.

Yet he can do something—very little though that something is. In some slight measure we can each of us retard disaster if disaster is to come, or alleviate the heavy strain, if we are spared to suffer no more than a heavy strain. The duty of the private citizen in this regard is two-fold, part of it negative and part of it positive.

The negative part is for each of us himself to disbelieve in whatever he is told by the silly and corrupt politicians, and especially by the official press, and to proclaim his disbelief to others. It is a primary duty, as things now stand, for each of us to combat with all the vigour at his command that source of danger which proceeds from the public advisers of our lamentable social system. They are at sixes and sevens. They are not considering the good of the Commonwealth but each his own bid for notoriety or money, and even where some one of them has taken up a particular fad of his own and may be supposed sincere about it he does so with no instruction, no knowledge of the circumstances, no judgment. We have a conspicuous example of that in the worst case of all—that owner of the Yellow Press who is always shouting for the taxation of Englishmen's food that he may benefit his compatriots overseas. When there is apparent unanimity in the advice given to guide the public in their bewilderment, it is asinine almost in proportion to its unanimity.

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### The Situation in India

*The New Republic* has the following editorial note on the situation in India:

It is war in India. Mahatma Gandhi has again been arrested, and it is reported that he may be exiled to a remote island in the Indian Ocean where he can be held incommunicado. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been given two years' hard labour. Other leaders have also been imprisoned, and the jails will doubtless presently be overflowing. A few persons have already been killed, but the present loss of life is as nothing compared with what may be expected during the coming weeks and months. The new Viceroy, the Earl of Willingdon, is acting with the harshness appropriate to the mood of the new so-called National, actually Conservative, government in England. Technically, the break came over the proposed new measures in India "to preserve order." Mr. Gandhi protested against them, asked for a conference with the Viceroy, warned him of the possible resumption of non-violent non-co-operation. The Viceroy interpreted this as asking for a conference and at the same time making a threat, and the arrest of Mr. Gandhi followed promptly. However, the theoretical causes for the situation are not important; before the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference had left London, they knew that a resort to force, whether passive or active, was almost inevitable. The repressive measures which will now be undertaken are about as comprehensive as they could possibly be. The Government will outlaw the Indian National Congress, forbid it the use of the mails, lock up all its leaders under a hundred-year-old law without trial, put down all public meetings even more ruthlessly (and bloodily) than before. The Hindus meanwhile propose a restoration of the anti-English boycott, which indeed has never been wholly suspended. Despite Mr. Gandhi's pleas against violence, it is almost certain to be employed, since the more radical Nationalists, who are growing in numbers and importance, have long opposed his pacifism. Already there have been several attempts, some successful, at assassination of English officials, particularly in Bengal.

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### The Late Mr. C. P. Scott

The same paper makes the following graceful observations on the occasion of the death of Mr. C. P. Scott, the universally respected editor of *The Manchester Guardian*, and the *doyen* of English journalists :

> Mr. C. P. Scott, editor of *The Manchester Guardian* for six decades, who died on New Year's Day, has been called in dozens of newspaper tributes "the grand old man of journalism"; and the phrase was not undeserved. In his anonymous profession there are only three or four men with world-wide reputations, and nearly all the others in recent years have been purveyors of trash for the semi-literate ; they are important, as a baby playing with a Mills bomb is important, but in no sense are they worthy of the respect which goes to a majority of the men eminent in other occupations. Mr. Scott's career is another tribute to the irreplaceable, unapproachable value of personal character ; this was the thing which made a newspaper of limited circulation, although it is published in a provincial English city, one of the world's two or three most respected journals, a power in national, imperial and world politics. This remains true today even though most of the political beliefs for which Mr. Scott stood are now at a lower ebb in English life than they were at any time in his career. He never hesitated to assume his readers to be as intelligent and honourable as himself, and while the mob always ignored him, he drew into his circle men and women throughout the world who welcomed such assumptions and the journal which expressed them. It is often said that the sort of journalism of which *The Guardian* is an exemplar is now passing, being forced out by the weight of chain ownership and syndication, and in general this is true. Yet there is no doubt that a man of his abilities could make his mark in newspapers of any sort, just as there is no doubt that his own paper will long continue to bear witness to his qualities.

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### The Greatness of China

*The Japan Weekly Chronicle* would not have the cultural achievement of China belittled by anyone. It writes :

> Some of the apologists for agression nowadays declare that there is no such country as China, but simply a chaos with a common geographical name. They even deny large sections the geographical name. But China has passed through tribulations before, has been conquered and has absorbed her conquerors. It was a civilized country when the British Isles and Japan alike were in a very primitive stage of culture, and there are many who believe that it will survive its present troubles and be great again while the rest of mankind has as many shifts as the kaleidoscope. Of late years much interest has been shown in the historical connections between China and Europe. These have been so slight that the two civilizations stood entirely apart. They might almost be supposed to have originated on different planets. Yet slight as they were, they have a record stretching back many centuries. In comparison the contacts between Japan and Europe are a thing of yesterday, though they have been very momentous. Mr. G. F. Hudson, writing on Sino-European contacts, says that "although Japan is part of China in the wider sense," he excludes it from the study which he presents to his readers. This is a reminder that in the wider sense China was not a country in the sense of its being one of those explosive units like most of the European countries and Japan. It was a civilization which overcame its neighbours by its superiority. The modern State is by no means the last word in constructive human wisdom : rather is it the outcome of war, serviceable for protecting its subjects from equally bellicose neighbours, but predatory and uncomfortable to live with—held together mainly by the cultivation of national prejudices. The Roman Empire at its best was far superior, but was never free from the military burden. In India there was a growth somewhat similar to that of China, through culture rather than by force of arms : but in India it was a religious culture, and has consequently become an oppression.

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### The Economic Inefficiency of America

In spite of her reputation as a rich country, America is not particularly strong in economic thought. A writer in *America* draws attention to the economic inefficiency of the United States :

> An alarming feature of the preasent economic crisis is the evident intellectual bankruptcy of those who should be leading the nation back to prosperity. The politicians, the publicists and the professors have answered the general public's inarticulate demand for guidance by unsupported assumptions and dubious theories which have been used by the bankers and the business men, to excuse what was, in many instances their own ineptness and bad judgement. It is reasonable to suppose that their unwillingness to face facts and their tendency to seek safety in catch phrases is not a result of our economic instability, but a cause of it.
>
> This attitude is revealed wherever our leading lights have to deal with unfavourable objective evidence. For instance, when confronted with the fact that like improvident savages, we experience some periods of abundant plenty and others of extreme want, they did not admit that this showed woefully bad management. Instead, they invented the "business cycle," and assumed that this instability was quite beyond human control. Now a "cycle" implies the motivation of a constant cause, yet even a casual study of our economic history makes it plain that both good times and lean have been the result of a variety of factors, and frequently of some unique combination of circumstances. It is true that certain faults in our system tend to exaggerate the effects of unfavourable situations but intelligent leadership could eliminate them. Yet here is the difficulty, for our economic leaders have been taught to consider these faults as virtues or at least necessary evils. They prefer to justify them with a convenient theory instead of doing anything to alter them.
>
> The blame for this type of thinking rests on our universities. Our acknowledged oracles may be divided into two groups, those who are university products and become professional economists, and those who are so wealthy that their opinions carry great weight with the press. If they are self-made men, they are listened to with greater awe, though the fact is that

most men rise to the top by uninspired diligence rather than inspired intelligence. Their ideas are generally only a rehash of the professional economist plus an occasional whimsey of their own which if suggested by anyone of lower rank than a millionaire would probably cause its author to be placed under restraint. So, with a few exceptions, the bulk of our economic leaders' thought is moulded by our secular universities.

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### The Achievement of the Twentieth Century

That the present century has seen the disappearance of many ancient and honoured ideals is undisputed. But the most important question is whether it has created any new ideals to replace them. It has not, is the opinion of many distinguished thinkers. A writer in *World Unity Magazine* dwells on the purely negative aspect of the spiritual and intellectual achievement of the twentieth century :

The first quarter of the twentieth century finds an increasing number with their foundations crumbling. Men and women are doing many things but thousands are wondering if there is any point to it all. People everywhere are busy with numerous tasks but not quite sure whether one pursuit is more important than another. The pictures which have upheld and organized men's motives, aims, and values in the past have been destroyed. From many indications it is evident that there is an increase in the number of individuals who sincerely ask: "Is life worth the living? Is all this struggle leading to any particular goal ?"

Walter Lippmann in his "Preface to Morals" suggests that "the modern man has freed himself from many of the so-called superstitions, but he has not made peace with the underlying conditions which give rise to the need of his old ideas." The destruction of the old standards and ideals has furnished many a thrill, but now that these standards are knocked down, the destroyer too often is like the young man, "all dressed up with no place to go."

Professor Jay William Hudson, a contemporary American philosopher, fittingly described this very large class of humanity when he said: "The man of today has thought just enough to see the fallacies in the traditional forms of what used to be the great verities. He has not thought enough to see that these great verities need not disappear merely because their ancient reasons are faulty. Above all, he has not thought enough to adjust these verities to all the new means of proof that a complete logic insists upon before a final judgment is made. The modern man has thought enough to deny great things; he has not thought enough to affirm great things."

Not having the trusted standards of the past to guide them, many follow the impulse of the moment. Pleasure seeking in the indulgence of the physical has become a dominant characteristic of the age. Much of life seems to be taking the line of least resistance. Hedonism has become widespread through Europe and America. It is an age of moral scepticism and moral doubt. Many have lost their moral bearings. Some try to find a way out by turning to the quest of power and knowledge. Others would substitute beauty and art for morals. It is plain, however, to the moral philosopher that neither knowledge nor art is a substitute for morals. In many sections there is a sex madness equal almost to the fires of Corinth and Babylon.

—

### The Orientalism and Occidentalism

Mr. Masaatsu Yasuoka is a Japanese writer who is playing an important rôle in propagating the principles of Oriental morality as against Occidental intellectualism. In the *Japan Magazine* he writes on the contrast between Occidentalism and Orientalism :

This fundamental principle of positiveness and negativeness may again be applied to relations between man and woman. Man is the typical example of the law of positiveness in human life, whereas that of negativeness is obviously represented by woman. It is intuition rather than theory that teaches us what is manlike and what is womanlike. Sinewy muscles, clearness of brain and overflowing ambitiousness give a manly feeling. As for womanliness, on the contrary, it is a more spiritual and internal factor than such material and external superiority possessed by men; affection rather than clearness of brain, altruism than ambition, and virtue than talent, afford the more agreeable feeling of womanliness. These are the most conspicuous differences between manhood and womanhood.

It is very interesting to find that Oriental culture sharply contrasts with that of the Occident in relation to this law of relative positiveness and negativeness. From various living examples we may safely judge that Occidental civilization is remarkably positive, while Oriental civilization involves many factors distinctly negative. In other words, the culture of the West is of markedly extensible nature, hence materialistic, intellectualistic, utilitarian, and rather masculine. In keen contrast to it, Oriental culture is very retrocessive, spiritual and negative. It is more aesthetic than utilitarian, more virtuous than intellectual, and rather womanlike than manlike. It is an undeniable fact that while Occidental civilization has a tendency to differentiate a single one into an infinite multitude, thus tending to express itself by shaping a form, Oriental civilization is always inclined to unify complicated distinctions so as to comprehend as many as possible.

—

### Science's Aim

*Scientific American* emphasizes the disinterested mission of science in the following editorial note :

Not long ago a layman asked us to explain the practical benefits accruing from Einstein's Theory of Relativity. From the manner of his asking, it seemed as though he expected us to tell him that this theory could be applied to the design of a new carburettor for his car, in the manufacture of a new paint, or for curing some disease. This is not intended to be facetious but merely illustrative of the haziness and even the misconceptions concerning the aim of pure science that have widespread existence in the minds of people in this day of almost universal knowledge.

Recently Professor Einstein explained the aim of physicists in words which fundamentally, in our opinion, are applicable to all pure science. He stated that physicists are spurred on in their work, not by a desire to add to human comfort nor for technological advancement, but merely to arrive at a better understanding of the nature of the Universe. The theories resulting from the physicist's work have their birth in speculation and are the product of observation and experience. They lead, Professor Einstein said, to a simplification of our knowledge.

In recent years mankind has drifted farther and farther away from the classical idea of culture for its own sake, but we think there are still but a few people so practical as our questioner who, apparently, must see an everyday application for scientific research or declare it entirely worthless. Abstract science leads on to thoughts of higher things, to the answer of such questions as "What is matter?" and "What is life?"; and has as its ultimate goal, whether declared or not, the uplifting of man to a mental plane beyond anything he can now conceive.

—

## Newton the Man

In course of a review of Colonel Villamil's book on the private life of Newton, the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* gives the following interesting account of the life of Newton:

Every detail connected with the world's great men is of interest, and Sir Isaac Newton was one of the greatest among them. He possessed a mind of the most marvellous power of intuition. He had, as Henri Poincaré says, received "the divine spark." No sooner was a problem propounded than he sensed the solution.

This book is not a life of Newton, but a realistic picture of how he lived and worked, "a picture," as Professor Einstein says in the foreword, "that has a real atmosphere very much more substantial than the old legend of the apple in the orchard." To obtain such a picture would have been impossible for the ordinary student without a vast amount of research. This has been done for us with a great deal of success by Colonel de Villamil, who, in the course of his investigation, has made some notable discoveries. The first of these was the finding of a complete inventory of the contents of Newton's house at the time of his death in 1727, taken by order of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. This was the result of the author's searches at Somerset House, where the existence of the document was not known. It has been printed in the appendix. The inventory is so detailed that it would be possible to replace each piece of furniture as it was in Newton's time....

It is well known that certain mathematical problems were solved by Newton without any statement as to how the results were arrived at. This has led to the surmise that he employed methods of calculation which were not known to the mathematical world until a much later date. On this subject Professor Einstein remarks in the foreword: "All mathematicians will be keenly interested in Colonel de Villamil's suggestion that Newton was the inventor of the calculus of variations, justly attributed by priority of publication to Lagrange. The suggestion would provide a solution to the problem as to how certain results which he obtained could have been determined, and deserves careful critical examination." He hopes that Colonel de Villamil's success will encourage other students to take stock of unsuspected treasures which may lie hidden in private libraries.

The author concludes from the subject-matter Newton's books that he did not care for p or music, that he was interested in travel, that he read French easily. What was he in private life? His portrait accompanying volume makes him look severe. He is said to been deadly serious about everything and to seldom laughed. It is to be remembered that was not married, and had nothing to distract from intense scientific pre-occupation. Yet in of the pedestal on which he was placed he was most modest of men. The inventory discloses fact that he was fond of the colour red. "Everyth in his house is detailed as crimson...this living an atmosphere of crimson is probably one of reasons why Newton became rather irritable tow the end of his life." We wonder!

It would be interesting, though fruitless, speculate on what even greater heights Newton mi have attained had he remained in the calm acade atmosphere of Cambridge, with ample leisure research, instead of taking up work at the Mint London. This latter, one would imagine, involvi so much that was of a rountine character, co hardly have been congenial to a man of his supe intellect.

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## Christianity and Communism

In the *Yale Review*, Mr. S. K. Ratcli compares Christianity and Communism:

Each system, Christianity or communism [said "high Soviet official" to Dr. Sherwood Eddy], seeks new social order based on social justice and co-operati in a classless society or equal brotherhood. E believes in world-wide missionary propaganda an obedience to the call for world service, in the train of youth, and in instruction of the illiterate. E professes faith in the common man.

Each believes itself to be the one hope humanity, the saviour of the world. Each is absolute system, claiming to be the way and expecti to conquer the world; each looks with aversion up the other.

Each believes in social service, entire loyalty the individual to the cause. Each stands in the for the simple life, condemnation of selfish accum tion and unshared wealth, of profiteering and so wrong.

Each professes belief in a predestined reign righteousness, where no rule of force will be necess

Each has been persecuted and violently oppo each believes in costly struggle. The orthodox so of each believes in an apocalyptic, cataclysmic w conflict, or Armageddon, before the new order c triumph—the one supernatural, the other natural- the organized effort of the workers.

*Communist differences:*

A conception of the universe as materiali mechanism, without a god; of man without a soul an enduring personality of absolute worth.

Absolute loyalty to social control and to the ca of the revolution.

Class hate in the class war.

Destructive revolution, and government by coer dictatorship, as the means to an end.

An immediate new epoch of social justice compulsion; subjection of the individual for the s of social salvation.

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## The Discovery of Element 87

Dr. A. S. Russell writes in *Discovery* about the isolation of a new element:

The isolation of a new element has always appealed to the popular mind and given to the scientist himself a more than ordinary thrill of discovery. A new element, if you think of it, is a fact not only in our own little planet but throughout the universe; a fact, indeed for all time and for all space. The admirable work of Harry Moseley a few years before the war showed the element-finder for the first time exactly what task still lay before him; it showed that between the very heaviest and the very lightest known elements there were still six awaiting discovery. Naturally there has been a rush in the past decade to find these, and quite a lot of human nature has crept into science in this rush.

The first of the six to be found occasioned a row between investigators in Copenhagen and Paris and a dispute as to whether it should be called "hafnium" or "celtium"—a very stimulating and even healthy row that showed that the disinterested love of truth for its own sake could be mingled with a love for priority of discovery and a pretty taste in polemics. The second and third of the missing elements, "masurium" and "rhenium" were claimed alike by Berlin and Prague. The fourth, "illinium," announced from Urbana, Illinois, about two years ago, was found to be known as "florentium" by a few Italians as far back as 1923. This left two only, numbers 85 and 87, and the realization that as soon as these were found element-finding must for ever cease on this earth.

The most recent claim to have discovered element 87 known as "ekacaesium," has attracted more attention in the Press and a more favourable reception by men of science than have earlier ones. Dr. Papish, an assistant professor at Cornell, and his co-worker Mr. Wainer, have identified this new element by an X-ray examination of a preparation obtained from the rare mineral samarskite. The claim, however, is not the first. From time to time I have read in various journals of claims to have found both elements 85 and 87, but nothing further about them seems to have happened. Recently at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute in the United States work has been proceeding on missing elements by a new "magneto-optical" device, and last year the investigators there thought they had found element 87 and this year element 85. I am told that Dr. Papish was for part of the time one of this team, but that he dissociated himself from the results obtained and, as far as one can learn, rightly. He is known to be a cautious worker, critical of all he himself does, and without the sanguine temperament which thinks a mere hint of a thing is adequate proof of it. His high reputation and the good credit of the *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, in which the discovery was briefly announced, encourage one to feel that the element has been discovered.

## Social Economic Planning

Almost everybody is agreed today that rational planning of social and economic activities is one of the needs of the hour. There is an important article on this subject in the *International Labour Review*. In this article the writer is discussing the question of control of such planning:

Control should be collective, because the complexity of the phenomena to be controlled defies isolated effort. "The greatest need of the modern age," Sir Arthur Salter stated in a publication issued in connection with the Amsterdam Congress, "is to bring the specialized inventions and specialized activities of mankind under the control of collective reason. We have learnt at last that unqualified *laissez-faire laissez-aller* involves intolerable waste and intolerable injustice."

The control of collective reason does not necessarily mean control by the collectivity as such. The collectivity contains many ingredients in addition to reason, and for the control of social economic planning it is necessary to distil the reason from the unreason in the collectivity. As to the manner in which collective reason should exercise control over social economic planning, it is as yet too soon to expect any agreement. While some would advocate a highly centralized system of national or international State machinery, others consider that the control of collective reason might operate without any ultimate change in the present economic system, and that it might be limited in part to the improvement of the framework of law, treaty and custom within which individual competition operates; in part, to a collective leadership in finance and industry by those who direct the greatest concerns in each country; in part, as regards appropriate spheres of economic activities, to the more effective control and regulation by governments or special organizations representing the public interest; in part, and to a very important extent, to the co-ordination of policy between different countries through the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization.

Control, we have suggested, should be not only collective but also social. This seems inevitable if we take account of the purpose of social economic planning. That purpose is human. The end to be aimed at in social economic planning must be the development of human well-being, the raising of standards of living. The ultimate object of social economic planning is to secure that the growth of the world's productive capacities can be utilized to raise world standards of living. Economic planning that is not *social* economic planning might aggravate and not alleviate the disequilibrium, might accentuate and not mitigate the maladjustment, of the world's economic resources. Social economic planning involves not class-consciousness but end-consciousness. A clear recognition of the end to be aimed at is essential.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Tibetan Manners and Customs

In his "A Royal Pilgrimage to Kailasa," Mr. S. Srikantaya has given us some idea of the manners and customs obtaining at present on the other side of the Himalayas. As it will prove interesting, we make the following excerpts from the article which appears in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*.

The Tibetans met with in these journeyings are nomadic in their habits and modes of life. Some of them look more like apes than men in their picturesquely savage appearance. They are extremely ugly, varying in complexion from jet black to brown. All men wear large earrings in their left ear, as do some Arabs. Amongst other ornaments, Bhutia women also wear necklaces made of the tusk of the musk-deer. They are foul in their habits and do not wash. An ordinary Tibetan makes one feel physical revolt. Their cups or drinking vessels are not cleaned after or before use: their dishes are made of dirt and flour. They eat with their teeth black with sordes. Their dress is hard as hide with dried dirt. Apart from the conditons of life, even superstition puts a premium on dirt and grease. Their priesthood is, however, cleaner. Tibetans eat meat and other flesh, generally raw and dried up. The Tibetans hate frying; they rarely cook and when they do so, they merely boil. For fuel, dama root and stalk and dung of yak, cow, sheep and horse are used. Bellows are sometimes used to make fire. When the Tibetan has killed a wild ass, he cuts it up and preserves the bits in his tent, away from the fire and the taste, it appears, improves with time. Butter is an important ingredient in the dietary of the Tibetans: it is also used as oil for lighting lamps in houses and monasteries and for ornamenting walls by making flowers and animals. The Tibetan coolies make tea with butter and salt, since they dislike milk which is considered a kind of urine. Sattu (fried wheat powder) and rarely some kind of bread are also used. A yak's rib serves as a spoon. They take intoxicants. They live in locally made tents and lead wandering lives, shifting from place to place, as it suits their fancy, or wherever they can find pasture for their sheep. They carry provisions for their journeys in their coat pockets which hold their pipe, tobacco, knives, and bone-spoons, as well. As a protection against cracks, jaggery paste is used as a cosmetic to the face, especially by women, though it makes them look all the more ugly. They know their camping ground thoroughly. It is a wonder how thousands of sheep thrive in this bare and rocky country with only small bits of grass under clefts in stones. They use neither the Indian nor the Chinese calendar but that of Turkestan. There is one leap year in every four but Tibetan is always one year behind the Chinese. Their ways of counting days is strange. Insertion of two seventh days, an eleventh day without a tenth preceding it, duplication of luckly days and omission of unlucky days are common features of the Tibetan calendar. They are well built. Men and women dress very much alike and, as the men have no beard growing, it is very difficult to tell the difference at first sight. They do not cut their hair but keep it in the centre in front and plait it like women following the Chinese custom prevalent before the Revolution of 1911. Polyandry is practised. Generally, the eldest brother marries and, after two or three months, the woman becomes the wife of the younger brothers as well. If a widower has a grown-up married son, then the son's wife is also the wife of the father. If a man marries a widow with grown-up daughters, all are considered as his wives. Talking of polyandry, one is reminded of an incident in Swami Vivekananda's life which is related by Romain Rolland. "In the Himalayas, Vivekananda lived among Tibetan races, who practised polyandry. He was the guest of a family of six brothers, who shared the same wife: and in his neophytic zeal he tried to show them their immorality. But it was they who were scandalized by his lessons. 'What selfishness' to wish to keep one woman all to oneself.'" So one realizes the relativity of virtue, as what is right at the bottom of the mountain is wrong at the top.

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## Tibetan Worship

In the same article is briefly described the peculiar form of Buddhism which is in vogue in Tibet. The writer says:

Here and there, piles of stones smeared with red earth are seen with sticks to which tied are rags of various colours. On some of the stones are carved Buddhist prayers. As flowers are rare, small stones are offered in their stead, every pilgrim adding one or two stones as he passes by. When you see religious inscriptions, particularly "Om mani padme hum"—on rocks, houses, temples; prayer-wheels with handles to turn them, wind and water-turned prayer-wheels, and the recital of prayer to the deity amidst the flutter of praying flags, you feel as if a kind of worship by machinery is provided. 'Prayer made easy' is what one would feel here as the Tibetans are revolving their prayer-wheels or going round prayer-walls. When the day ends and the dark rocks stand out grim against the sky, all work stops and the people gather in the squares and open spaces and chant their evening prayers prostrating on the earth. And at the religious festival of spring, the Lamas or monks wear strange and hideous masks, in striking contrast to their gorgeous silk robes. "Om mani padme hum" "Om" means "O jewel in the lotus flower, amen!"

said to close rebirth amongst the gods and is coloured white; "Ma" fights its freedom with the titans and is blue; "Ni" has its duel with man and has the yellow hue; "Pad" secures its liberty from the animal is green; "Me" has to get salvation against tantalus and is coloured red; and "Hum" closes rebirth with the inhabitants of hell and is consequsntly black. Such as the symbolism of the mystic prayer-wheel.

## Tagore's Ideal of Womanhood

*The Indian Ladies' Magazine* publishes an article under the caption, "A Glimpse of Tagore's Ideal of Womanhood" from the pen of "A Daughter of India." After analysing Tagore's repugnance against the so-called modern woman, the writer propounds his faiths and beliefs in the goodness of womankind. She proceeds:

> But, order is slowly coming out of chaos. It has been recognized that domestic life is not the only life for women. As Dr. Tagore tells us, "the human world is woman's world, be it domestic, or be it full of the other activities of life, which are human activities and not merely abstract efforts to organize. It is not only in the home that love has value. Outside it also are individuals, whose several values have to be gauged and encouraged. Woman can extend her radiance of love beyond its boundaries on all sides, and even leave it, to prove her woman's nature when the call comes to her."
>
> Dr. Tagore hopes that the next civilization will be based, "not merely upon economical and political competition and exploration, but upon world-wide social co-operation; upon spiritual ideals and reciprocity, and not upon economic ideals of efficiency." Then, woman, he hopes, will get back her old influence and regain her true place. "She will restore the lost social balance by putting her full weight into the creation of the human world." She will bring a fresh mind to build up a spiritual civilization. "She must protect with her care all the beautiful flowers of sentiment from the scorching laughter of the science of proficiency. The world with its insulted individuals has sent its appeal to her. These must find their true value, raise their heads once again in the sun, and renew their faith in God's love through her love."

## The German's Fondness for Newpapers

*The Modern Librarian* publishes now and again valuable information regarding the library movement and all kindred subjects all the world over. The reader can learn from the following extracts the extent to which the Germans are cultivating their taste for news:

> The Berlin citizen reads a great deal, and avails himself of every opportunity to indulge in his favourite mental recreation. He reads in the morning on the way to work, and in the evening on the way home; he reads at breakfast, lunch and supper. He reads at home, in the restaurant and coffee houses; in the street going about his business. and in the middle of traffic. In fact, he always reads newpapers. He hungers for newsprint every minute of his life.
>
> To provide for his needs, 80 daily papers are published in Berlin, of which 11 have two daily editions, and one issues three. The other 69 appear only once a day, and out of these, 40 have only a purely local circulation. Two of the dailies are printed in English, one in Russian and another in Polish.
>
> Thirty-eight newspapers are published in weekly, and sometimes in bi-weekly and even tri-weekly, editions, and all these publications, weeklies and dailies are read, more or less. Naturally, the Berliner has no time to scan every paper he buys from the first to the last page. Besides, the newspapers are issued in far too rapid succession. From 6 to 7 A. M. 50 dailies are printed, one on the heels of the other; at 8 o'clock there is already a mid-day edition available; at noon and at 2 P. M. evening editions come out; at 3 o'clock, the largest issue of an evening paper is ready. From 4 to 8 P. M. there is a wild scamper of evening papers throughout the streets. And between 9 and 10 at night, the provincial editions of next day's dailies are on their way to the stations.
>
> The precise circulation figures of Berlin dailies are not known, but on the whole, Berlin newspapers published daily an average number of 3,500,000 copies, not including the illustrated papers, weeklies and magazines. The circulation of illustrated weeklies is estimated at 2,000,000, and that of educational periodicals and magazines at about one million.

## Village Reconstruction

"Back to village" is a cry given currency to in post-war days in England. Since then it is being repeated times without number in both the hemisphere. It cannot be too aptly repeated here in this unfortunate land of ours, which requires improvement and organization on modern scientific lines. The Rev. R. P. Pryce has contributed a thoughtful article on rural reconstruction in *The B. P. O. Co-operative Journal.* He lays down some rules which the rural worker must take note of at the commencement of his work. He says in part:

> The first essential therefore is an enquiry—as complete as it can be made—into the condition of life in the village or group of villages where we are planning to start some rural reconstruction activities. Village surveys have been made and the results of some, done extremely well, have been printed. Here are fifteen questions which I have used in this connection. The list may not be exhaustive, but it will be suggestive of the kind of information that is required.
>
> 1. Names of all members of family, caste, ages.
> 2. Disease, mortality and causes, health of living members.
> 3. Literacy of each member.
> 4. Clothing and bedding of each member.
> 5. House, dimensions, rooms, ventilation, situation, etc.
> 6. Land, area, rice and *taur*, garden, rent, irrigation, etc.
> 7. Other occupations, all earning members, if casual work—number of days employed.
> 8. Income from all sources in cash or grain. Expenditure—all kinds.
> 9. Debts of all kinds—cash, grain, mortgage, rate of interest, for what purpose incurred, how much paid up.

10. Cattle and all animals.
11. All implements, tools, utensils, furniture.
12. Any improvements in house, land, method of cultivation, etc.
13. Character, industrious, quarrelsome, litigious. etc.
14. Religion, enthusiastic, indifferent, independent, etc.
15. Any useful remarks based on the observation of the enquirer.

## The Political Situation

*Stridharma* has the following on the present political situation :

Nothing would be gained by merely ignoring the realities of the situation and persisting in a medieval rule. Anybody that is closely watching the events of these days can easily see that the Congress is the only political organization that commands such a wide support and influence in the land, that has the largest following and above all has the confidence of the masses. We find that with each day, with each week, and month, its strength both in number and prestige is increasing and people of all creeds and communities are rallying by its side. The nation's sympathy is with the Congress which not even the most superficial observer can deny. To doubt these facts is like one wantonly shutting his or her eyes against day-light itself and denying its very existence. It may be asked "How is it that the Government have been able to challenge its authority ?" The answer is that very soon the Government will realize its mistake and its short-sighted policy. Therefore, it is the duty of those liberal and moderate leaders who are now the confidents of the Government to advise ths Government in time to reconsider and revise its attitude towards the Congress so as to create a peaceful and calm atmosphere for the Round Table Committees to commence their work of discussing the new constitution. Much has to be gained by a spirit of compromise, good-will and co-operations. If this tension of the political situation which is much worse now than it was even at the time of the visit of the Simon Commission, should continue, the great work of the framing of the new constitution for India will, in our opinion, be greatly hampered and is sure to end in complete failure. Therefore, we appeal to our Indian moderate and liberal leaders to impress upon H. E. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State the value of reconsidering their policy. The responsibility lies more on our own leaders who are in a better position to understand the real situation and the feeling of their country people and seek an immediate remedy consistent with the nation's self-respect and honour.

## Religion on Trial

Swami Nikhilananda contributes an article under the above caption to the *Prabuddha Bharata.* Religion sometimes comes into disrepute, but when sanctified by reason and truth, it leaves all its horrors behind and becomes a fascinating thing for the people to follow. The Swami says :

This degeneration of religion is not a peculiar character of the present-age alone. In this, as in every thing else, history only repeats itself. Wh ever people banished from their mind the philosoph cal attitude, superstitions set in and theology fill the country with its fanciful dogmas. The resusci tion of philosophy alone put the society into th right track of progress. The philosophy of th Upanishads came as a protest against the theolo of the Brahmans and the Sahmita of the Vedas a gave a new lease of life to the Hindu nationali Another protest against the meaningless dogmas a creeds was made by Krishna during the Epic Peri and the Gita restored the correct bearing of th paths of Bhakti, Karma and Yoga in the light Jnanam. Buddha raised his voice of protest agai the meaningless and superstitious religious dog of his time, and in the wake of Buddha followed wonderful upheaval of Indian national life in directions. And lastly Shamkara revivified th Hindu society by restoring the supremacy of rea and checking the wild extravagances of supersti theology. But in the course of the past few centuri we have again forgotten the lessons of Shamkara teachings, and this alone is responsible for the round degeneration of Indian life, the effect which is most noticed in the realm of religion.

A little more of philosophy and reasoning w cure many follies of religion. The strongest p of religion lies in its appeal to human emotion wh if uncheked by reason, leads a man astray. Mysticis without careful self-analysis dupes not only th mystics but also others. A mystic must not be afrai to lay his experiences before the rational mind. S Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, the great mystic of th modern times, readily submitted himself to the te of the scientists and the rational people of Calcutta He converted the agnostic Vivekananda not by aski him to believe blindly what he said or did, but b satisfying the doubts of his mind from the stan point of Truth. The life of Sri Ramakrishna furnish us with the clearest example of how religion chec by reasoning at every step ultimately leads th aspirant to the highest Truth.

## The Saiva Cult

Mr. Tamonash Das-Gupta has contributed a informative article on the religious cults Bengal in *The Calcutta Review*. About th Saiva cult he says :

Between the Saiva and the Sakta cults the form is more ancient in Bengal. A time came when th Saiva and the Sakta cults, though originally loggerheads, compromised and Siva occupied th position of the husband of Sakti or Durga. T Sunya Purana (10th century A. D.?) incident refers to the God Siva and contains some devotional lines in this connection. Besides t Sunya Purana, a class of literature grew up aro Siva known as the Sivayana literature of which t Sivayanas of Rameswar and Ramkrishna are t most famous. A word may be said about the c ception of the God Siva in Bengal. With the r poets Siva became the God of agriculture and all Vedic prestige. Owing to the action and rea of mutual influences among the rival cults, Siva partly endowed with the attributes of the Bu and thus we find Siva in meditation. Accordi some Siva in the Vedic days was known as the God Rudra. But it has recently been found ou

Siva has no connection with the Vedic Rudra who was a different god. The worship of Siva was current among the Dravidian people in the Deccan, long before the introduction of the Aryan pantheon. Various vulgar attributes were sometimes given by the people to the god Siva and thus we get "हरपार्वतीर कोन्दल" "बाग्दितीर पाला." Thus the God had two sides—one local and another Pauranik, in his nature. The attribute of inaction that the God Siva took owing to Buddhistic influence made the God lose all charm for the people, which resulted in the gradual elimination of the Saiva cult from any place of importance. The downfall perhaps became rapid with the advent of Islam in Bengal. Islamites always found help from the Almighty and so did the followers of the Sakta cult, but Saivites never received any active help from their god which was one of the reasons for the rapid rise of the Sakta cult and the gradual elimination of the god Siva from any position of importance. Examples are not rare to prove this point from the Manasamangal poems, where Chand, the devout follower of Siva, suffered so much without receiving any help from his god, whereas, the follower of Manasa and Chandi received immense help from their respective deities. (*Vide* the Manasamangal and the Chandi-Kavyas in which Behula, Srimanta, Kalketu and others secured immediate help from their respective goddesses in times of need.)

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## George Lansbury

*The Mysore Economic Journal* publishes an interesting account of Mr. George Lansbury by himself. We make the following extracts which will show him hunting for a job abroad and struggling hard for bread and butter for his family:

The most important thing for me was, of course, to get work. I had never been out of work in my life before, but in this land [Australia] I found none for eight weeks although I was out early and late looking for it.

I offered to labour on the roads or to do any kind of labouring or clerical work. I had introductions to leading men in Queensland from the Bishop of Brisbane downwards. They were all very kind, very sympathetic, but nobody could find me a job.

At last I got myself started at stone breaking, it was a kind of blue metal granite which broke both my heart and my hands while hammering at it. I struck to this only a short time, then took a job at a slaughter house. I didnot have to kill the cattle but I had to assist in taking them in for slaughtering, assist at getting them into Brisbane. I had never done any such work before and I loathed it. I felt then, as I feel now, that if most of us had to kill the animals we eat, we should be vegetarians.

### GETTING INTO DEBT.

Finally, I threw up this job because I was expected to work on Sundays. In those days I was a strict Sabbatarian, and although down on my luck, I refused to break my principles.

So I was out of work again, but in a day or two I got a job with pick and shovel to help level the sports ground on which English team of cricketers were coming to play Australian saying:

"Eight hours work,
Eight hours play,
Eight hours sleep,
And eight bob a day,"

When this work was ended I again took my stand among the other workers at the emigration depot from which I was taken by a farmer. Before he engaged me he went through the usual dialogue, and said: "Take off your coat and roll up your sleeves, so that I may see what kind of arms you have got."

Satisfied, he also squeezed the muscles of my legs to see if my physique was good enough to be one of his farm-labourers. When he had finished I felt as if I were a slave exposed for sale in the old plantation days of America.

The farmer was to pay me £40 a year and my "tucker." This meant, however, only an allowance of flour, beaf, tea and sugar. The meat was always alive when it came to us—covered with maggots. My wife once cooked some of the meat in a pasty for me to take on the farm, and although it had only been cooked a few hours, I found the meat crawing out of my mouth. Our children, of course, needed milk, eggs and butter. Those were bought from my employer with the result that at the end of three months, I owed him more than the wages he was supposed to pay me.

My experience on this farm convinced me that any, man of ordinary strength and will can very soon learn the work of a firm. In any case, I did. I helped to milk forty cows each morning. I ploughed, used the harrow, hoed, helped to make fences and took part in the work of a pioneer, my employer had many acres of scrub land to be cleared.

What maddened me was the shocking rate of pay, the hopelessness of any improvements for a man in my position with a wife and three children, working from sun-rise to sun-down with no prospect but debt. I therefore went to my employer and told him I did not intend to stay the twelve months called for by the contract he had made with me.

### "I'LL HAVE YOU LOCKED UP."

"You must," he roared at me. "I won't," I replied grimly.

"If you don't I'll have you locked up," he exclaimed more loudly than before.

"If you do you will have to keep my wife and family," I said, "you cannot murder them." And I walked out of the room.

The end of the matter was that I hired a cart, packed our few belongings on it and went off.

I got on another farm outside Brisbane and again took part in every process of work on it. Then a man whom I had met at various meetings when I was unemployed and who had become a friend, told me of a job in Brisbane. Without him and others, whose friendship I had made in similar circumstances, we should have done very badly indeed.

This new job was as a parcel delivery man. I stuck at it for the rest of the time I was in Australia. My wage was fifty shillings a week and a house to live in at a place called Toowong, five miles out of Brisbane.

# INDIANS ABROAD

### By N. A. PERUMAL & CHANDRA L. SINGH

## Problems of Indians in Malaya

There has been lately a series of discussions in *The Modern Review* on the various aspects of the Indian problem in Malaya. These discussions do not seem to have impressed either the Government of India or our legislators in the Councils. It is sad though but true that our politicians do not interest themselves in the cause of Indians abroad and do not do their bit for their countrymen away from home. Although I realize the gravity of the political situation that faces India today, I do not see any reason why our legislators cannot take up the problem of the Indians overseas. In a letter, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once wrote that the cause of the Indians abroad will be solved with much greater ease after the political situation in the home country has been settled. What Jawaharlalji wrote is a fact, but surely those who are not taking any part in the political struggle can devote a little of their time for the cause of the Indians abroad.

The following are some of the serious questions which face the Indians in Malaya today and need solution.

### LABOUR

The Indian problem in Malaya is generally a question of Indian labour in the rubber estates. Here the labourer has to lead a life under almost starving conditions since he receives such low wages as about thirty-eight cents a day as his minimum wage. An Indian labourer is unable to maintain a family with a wife and two children, if the latter also did not go out to work with him daily. The standard wage of fifty cents established in 1928 through the persistent efforts of Rao Saheb Subbyya Naidu has been cut by 12½ per cent in 1930 because the Indian Immigration Committee thought the planters were not in a position to pay the standard wages, on account of the fall in rubber prices. Just think what the planters gave the Indian labour while the rubber industry was having a boom and fat dividends were taken to England. They gave wages even below 30 cents a day. Compared to the condition of the Indian labourer, the planters' troubles are as nothing.

### RECRUITMENT

Assisted recruitment of Indian labour to Malaya is under suspension at present according to the suggestion of the Indian Immigration Committee. This Committee asked the Government of India to send in their men and take them away according to its convenience and necessity. Neither the India Government nor the Indian legislators who sit in the Assembly and provincial Councils see the joke.

### SEX RATIO

In its recruitment of labourers, Malaya has been continually exempted from the sex ratio rule. The result of this partial attitude of the Government of India results in many murders in Malaya. There are too many men allowed to come and too few women. Consequantly, trouble arises in rubber plantations over women and murders are committed. Why should Malaya be shown special previlege in the matter of the sex ratio rule?

### TODDY

The Indian labourers' guardians and employers on Malayan rubber plantations stock and retail toddy, not because the labourer insists on the nectar of the palmyra, but because the management wants the profits of this business. The labourer who takes to toddy not only misuses his meagre income, but also commits murders, etc., under intoxication. Cannot the Agent to the Government of India exert pressure on his own Government to urge to the Malayan Government to help in establishing a prohibition law, at least to that extent as it affects the welfare of the Indian labourer?

### REPATRIATION

There is already considerable unemployment among the labourers, owing to dismissals and voluntary giving up of services as a protest against the poor wage system. Although the Labour Department of Malaya at first helped streams of Indians to get back home, I understand the latter are now experiencing considerable difficulty in getting their passage. All unemployed Indian labourers should be sent back to India. They cannot serve their English employers with starvation wages.

### WORKMENS' COMPENSATION

Year after year a number of Indians have died from accidents while serving their employers. In 1928 alone 80 men died from injuries received in various ways and they were in ordinary circumstances entitled to compensation. But compensation was ever paid to the heirs of these unfortunate men, because there is no workmens' compensation act in force in the civilized Malay land.

Mr. Veerasamy, soon after his nomination to the Federal Council, asked the government as to why the workmen's compensation act should not be passed. He was told by the legal authority in the Council that the Government proposed to introduce the act shortly after, and he (Mr. Veerasamy) could therefore withdraw his motion. Then it was stated that the Federal Government would enact the bill only after the Straits Settlements Government had passed it. The Straits Settlements Legislative Council, possessing in its membership some bigwigs of Malayan rubber and tin Capitalism decided that they would not discuss the bill unless the Government of India made an amendment in its present workmens' compensation bill. As Dr. Menon aptly puts it in his All-Malayan Indian Conference presidential address, the capitalistic elements in the Straits Council had even nightmares of self-mutilation by the Indians if the bill was enacted ! Why does not the Agent of the Government of India tackle the question vigorously ?

### Brazil the Next World Power

Brazil, as many of us are aware by now, is a country of superlatives in almost every respect. It is nearly twice the size of India. It has a duplicate of the Indian climate from Kashmir to Ceylon. The country is practically free from the taint of race or colour disabilities; there is equal political and civil rights for all citizens; foreigners can become naturalized citizens and can hold any Government office except that of President and Vice-President (who must be born citizens) of the Republic. Endowed with a central position and abundant natural resources—rich, fertile varieties of soil, and a large variety of forest products and mineral wealth—it is considered by reputable, progressive men of both the old and new world to be the next world power.

The country has the most wonderful navigable river system of the world. The voluminous Amazon in north Brazil, with its two thousand tributaries flowing from various directions in the far central interior to the Atlantic Ocean on the east and adjoining South American countries on the north and west, supply ample water for cheap transportation and irrigation, where it is required. Besides, the Paraguay, Parana and Uruguay rivers are all navigable and afford good inland transportation as well as connection with their respective countries.

It is estimated that 40,000 miles of this water system are available for commercial purposes. Of the whole, 10,000 miles are already being traversed by ocean-going vessels. An additional 20,000 miles are plied by small launches and other flat-bottom boats. In the aggregate a fleet of 165 steamers and 50,000 other vessels are in regular traffic over the rivers, while international ocean boats go up the Amazon river to Iquitos (2,300 miles). And to enable continuous transportation over long distances, the heads of rivers and obstructions by falls are connected by railroads. Falls are further harnessed for hydraulic power by which some railways and many industries of the country are run.

Brazil also possesses an enviable long coastal line of 4,000 miles. The equally long and sometimes unbroken mountain range, however, robs her of some of this advantage. Nevertheless, she has ample excellent harbours and city ports that are very well connected by railroads with the producing centres in the hinterland. Rio de Janeiro with its deep, circular, indented and island studded bay is a marvellous example.

Some years ago this city port, was said to be a hot-bed for tropical diseases, but it is today described as "a model of civic efficiency". Commercially Rio is busier than either Bombay or Calcutta. And her wide boulevards, with mosaic side-walks and shading trees, artistic buildings, numerous gardens and hill-top observatories have deservedly earned for her the name of the most beautiful city in the world.

Although it is a fact that Brazil has opportunities for all classes, it must never be misunderstood to be a paradise for the easy-going, leisurely type of people. The country, like most western countries, calls for hard work, persistence, a little foresight and the will to do. In other words anyone believing in the "dignity of labour" will be sufficiently recompensed for his efforts.

Through some articles that appeared in the Press, we have already replied to about 3,000 enquires. Some of the correspondents are under the impression that we are recruiting. It should be clearly understood that the Indio-South American Travellers' Aid Society, 189 Hornby Road Bombay, is neither encouraging nor is interested in recruiting labour. In fact we are much against the labourer (coolie labourer) class going to Brazil, or for that matter to any other part of the world, unless a foundation is laid by the educated class who would be able to maintain a high standard and move with the tide of progress.

The Bombay office gives information about Brazil to those interested. The Brazil office is to furnish the Indian office with up-to-date information on conditions in Brazil to meet and guide those who go to Brazil to settle on land, seek employment, or do business. Also an ideal Indian colony is being founded in Brazil. The chief features are to secure land at a nominal cost and on an instalment basis ; to supply implements and seeds at cost and deferred payment ; to maintain a co-operative marketing and transport organization, etc. etc. Further information can be had from the office. Kindly enclose stamp for replies.

CHANDRA L. SINGH

# NOTES

## *George Washington Bicentenary*

Two centuries ago on the 22nd February George Washington, the leader of the liberators of America, was born at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland county, Virginia, U. S. A. He lived to become one of the greatest figures in history, though his early education was poor and he began his life-work at the age when most boys in the West enter upon a college career. This will not cause any surprise in India, where people know that Shivaji and Akbar were illiterate.

On the 22nd of February last Bengal did not forget that it was the birthday of George Washington. On account of the existing restrictions on freedom of association and speech we had to be content with celebrating the day in a very modest and unostentatious manner. Credit for this simple celebration belongs mainly to Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar and Dr. Rafidin Ahmed. *Liberty* records:

> The Bengal George Washington Memorial Society celebrated the bicentenary of the birth of George Washington on Feb. 22, in the Committee Room of the Albert Hall and sent the following cable to President Hoover of U. S. A.:
>
> "Bengal George Washington Memorial Society celebrates George Washington's two hundredth birth anniversary and offers greetings to American people. Ramananda Chatterjee, President."

In the land of Washington's birth and life-work his bicentenary will be celebrated with due solemnity and pomp and pageantry, as the following calendar of events to be observed there, published by *Advance* by courtesy of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, shows:

> The nine months of the year 1932, from February 22 to the following Thanksgiving, will be crowded with colourful celebrations in honour of George Washington. It would be impossible to
> all those throughout the country. The following
> the tentatively prepared programme to be used
> the city of Washington and is typical of th
> of every community in the country.
>
> February 21:—Special services will be held in
> churches in memory of George Washington.
> character and ideals will be emphasized.
>
> Februrary 22:—The Two Hundredth Annivers
> of the Birth of George Washington will
> this holiday more impressive than ever.
> President of the United States will speak
> special radio programme. School children will
> patriotic pageants.
>
> March 15:—A George Washington play will
> produced under the auspices of the
> Bicentennial Commission.
>
> April 19:—Patriot's Day, anniversary of
> Battle of Lexington. The Daughters of
> American Revolution and other patriotic
> will have charge of special programmes.
>
> April 30:—President's Day. This is the
> versary of Washington's first inauguration
> President. His inauguration will be re-
> in a pageant, the final scene of which will
> laid at the Capitol.
>
> May second week:—Week of music to
> planned by the music clubs of the city.
> will be placed upon music known to
> ton and patriot compositions. It has
> suggested that all American be so organized
> citizens everywhere will join in singing "
> at a given time.
>
> May 29:—Memorial services will be held in
> churches.
>
> May 30:—Services will be held with a
> memorial gathering at Arlington in honour of
> soldiers who served under George
> Patriotic organizations will play an
> rôle in these exercises.
>
> June 14:—Flag Day. Historical pageant
> floats from every State in the Union to pass
> the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and
> at the plaza of the Capitol.
>
> June second week:—The life of
> will be depicted on the plaza of the Capitol.
>
> July 4:—The Nation's Birthday. The
> of the day will be a re-union of the
> original States in Washington. Patriotic
> will be held and in the evening there
> fireworks.
>
> August:—Special plays bearing upon the
> of Washington are to be given under the
> of the Community Center Department.

September 5 :—Labour Day. George Washington will be honoured as a labourer for the good of mankind.

September 17 :—Constitution Day. The American Bar Association will have charge of the programme, which will emphasize the part Washington played in the preparation and adoption of the United States Constitution.

November 11 :—Armistice Day. Appropriate ceremonies will be held in which the American Legion will have part.

November 24 :—Thanksgiving Day : Washington's Thanksgiving Proclamation (the first presidential Thanksgiving proclamation issued) will be read. This day ends the official period of the national celebration.

## American Protest Against Arrest of Mahatma Gandhi

According to *Unity* of Chicago, the following resolutions were unanimously passed at a public mass meeting to protest against the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, which was held in New York City on January 12, 1932 :

> In this bicentennial anniversary year of the birth of George Washington, leader of our fathers a century and a half ago in their struggle for national independence from the British crown, and in perpetual remembrance of the affirmation of our martyred President, Abraham Lincoln, that "those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it"—
>
> We, American citizens, in public mass meeting assembled on this evening of Tuesday, January 12th, in New York City, affirm anew our pledge to freedom for ourselves and for all mankind.
>
> We hear the call of a great people, the semi-starved millions of India, struggling for freedom across the seas, and would answer this call.
>
> We hail the sainted leader of this great people, Mahatma Gandhi, protest against his arrest and imprisonment without trial, and plead for his release in the high interest of peace and brotherhood.
>
> We salute the All-India National Congress as the the sole representative assembly of this people, protest against its suppression by the British *Raj*, and plead for its restoration and recognition in the high interest in government of the people, by the people and for the people.
>
> We denounce the rule now imposed upon India, reverence the patience, courage and steadfastness with which this rule is endured, and acclaim as of world-wide significance the campaign of disciplined non-violence.
>
> And we pledge to the multitudes ot India of all classes, races and religions, our full sympathy and support in their present struggle for freedom.
>
> Freedom for India, peace to the world, justice for all mankind ! .

We have, for obvious reasons, omitted some words from these resolutions, but altered none, nor made any addition. It was suggested at this New York public mass meeting that Americans should, in order to help India, boycott British goods, British steamers, and British securities ; but as there is no news of a single American having actually done so, not a single Englishman need pass a single sleepless night on that account.

## International Indian Bureau at Geneva

*Unity* of Chicago publishes the news that Mr. E. H. James, author of a book on India named *"I Tell Everything,"* has departed from America for Geneva, Switzerland, where he is to open an International Indian Bureau. This Bureau will, it is said, serve as a centre for the cause of Indian freedom in Europe.

## Thomas Paine's Country

Thomas Paine, the famous American political and "deistical" writer, who was born in England, said : "Where liberty is *not*, there is my country" ; and he proved the truth of his words by fighting for freedom in America, England, France.....

## What Repression Can Do

*The New Republic* of New York thinks that if unsparing repression can break the spirit of the Indian workers for freedom, their cause is lost. It tells its readers :

> The British government is doing everything short of the tactics of open war to crush the independence movement. The arrest of Mrs. Gandhi followed that of her famous husband by about a week, and scores of other Nationalist leaders have been imprisoned. The Indian National Congress has been declared illegal and forbidden the use of the mails ; its funds are liable to confiscation. Street meetings are being broken up and the unresisting participants are beaten....The Indians in return are applying all their usual methods with redoubled energy and apparently with great effect. There is a campaign against paying taxes ; all British goods are under the ban ; Indians are withdrawing their money from the postal savings banks. Even the post office is boycotted, and the Nationalists are setting up the beginning of a parallel mail-carrying system of their own. In Bombay, it is estimated that all business is reduced on the average by 75 per cent. The cotton exchange's loss is $3,000,000 a day, and the sale of cotton cloth has been cut by $500,000 a day. When China boycotted British goods, it was only a short time until proud Albion was brought to her knees, and her policy completely reversed. The Indian position is of course very different ; yet it remains

a question whether Great Britain in the midst of a financial and economic crisis can long afford to pay the terrible cost of holding India by military force.

As our only source of information is the Press and as at present our newspapers cannot publish all news, we cannot judge how far our American contemporary's information is correct. For instance, we do not know the extent of the no-tax campaign, if there be any, nor of the disuse of postal savings banks. We have not seen any mail matter carried by non-governmental agency. Nor have we any accurate information regarding reduction of business in Bombay. But the possibility of accurate information reaching and getting published in foreign lands cannot be denied.

### *Maharaja of Mayurbhanj on Ayurveda*

At the last annual convocation of the Vaidyasastra Pith, an institution for training students in Ayurveda, the Indian system of medicine, some forty students received their degrees. In conferring the degrees on the students His Highness Maharaja Pratap Chandra Bhanja Deo Bahadur of Mayurbhanj made an appropriate speech. He naturally expressed pride in the history of Ayurveda, but did not want that our people should rest idly content with the glory of our ancestors and rot in slothful ease. Hence he observed :

> Ayurveda has always moved with the times and introduced necessary changes, and no better example than that of the illustrious Charak and Bagbhat can be cited in support of my statement. The present age also has got to adapt Ayurveda to the requirements of the time and give it almost a new shape. And for this solemn and much-needed transformation, uncommonly erudite Ayurvedic scholars with unfailing faith in the mother culture and good practice in the old system, are necessary.

He added :

> The first duty before Ayurveda is to determine to-day what and where it lacks. It is incumbent on those who are to-day enjoying a well-earned distinction in the Ayurvedic world to find out wherein does their Science lack. If this were discovered and recognized by the Ayurvedic physicians, half the battle would be won.
>
> I also earnestly ask the Ayurvedic physicians and students who have assembled here, to exercise their thoughts incessantly in this direction. If they continue their sacred and sacrificing service of Ayurveda, bent on the common good of whole humanity, then I have no doubt that their noble ideal alone will compel the necessary developments of Ayurveda and even distant shores will resound with its triumph. Those who seek the alleviation of human ailments will again look to India, the enquirers in these sciences will again flock to its shores.

### *Duped or Self-deceived ?*

Sir Samuel Hoare's "Dogs and the Caravan" broadcast talk—in which he unwittingly told a truth in that the British caravan is really making good progress with Indian gold exported to England in the teeth of Indian protests, and in which he forgot that, according to Goldsmith, caravans also sometimes have dogs of various breeds—contains "facts," too ! One Hoary "fact" is quoted below :

> The fact is that the great majority of men and women in India are heartily tired of political upheavals. They do not want revolution, they do not even want political agitation. They want to get on with their own jobs in their own way and with as little interference as possible. These people are genuinely relieved that the Government is suppressing the agitation that has so much disturbed ordinary life during the last few years.

It would not be possible to ascertain whether Sir Samuel has been hoaxed by some official or non-official romancer in India who has dished up fiction for fact, or has been the victim of his own fancy. But the un-Hoary and therefore sober truth is that all the four sentences quoted above contain untruths. Though Indian men and women do not want bloody political upheavals, they *do* want a radical change in the constitution of India and in the personnel and methods of its Government. It is immaterial whether such a change is called upheaval, revolution or rapid evolution. It is absolutely false to say that Indians do not want political agitation in furtherance of this change, in proof whereof one has only to point to the fact that, in spite of the most energetic efforts to put an end to agitation, it is still going on.

Sir Samuel Hoare has the happy or unhappy knack of sometimes saying things which mean what he does not want them to mean. When he said that "they (the people of India) want to get on with their own jobs in their own way and with as little interference as possible," he did not want the world to understand that Indians longed to manage the affairs of their country in their own way with the minimum of British interference, if any

But his words have that meaning, and in that sense he spoke the truth.

It is utterly false to say that the people of India are genuinely relieved by the Government's policy of repression. There has been any number of appeals to Government for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders and for the repeal of the ordinances, protests against the way in which Congress workers are being treated in and outside jails and against the practical extinction of the freedom of speech and the Press.

## *Mr. Gandhi's Claims "Smashed" !*

Another precious bit in Sir Samuel's talk runs thus :

> The Congress has too long arrogated to itself the claim to represent India. The Aga Khan, speaking for the great Muslim community and Dr. Ambedkar, the champion of the untouchables, smashed this claim to pieces when Mr. Gandhi made it at the Round Table Conference.

On this our contemporary *The Mussalman* observes :

> This claim may have been smashed in the eyes of some Britishers but not in the eyes of the Indian population.
>
> As for the representative character of H. H. the Aga Khan, we say that, if he at all represents the Mussalmans by being out of touch with them for thirteen months in a year, he represents only that section of the Muslim intelligentsia that basks in official sunshine or has its own axe to grind but not the Muslim masses. Had he at all represented the masses, he would have pressed for responsibility at the Centre. If he represents the Indian Mussalmans, then the Secretary of State for India may also be taken as a great representative of theirs for his occasional expression of sympathy for the Muslims. He was a nominee of the Government and he faithfully served British interests by not pressing for responsibility at the Centre and thus throwing to the winds the interest of the Muslim masses.
>
> The Congress may be crushed as Sir Samuel Hoare desires, but it is evident that the spirit of freedom that it has generated and infused into the whole country cannot possibly be crushed. There is not a single Indian, of course, with the exception of those whose very soul has been enslaved, who does not feel that India is not allowed to be the mistress in her own household. The discontent that is rampant in India will grow in intensity and volume so long as she does not acquire the right to manage her own affairs in her own way—in the way in which Canada and Australia manage their affairs. The British Government and the Government of India will do well to understand this, and that without delay.

As for Dr. Ambedkar, he has been exposed by what Mr. M. C. Rajah and many a "depressed class" leader and association in Bengal and elsewhere have said, and by the All-India Depressed Classes Association and its Committee and Secretary having repudiated him.

## *On the Expulsion of Mr. Halstead*

*The Nation* of New York thinks that Britain is finding out in India that, as always, one repression necessitates another and that such things are inevitably cumulative. Having embarked on a course of giving it hot to adults, "it has not been easy to handle children with that sportsmanship and fair play which have sometimes been such admirable British characteristics." As illustrations, *The Nation* does not relate the true story of flogging inflicted on a boy in a court-room in Bombay by order of a survival of the aboriginal man in the person of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of that city and other similar true narratives of flogging in Madras and elsewhere by order of other surviving primitive magisterial men, but it prints the following :

> Incredible to relate, one nine-year-old boy, shouting his readiness to die for Gandhi, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for anti-British demonstrations. But not only are native followers of Gandhi suspected ; even American missionaries, it appears, are to be denied the privilege of remaining in the peninsula if they are discovered to have sympathy for the Indian cause. The Reverend G. B. Halstead has been forced to resign as social director of Lucknow Christian College for just that reason, and has followed the Government's advice to leave the country. We can assure our British cousins that the outrages in India arouse no enthusiasm in the United States, though we have not forgotten our own imperialist sins ; and that the threatened expulsion of any American from India who, in Christian sympathy, is attracted by the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi will hardly increase American confidence in Britain's capacity to rule.

## *Early Finance of British India*

Mr. J. N. Gupta, M. A., I. C. S. (retired), who rose to be a Divisional Commissioner, has put "The Case for Financial Justice to Bengal" clearly and with moderation in his pamphlet of that name, published by the Calcutta University Press. He states that during the beginning of British rule in India it was from the resources of the Bengal

Presidency that the prosperity and well-being of the rest of India were built up. In proof of this assertion he writes :

> In 1780 Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, writing to the Governor-General and his Council informed them that "the treasury of Madras was empty, and that the immediate needs at Fort St. George would exceed 7 lakhs of rupees per month, every cowrie of which must come from Bengal, as he found there were no resources from which a single pagoda could be expected." In a letter written in 1792 to the India House the Commander-in-Chief pointed out that "both the army and the inhabitants in the state in which the country then was had to be maintained chiefly by supplies from Bengal."

Mr. Gupta proves this statement of the Commander-in-Chief by quoting figures from the early revenue history of the three Presidencies.

> During the first six years after the Diwani (1765) the annual average revenue and expenditure of Bengal were £ 2,202,207 and £ 1,504,934 respectively. During the same period Madras had an average annual revenue of £4,05,191 and expenditure £5,95,920, whereas Bombay was in a still worse plight, her average annual revenue being £ 76,057, while the expenditure was £3,06,319. The large deficits of both these provinces had to be made good from the revenues of Bengal. For the eight years after 1770, when Bengal was visited by one of the most dreadful famines of modern times, the annual average income of Bengal was £2,626,519 and expenditure £ 1,435,789 ; Madras had a revenue of £ 4,96,476, expenditure £ 4,68,390 ; Bombay revenue £1,69,452, expenditure £ 3,96,451. The total deficiency of Bombay alone during the period came to £ 1,814,890 and the total contribution of Bengal to the two provinces amounted to £ 1,852,527.

So much for the eighteenth century. Coming to the nineteenth, Mr. Gupta writes :

> During the period 1814-15 to 1828-29 the aggregate revenues of the presidencies were as follows : Bengal, £196,121,983 ; Madras, £ 82,042,967 ; Bombay, £ 30,986,970. The annual Bengal surplus during these fifteen years amounted on an average to £ 1,891,635. Madras showed an annual average deficiency of £ 2,05,758, while the average annual deficiency of Bombay was not less than £ 1,081,595, which all had to be met from the revenues of Bengal.

The author adds :

> At the same time the province supplied the funds necessary for the expensive schemes of conquest in which the British Power was then engaged.

This fact has been mentioned also by Mr. F. H. Skrine, I. C. S., in his *India's Hope* in a passage quoted in one of our previous issues. Twenty years ago Major B. D. Basu contributed an article entitled "Justice to Bengal" to *The Modern Review* for November 1912 in which he quoted the following passage from *The Calcutta Review* (these edited and written almost entirely by Englishmen), vol. iii, January 1845, pp. 167-168 :

> The Provinces (*i.e.*, Bengal, Behar and Orissa) are by far the most wealthy and productive in the whole Empire. It is from the resources of the Gangetic valley alone that Government is furnished with any surplus funds ; that it obtains the sinews of war, and is enabled to clear off the debts it had contracted. Of the upper and lower divisions of this valley, it is the lower or that comprised in the Government of Bengal, which has been the mainstay of the public finances. Though it does not comprise more than a tenth of the territory subject to the British crown in India, it yields two-fifth of the revenue.

Major Basu quoted also the following passage from Victor Jacquemont, the well-known French naturalist and traveller, who was a contemporary of Rammohun Roy :

> All that they (the English) have added to their territory for the last fifty years beyond Bengal and Behar, beyond the empire which Colonel Clive had formed, has only diminished their revenues. Not one of the acquired provinces pays the expenses of its government and military occupation. The Madras Presidency, taken in the lump, is annually deficient : Bombay is still further from covering its expenses. It is the revenue of Bengal and Behar, principally of the former, which after making up the deficiency of the North-West Provinces, recently annexed to the Presidency of Calcutta, Bundelcund, Agra, Delhi, etc., sets the finances of the two secondary states afloat.

Major Basu went on to quote a long passage from a then (1912) recent issue of *The Indian Daily News*, an English-owned daily of Calcutta, of those days which concluded as follows :

> The most interesting fact from the table ["given in the Blue Book on the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1910-11"] is that Bengal contributed ["towards the expenditure of the Government of India"] in 1910-11 double the amount contributed by Bombay and Madras, and more than the amount contributed by Eastern Bengal, the U. P, Panjab, Burma and the Central Provinces put together.

Major Basu, therefore, rightly came to the conclusion that it was mainly the revenue of Bengal which enabled the British to build up their Empire in India. And even at present revenues raised in Bengal more than in any other single province go to keep up the Central Government.

The British rulers of Bengal in the early days of John Company protested against this exploitation of the Presidency. Thus in 176 Governor Verelst wrote :

> The great demand which has been made on this presidency from every quarter has reduced the treasury to a very low state, and alarms us for the consequences which must inevitably attend on such a vast exportation from this country.

No doubt in those days Bengal included Bihar and Orissa, and also, later, part of U. P. until 1835. But all along Bengal proper was the greatest revenue-yielding portion of the Presidency. Our author notes that even after the emergence of Bengal as a separate province in 1853, the process of exploitation of her resources continued unabated, and in 1861, Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Peter Grant complained

> "that it was a practice handed over from the beginning of the British Empire in India to make Bengal pay much more than its share of the imperial revenue and to give it back in return not a quarter of its share of the imperial funds granted for such objects as military protection, police, roads and other public works. He found this inevitable practice still in operation and took the opportunity to draw notice to systematic inequalities so injurious to the province with which he was connected." (Letter from the Government of Bengal, May 4, 1861.)

## *Indian Tea-Planters' Federation*

Among the principal articles of import from India into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Board of Trade returns) Tea occupies the foremost place, its value having been £24,114,864, £20,181,539 and £20,082,540 in 1927, 1928 and 1929 respectively. Leather follows at a great distance, Indian Leather imports into U. K. having been in those years only £5,773,094, £6,805,848 and £5,111,360 respectively. This is so far as the United Kingdom is concerned. If Indian articles of private merchandise imported from India into all foreign countries were considered, Jute (raw and manufactured) would occupy the first place in value, Cotton (raw and manufactured) the second place, Rice the third place, Seeds (oil seeds mainly) the fourth place, and Tea the fifth place, the value of these articles exported from India to foreign countries in 1929-30 being (Jute) Rs. 79,10,05,445, (Cotton) Rs. 72,26,37,130, (Rice) Rs. 31,50,91,840, (Seeds) Rs. 26,46,75,604 and (Tea) Rs. 26,00,63,568. Though Tea occupies the fifth place, its price (26 crores) is by no means small. It is encouraging that Indians are gradually taking an increasing part in the production and sale of this commodity. But their share in this business is still small. They cannot make greater progress unless they combine and have their own marketing board and their own reputed brands. It is, therefore, pleasing to find that steps are being taken in these directions.

A meeting of some Indian gentlemen interested in tea gardens in Bengal and Assam, including some prominent tea-planters, was recently convened by a circular issued over the signatures of Mr. Tarini Prosad Roy, Nawab Musharruf Hossein Khan Bahadur, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Mr. A. C. Sen and Mr. Girija Mohan Sanyal, and held in the Committee Room of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at 20, Strand Road, Calcutta. The subject of discussion was to consider the ways and means of protecting the tea industry, particularly the section thereof under Indian management, from the serious crisis in trade, aggravated in the case of Tea by a severe dearth of finance, for which it was proposed to form an association of Indian Planters in Calcutta.

Messrs. A. C. Sen, M. N. Mukherjee, J. C. Banerjee, B. Gupta, E. Dev, and Nawab Musharruf Hossein Khan Bahadur took a prominent part in the deliberations of the meeting. An Association named the Indian Tea Planters' Federation and a Provisional Committee were formed. It may be hoped that in due course the Association and its Committee will succeed in devising means for the financing of the tea industry under Indian management and in forming an efficient marketing board of its own.

## *Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act*

A new Criminal Law Amendment Act has been passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, embodying the provisions of the Bengal Ordinance. All amending motions were rejected, including the one that the Act remain in force for one year. Government hope to combat both civil disobedience and terrorism —both non-violence and violence, by repressive measures like these. Of course, Government officers, high and low, go on expressing a desire for co-operation on the part of the Indian public. But obviously this co-operation is to be an one-sided affair—on

Government's own terms. Indians are to co-operate with Government, that is, do what Government want them to do ; but Government are to non-co-operate with even the Moderates, rejecting their prayers for the withdrawal or softening of the Ordinances, etc. So the Indian public can co-operate with Government in three ways : (1) openly dissociating themselves from the civil disobedience movement, which the Moderate leaders and M. L. A.'s have done ; (2) denouncing terrorism, which has been done by Indian newspapers, Indian associations, and many Indians individually ; (3) acting as unpaid private detectives to give information relating to the plans and activities of both terrorists and *satyagrahis*. There is no information available as to how many persons are doing the last kind of work.

### *Sentence on Miss Bina Das*

Miss Bina Das, B.A. has been sentenced to nine years' rigorous imprisonment for attempting to shoot the Governor of Bengal at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University. As she confessed that she had tried to shoot the Governor and there was corroborative evidence, there was no doubt about her guilt. So the three High Court Judges rightly convicted her. In passing sentence they took into consideration the seriousness of her offence as well as her past good conduct and character and probably also the fact that she was only 20 or 21.

### *Miss Bina Das's Confession*

That Miss Bina Das truthfully told what she had done was in keeping with the character she bore at school and college. It has served or may serve some useful purpose, too. Nothing is causeless. Crimes are not causeless, madness is not causeless, terrorism is not without cause. We have all along felt that if those who are guilty of serious political offences admit during their trials what they have done instead of trying to shield themselves by falsehood, their confession may serve the useful purpose of enabling both the Government and the public to ascertain the motives and causes leading to the offences. It does not much matter if these motives and causes appear unjustifiable and inadequate to the Government and the public ; the important thing is to know what they are. If this knowledge be available, endeavours to find out and apply the remedies are more likely to succeed.

When there are sporadic or epidemic outbreaks of infectious diseases, it is necessary no doubt to segregate and treat the patients. But it is no less necessary for the public health authorities and society in general to be convinced that they also have been sinners. Hence remedial measures should include both the segregation and treatment of the patients and the self-examination and self-reformation of the public health authorities and society.

For offences against the law the offenders are undoubtedly responsible, and as such they ought to be segregated and subjected to reforming remedial treatment. But it is not a correct scientific assumption to think that they are the only sinning parties. Society in general, social polity and its makers and enforcers, and laws and their makers and administrators are also responsible for ordinary and political offences. But unfortunately neither the Government nor the public appear even to suspect that they also are sinners as well as the actual offenders.

If the statement of Miss Bina Das had been published, the public would have been in a position to judge as to its own sins of omission and commission. For persons like Miss Bina Das are only the points of discharge of the electricity with which society or at least a section of it is charged. Government officers appear to hold the opinion that everyone of them as well as the impersonal collective body known as "Government" are not responsible for the volume of ordinary and political offences. That is an unscientific view. Just like the public, Government also are responsible in due measure.

The full statement of Miss Bina Das has not been published. So the public, even if so inclined, cannot judge in the light of that confession in what direction the remedies lie—cannot decide what Indians ought to d and ought to refrain from doing to restore bring the political life of India to a healt and satisfactory condition. But the statem is available to Government. They can, if they be so minded, try to read it aright. To some it may appear that we are attaching too much importance to it. We are not. Nothing is unimportant which leads either normal or abnormal minds to face the criminal's death. We are not concerned to ascertain whether the terrorists are mad or wicked or anything else, or all these combined. What we want to do is to drive home the view that their mentality is not uncaused and that the causes of that mentality are not to be found mainly or exclusively where they are officially sought, if they at all lie there.

We have no desire to misconstrue or misrepresent the official motive for stopping the publication of the statement. If we are not mistaken, it was sought—whether successfully or not, is not known—to prevent its exploitation by the excitable section of the public. Incidentally, it may be asked whether it can be lawfully excluded from Law Reports. Lawyers would be able to answer.

### *Dr. Hasan Suhrawardy Knighted*

Lieut.-Col. Hasan Suhrawardy, vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, has been knighted for his pluck and energy in trying to save the life of Sir Stanley Jackson, the Governor of Bengal. The reward has been well earned.

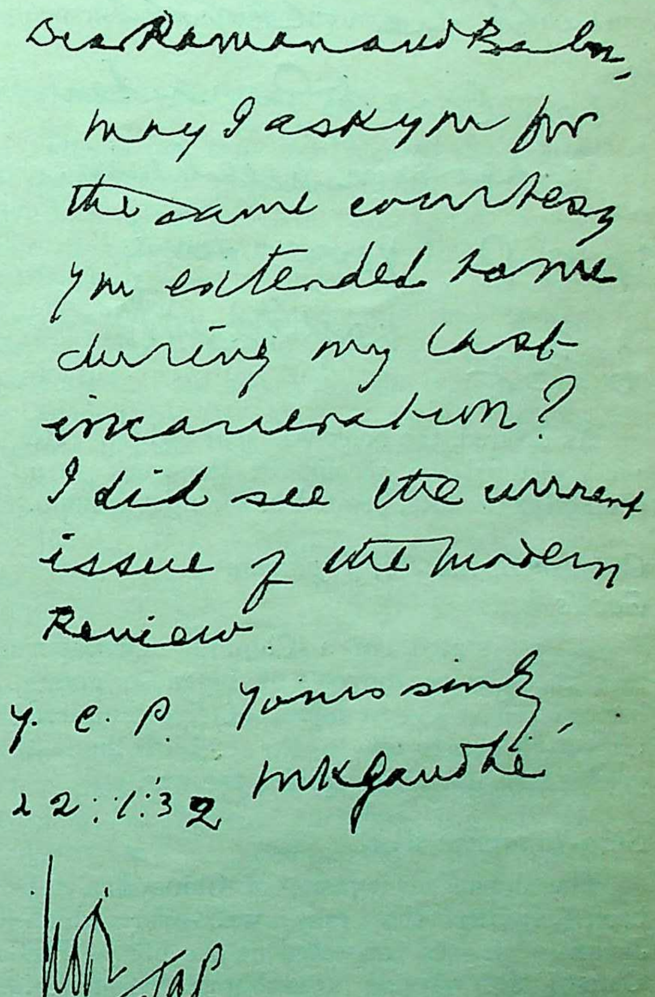
It appears that Mr. J. C. Mukherji, the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, did exactly the same thing simultaneously with or a little before Dr. Suhrawardy. That Mr. Mukherji's gallantry has not been recognized in the same way as that of the vice-chancellor, has given rise to some comment. But the explanation may be quite simple. As the gallant Doctor belongs to the "minority community" which has sought "weightage" with the greatest energy and persistence, his name was entitled to be made weightier.

### *Kashmir's British Prime Minister*

Sir Hari Kishen Kaul, Prime Minister of Kashmir, has taken leave owing to ill-health, it is said, and a British officer has been appointed to officiate for him. The Hindu Dewan is not expected to get back his office again. That is understood.

### *What Mahatma Gandhi Reads in Prison*

It has been published in the papers that Mahatma Gandhi gets four daily newspapers in prison. *Unity* of Chicago writes that "Gandhi took with him into prison a copy of Thoreau's essay on Civil Disobedience." He is also reported in other papers to have taken with him a few other books, the names of some of which have been mentioned. But it is not generally known that he reads *The Modern Review* in Yeravda Central Prison. He used to do so on the last occasion on which he was imprisoned there. Referring to that fact he wrote to us :



Dear Ramanand Babu,

may I ask you for the same courtesy you extended to me during my last incarceration?

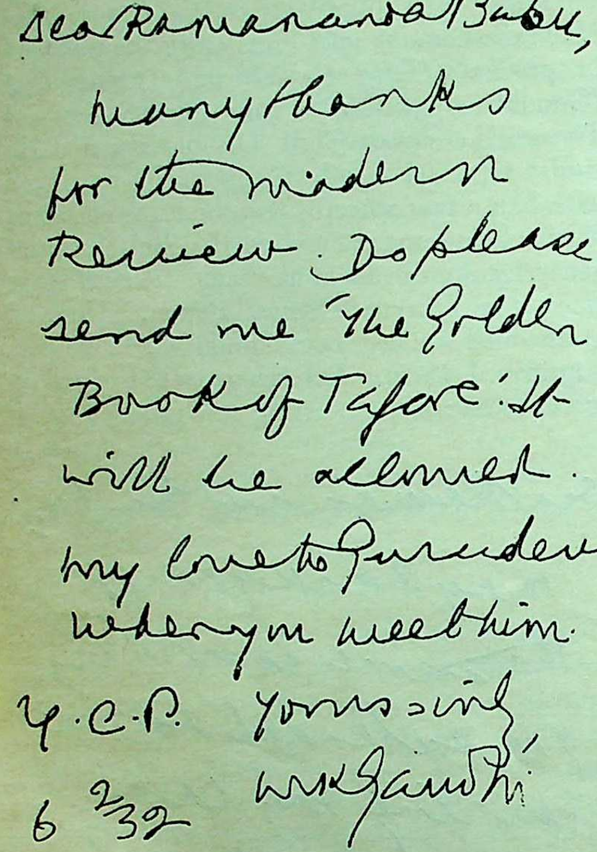
I did see the current issue of the Modern Review.

Y. C. P.
22:1:32

Yours sinly
M K Gandhi

J.C.P.

So we began to send him our *Review* again. When we informed him that *The Golden Book of Tagore* sponsored by him and other celebrities, was ready and asked whether it could be sent to him, he replied :



Dear Ramananda Babu,
Many thanks
for the Modern
Review. Do please
send me 'The Golden
Book of Tagore'. It
will be allowed.
My love to Gurudev
when you meet him.
Y.C.P. Yours sincerely
M K Gandhi
6 2/32

As desired, the book was sent to him. He acknowledged the receipt of the work in a characteristic note, printed in the next column.

### Chinese Boycott of Japanese Goods

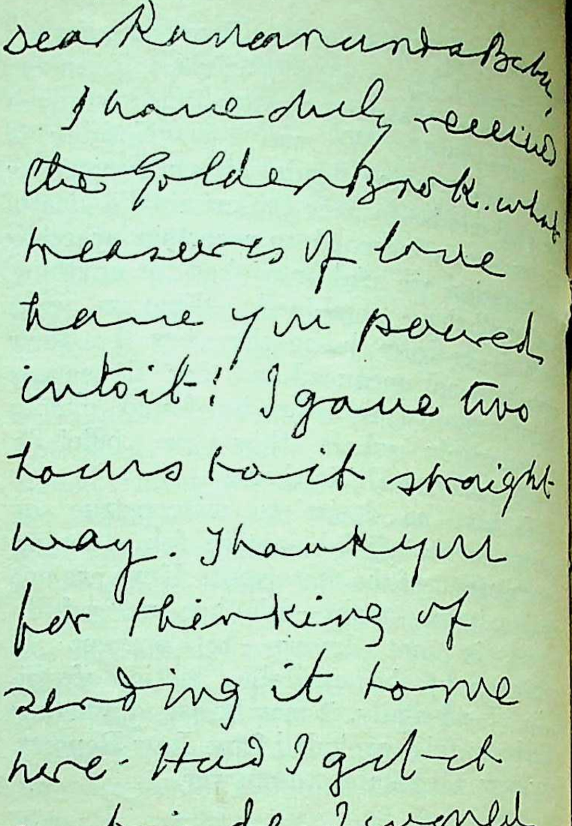
It is stated in a Chinese newspaper that the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods has caused a loss to Japan of five hundred crores of rupees up to the end of the last year. Probably that explains the war.

### Sino-Japanese War

The Japanese invasion of China has not been proving the easy walk-over which Japanese jingoes expected it to be. The Chinese are offering a stubborn resistance. All who love freedom would wish them complete success.

### Number of Civil Disobedience Prisoners

According to an official statement, the number of Civil Disobedience and Emergency Powers Ordinance prisoners up to 31st January last was 15,000. This is a good bag for practically one month. Perhaps the number would have been larger if the satyagrahis had gone in for mass arrests, as on the last occasion. But probably this year they are offering themselves for arrest in small batches.



Dear Ramananda Babu,
I have duly received
the Golden Book. What
treasures of love
have you poured
into it! I gave two
hours to it straight-
way. Thank you
for thinking of
sending it to me
here. Had I got it
outside I would
not have been able
to go beyond open-
ing it and
laying it down
with a sigh.
Y.C.P. Yours sincerely
16 2/32 M K Gandhi

## "Nari-Shiksa-Pratisthan"

It is a pleasure to draw the attention of the public to the "Nari-Shiksa-Pratisthan" an institution for the education of girls and women founded and conducted by some educated women in a spirit of service.

> The object underlying the promotion of the institution is twofold. In the first place, it is felt that the institution will afford an opportunity to those of the educated women, resident in the southern suburban area of Calcutta, who are seeking a productive employment of their time, energy and creative delight towards a social end in addition to the discharge of their duties as mothers, wives and sisters in their respective family lives. Secondly, it has been assumed that the cause itself of women's education will be better served by the voluntary efforts of women who will regard teaching not as a profession in life but as a service to fellow-women given out of the best in them. Freedom from outside control is the very condition on which the institution has been founded.

Some of the special features of this institution mentioned in its prospectus are :

> Women of all ages are admitted to this institution. Indeed, the primary object of the institution is to draw adult women as students, the arrangement for teaching of children being only a corollary to the primary object in view.
>
> The institution sits from 12 to 3 in the noon, thus enabling housewives to attend the classes consistently with the discharge of their domestic duties.
>
> The institution maintains a nursery attached to it during the working hours. This is a unique innovation, probably the first of its kind in this country, enabling mother teachers and mother pupils to devote themselves to their respective duties, while at school.
>
> The curriculum for adult women includes such subjects as mother-craft, hygiene, child-psychology, etc., instructions in which are not ordinarily available in other schools.
>
> The workers of the school include four M. A.'s, four B. A.'s, two of whom have been trained in modern educational methods in the University of London. Besides there are one lady graduate in medicine and other well-educated women.

Information on other matters may be had of Mrs. Subarnalata Purkayastha, M. A., Principal and Secretary, at 80 B, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.

## Bengal Landholders

Among Bengalis there is not at present a considerable number of rich traders. It is generally the landholders who are considered wealthy in Bengal. But for years past they have not been in a flourishing condition. Recently their condition has become worse. It was recently stated officially in reply to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council that in June and September 1931 and January 1932 the holders of 13,475 estates failed to pay land-revenue. In June and September 1931, failure to pay revenue led to the sale of 518 estates. 122 remained unsold owing to lack of purchasers.

Many non-Bengali politicians and journalists think that the Bengal Government ought not to be allowed to keep for its public needs more of the revenue raised in Bengal than it is, because the Permanent Settlement exists in this province. Even if the Permanent Settlement had made the Bengal zamindars very rich, how that would help the needy Bengal Government it is difficult to see. But how prosperous the landholding class in Bengal is would appear from the above figures.

## Provincial Budgets

This is the time for placing the budgets of the different provinces before the respective local councils. All show huge deficits. The Bengal budget shows a deficit of Rs. 2,10,94,000 for 1931-32 and a deficit of Rs. 1,63,00,000 for 1932-33. The Hon'ble Mr. A. Marr's budget speech was throughout pessimistic. He hoped that the injustice done to Bengal by the Meston Award would be righted and the Bengal Government would be given more money. Otherwise he saw no hope for Bengal.

In spite of Bengal's financial stringency Rs. 2,20,70,000 has been provided in the 1932-33 budget for the Police. This is the highest allotment, that for General Administration, Rs. 1,18,79,000, coming next. If any one complains of the hugeness of the Police grant, one is met with the reply that crime, particularly political crime, has been increasing in Bengal (perhaps because the Bengalis are a "non-martial" and timid people). So, there is only Rs. 1,17,42,000 allotted for Education, Rs. 11,38,000 for the Industries Department, and Rs. 51,88,000 for the Medical Department. But is there not just a possibility of the existence of a vicious circle here ? Is it utterly impossible that the largest sum has to be spent for the police because so little is spent for education and the development of Industries.

Bengal is a particularly unhealthy province and so there is only fifty lakhs provided for the medical needs of fifty millions of people, or the splendid figure of one anna and 7.2 pies per head *per annum*.

## *Septuagenaty of Sir P. C. Ray*

It has been suggested that the occasion of the completion of the seventieth year of Sir P. C. Ray's life should be fittingly celebrated. We support this suggestion. He has done great good to the country as a scientific worker, as a trainer and inspirer of others in scientific research, as an inaugurator of industries, as a philanthropist, as a journalist, and as one who is known for his simple life and high thoughts, ideals and endeavours.

## *Jail Dress*

The division of prisoners into three classes has placed in the hands of some magistrates an instrument which adds to the miseries of prisoners—particularly of *satyagrahi* prisoners. The humiliation of women prisoners sent to jail for civil disobedience is particularly resented. Speaking generally, all such prisoners belong to genteel society. However poor, they wear the *sari*, which is decent. They are never used to the kind of costume given to C class female prisoners in jail, which in the opinion of Bengali women is immodest. We have read in the *Sanjivani* of the 25th February last that in reply to a question in council Sir B. B. Ghose has said that Miss Kalyani Das, B. A. and Miss Amita Dutt, B. A., being second class prisoners, must wear jail dress. We do not know whether this is correct. We personally know that in his private life Sir Bipin Bihari is a sincere stickler for decency and modesty in women, and we were, therefore, inclined to be incredulous.

## *Mosquito Nets for Prisoners*

In our boyhood we read the story in a book of history that an old woman told Mahmud of Ghazni to keep no more territory than he could govern well. That old story came to our mind when we read in the papers that four civil disobedience prisoners had died of malarious fever or complications due to malarious fever, and that for weeks, if not months, most of the prisoners in Dum Dum jail, infested with mosquitoes, had been kept without mosquito nets. We thought no doubt that, as we were not living under the personal rule of a despot like Mahmud of Ghazni but under an impersonal administrative machine, whom are we to exhort to keep no more jails and prisoners than can be kept in healthy conditions ?

Mosquito bites at night are an unintended extra torture not prescribed either in the penal code, or in the ordinances, or in the jail code. A mosquito net for one person or two costs Re. 1-12. Could not Government spare this amount ? It pays to be humane.

The order that friends and relations of prisoners would be allowed to send them mosquito nets is some relief.

## *Hindu Mahasabha Resolutions re Kashmir*

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha passed the following resolution about Kashmir affairs at its meeting of the 23rd February last :

> The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu-Mahasabha approves of the conduct of the Hindus of Kashmir in boycotting the Glancy Commission in so far as the boycott is due to the agreement in the terms of reference of the Committee to consider the Moslem demand for amendment of the Hindu Law of inheritance in case of apostacy and right of cow-killing by the Muslims and warns His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir that the question of inheritance of apostates from Hindu religion and of cow-killing is an all-India question of Hindu Dharma Shastra of entire Hindu community of India which will not tolerate any interference or encroachment in the matter. And further, in view of the most unsettled conditions prevailing in the state generally and of the perturbed state of mind of the Hindus especially which forms a small minority, this Committee is strongly of opinion that the Constitutional Conference be postponed for the time and be not convened until law and order are fully restored and confidence of safety and security is regenerated in the Hindus.
>
> This Committee requests His Highness that provision be made immediately for effective security of life and property of the Hindus.

## *Hindu Mahasabha Resolution on Hydarabad*

The Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee's resolution on Hydarabad runs thus :

This Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has learnt with deep regret and surprise that even the fundamental rights have been scrupulously denied to the Hindus in the state of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad as is obvious from the resolutions adopted at the Nizam's State's Subjects Conference held at Akola on the 27th of August 1931 and also from the representation of the Hindus to Raja Sir Kishan Pershad Maharaja Bahadur, President of the Nizam's Government Council in February 1932, and respectfully requests His Exalted Highness to take early steps to grant those rights to the Hindus and as an earnest thereof to permit the Hindus of the State, as His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal has so kindly permitted, to hold a session of the Hindu Mahasabha in the state to ventilate their just grievances and disabilities with a view to seek redress thereof.

## *Mahasabha Resolution on Present Government Policy*

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has passed the following resolutions on the present policy of the Government:

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that the only result so far achieved by the present policy of the Government of India has been increasing bitterness and complete forfeiture of confidence in the present Government without in any way subduing the long-cherished desire of the people for full responsible government and Dominion Status.

And, therefore, this Committee strongly urges upon the Government the advisability of immediately revising its present policy by withdrawing all ordinances, declaring general amnesty to political prisoners and releasing Mahatma Gandhi, so that an era of good-will and mutual confidence may be restored and the Congress may be enabled to again offer its co-operation to lead the efforts of the Round Table Conference to a successful issue.

This Conference respectfully brings it to the notice of the Government that, in view of the following facts, namely,

*a.* that no representative of the Hindus of N.-W.F. Province and Sind, in spite of the protest from the Hindus, was appointed on the Round Table Conference, while influential representatives of the Muslims were so appointed;

*b.* that the Government of India Despatch on the Simon Commission has practically conceded all the communal demands of the Muslims, and therefore, forms the only real obstacle in the way of settlement by mutual agreement;

*c.* that the decision for the separation of Sind was taken *ex-parte* in the absence of such Sind Hindu representatives;

*d.* that on the Central Franchise Committee, no representatives of the Hindus of the Panjab and Bengal are appointed, while Muslim representatives from those provinces have been nominated, although these are the two provinces which form the bone of contention in the settlement of communal relations between the Hindus and the Mahomedans;

a feeling is spreading amongst the Hindus that the Government is becoming openly pro-Muslim and warns the Government that no settlement of the communal problem will be acceptable to the Hindus which is not based on the following points, as contributive to the growth of Indian Nationalism:

*a.* General principle of Joint Electorates with reservation of seats for the minorities on population basis with power to contest additional seats;

*b.* No reservation of seats for majority community in any province with the object and result of guaranteeing a majority to that majority community in the province.

*c.* That under any circumstance representation of minority communities in any province should not be below its population strength.

*d.* That recruitment to Public Services should be based upon merit and competency ascertained through open competitive tests.

## *Improved Situation and Fresh Powers of Repression*

If, as has been repeatedly stated in official surveys of the political situation, there is progressive improvement, there should be less rigorous repression—in any case there should not be any additions to the repressive powers of the Executive. But there have been such additions. Moreover, the Bengal Ordinance has been made permanent by its provisions being embodied in the new Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. And the authorities at the Centre have been deliberating as to whether in the near future they would promulgate the ordinances afresh or pass laws embodying their provisions. For these reasons, the opinions as to improved political situation expressed in the official surveys appear like the shouting of people afraid of ghosts in the dark in order to encourage themselves, or like propaganda meant to influence and reduce the morale of those engaged in civil disobedience and of their sympathizers.

## *Co-operation not to be Reciprocal*

In a previous note we have said that Government want the public to co-operate with them but would not themselves co-operate with the public. In other words, Government would not do that which is necessary to obtain the wholehearted co-operation of the public. For securing such co-operation the policy of the Government should be such as would inspire public confidence and obtain public support.

Government have an uneasy feeling in the matter. Yet they will not change their policy.

In Bengal during the debate on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill of 1932 the Home Member observed that "The Government realized that they had not succeeded in preventing the recurrence of these [terrorist] outrages, as public opinion had not asserted itself against them." He repeated this opinion in different language when he said: "If public opinion in the province co-operated with the Government in this matter, there would be no need for legislation of this nature." In the course of his speech at the last St. Andrews' Day Dinner His Excellency the Governor of Bengal said: "As far as terrorism is concerned, I know that the vast bulk of the people of this province disapprove of and detest it." So even according to the official view there is no sympathy on the part of the public with terrorism. Why do the people then not co-operate with the Government, as the latter complain? What *The Tribune* of Lahore says in this connection is quite true:

> The lack of popular co-operation is due solely to the fact that the Government has, in dealing with the terrorists, adopted measures which, in the very nature of things, are calculated to confound the innocent with the guilty, and has paid no heed to the sovereign dictum of Bacon, that the best way of dealing with sedition is to take away the matter of it. If the Government goes the right way to work even now, it will find the whole country at its back. As it is, while it is undoubtedly the duty of the public, in its own interest, to do everything in its power to exorcise the demon of terrorism, co-operation between it and the Gevernment for this purpose is rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the Government's own short-sighted and blundering policy.

## *Decrease in Postal Income*

There was considerable decrease in the income of the postal department during the last financial year. That the decrease has continued this year appears from the reduction in the number of deliveries from the Calcutta post offices and in the discharge of a good many postmen and clerks.

One cause of the decreased income is no doubt the general economic depression. But there are other causes. During the last few years there have been continuous enhancements of postal rates in order to increase the income. It should not have been expected that people would continue to write as many post cards and letters by pa increased postage as they did when pos was lower, nor that they would send many money orders, V. P. packets, regist letters, etc., in spite of increased rates they did before.

Tampering with letters and post cards transit by postal and police officials is anoth reason why people write fewer letters th before. If even the most innocent priv correspondence be likely to fall under prof mocking eyes, why write letters at al Letters written by husbands to wives a *vice versa*, for instance, are not meant be read by C. I. D. men. But it is from mere sentimental considerations t people may write fewer letters now th before. If anybody is arrested for any offe or no offence and if even a mere busi letter of his is found with anybody else or his name occurs in anybody's correspond or diary or note or memorandum book, t latter's house may be searched, he may arrested and harassed and afterwards eit discharged or connected with some con piracy case or the like. That such thing happen is borne out by the number house-searches which lead to nothing a the number of arrested persons subseque discharged. An appreciable portion of t correspondence which formerly passed thro the post office was a sort of cheap lux in which people indulged themselves. But is now natural for them to avoid a ri luxury. It is probable also that many pers have curtailed their postal expendi in obedience to what the Congress Work Committee suggested before it was decl unlawful. As newspapers have been m less attractive and interesting by restricti on the publication of pictures and by censoring of news, head-lines and legi ture proceedings, their circulation has b affected. So the post office now carries newspapers and earns less postage.

## *Freedom of Speech in Council Chamb*

The question has been raised a whether the speeches delivered by M. L. and M. L. C.'s, the questions put and ans received by them, and their ejaculations interruptions can be reported in newsp without any legal risk. The Law Member has given it as his opinion—and that is also, according to the President of the Assembly, the opinion of the Government of India—that the ordinances have not in any way affected the right of the Press to report the proceedings of legislative bodies. But the question is, what is the right of the Indian Press according to the ordinary law of the land? Is it the same as the right of the British Press as regards reporting speeches, etc. in Parliament? That members of our legislative bodies are free to say in the council chamber what they want to, subject to the rules of the legislative bodies and the ruling of the president, is well known. The question is, whether newspapers can report all these things without any legal risk. If they cannot, the value of the members' freedom of speech is not much so far as the public is concerned. Curtain lectures are an extreme form of freedom of speech. But they do not benefit the public. If M. L. A.'s and M. L. C.'s indulge in heroics behind closed doors and their voices are, figuratively, not heard outside the council chambers, how are their electors and the general public to know whether they are doing their duties and whether the legislatures are useful bodies or mere farcical luxuries?

Whatever the rights of the Press may be theoretically in this matter, in Bengal at least the Executive Committee of the Indian Journalists' Association have told the public by one of its resolutions that Indian-owned and Indian-edited dailies here have to publish the proceedings of legislatures after they have been subjected to censoring. It is not, therefore, possible for newspaper readers to know exactly what goes on in the council chambers. Editors of monthlies like ourselves used formerly to get free copies of the official reports of Legislative Assembly and Council of State Debates. We do not get them now. If we want to purchase them in Calcutta, we get them after much delay, when they have almost lost their news value.

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* comments thus on the fact that the Telegraph Clerk is the master of the situation :

> "Bahoba" to Sir James Crerar! The snub he got from the Law Member the other day has not diminished his ardour to bring the proceedings of the Assembly under the Damocle's sword of censorship which is hanging over the Press. The Ordinances did not help him. The Press Act does not help him. He has discovered that the Indian Telegraph Act serves his purpose! He declared at the Assembly in answer to certain questions by Sardar Harbans Singh that the Government of India will revise the judgment of the telegraph clerk if the latter considers that any telegram purporting to be a report of the proceedings of the Assembly is objectionable. Surely this sheds lustre on the dignity of all concerned! The Assembly comes under the censorship of a telegraph clerk. That adds to the dignity of India's "Parliament." The Home Member for the Government sits as an appelate court to the Telegraph clerk. That makes the Home Member several inches higher than he is! The poor Press, the undermost dog, remains where it is.

### *Kashmir Atrocities*

Mr. Middleton, I. C. S., who conducted the inquiry into last year's disturbances in Srinagar, Anantnag, Shopian, etc., has submitted his report. The following sentence in his report relates to the incidents in Srinagar:

> The agitation was directed against the State authorities, and although it was entirely Mohamedan, it was not communal in the sense of being directed against any other community.

Taking Mr. Middleton's finding to be correct so far as Srinagar is concerned, the Kashmir Muslims' grievances, real or imaginary, against that State do not explain or justify the atrocities committed by them against their Hindu fellow-subjects. The Hindu Mahasabha's precise information relating to a part of these diabolical barbarities has remained unchallenged and uncontradicted. The Mahasabha's statement gives details of twenty-eight Hindu villages burnt in Kotal Tahsil; mentions that 2000 Hindu refugees reached Rajori on February 1, 1200 refugees have taken shelter in Mirpur town and 150 families have reached Baran in Rawalpindi district; gives the names of sixteen persons including women burnt alive in Sukhchenpur; gives a list of seven institutions burnt and destroyed; and mentions that nine persons have been forcibly converted to Muhammadanism at Sukhchenpur and eighteen families in Rajori Tahsil.

### *Mr. Middleton's Conclusions*

It is not possible to give the reader a correct idea of Mr. Middleton's findings without printing his whole report, which we have not got, or his summary of it, if he has made any, which also is not available. But we give below a few extracts from the report as published in part in *The Tribune*. Not being in possession of the evidence on which his report is based, we can say nothing for or against his conclusions.

> Outside sympathizers added to the agitation in Kashmir by organizing celebrations known as "Kashmir Day," which took place on August 14th and were followed by the appointment of committees of Muslims throughout Kashmir to act under the Srinagar leaders.

If the British authorities outside Kashmir had set in motion the Princes' Protection Act, as they ought undoubtedly to have done, the mischievous activities of British Indian Muslims could have been nipped in the bud.

Mr. Middleton's "final comments on the various occasions on which resort was made to firing by State police or military forces in Kashmir during September" 1931 are :

> (1) That at the Jama Masjid in Srinagar was precipitated by mismanagement on the part of those in control of the situation, though the circumstances were such that it is probable that resort to force would have become necessary in any case.
>
> (2) That in Maisuma bazar was necessary and completely justified, though possibly a few shots were fired indiscriminately after the immediate necessity was over.
>
> (3) That in Anantnag was rendered necessary by the position which arose from gross mis-handling of the situation and it appears to have been continued after the necessity had ceased and to have been excessive.
>
> (4) That in Shopian was necessary and completely jnstified and was restricted to the minimum necessary.

The 'mismanagement,' 'mishandling of the situation,' 'indiscriminate firing,' etc., are certainly to be condemned. Such things are not generally either given publicity to or condemned by British investigating officers when they occur, as they sometimes do, in British India.

Mr. Middleton adds :

> The periods of military control both in Srinagar and Shopian have been represented as periods of vindictive oppression and brutal retaliation against Muslims. In Srinagar the police and military made a practice of forcing people to shout "Maharaja ki Jai," whenever they passed through the streets ; and there is no doubt that refusal to participate led to beatings many of which were not of a trivial nature. On the matter being brought to the notice of Brigadier Sutherland, who was in charge of the city, he took steps to stop the practice, but those steps do not appear to have been completely successful. Many allegations are made that other slogans insulting to Islam were enforced. I do not believe that this was so.
>
> I have nothing but condemnation to record regarding the facts that people were forced to stand up and shout on occasions when the police and troops passed by and that in many cases they were beaten if they delayed in doing so. Of the truth of other allegations of severity and ill-treatment I am not satisfied.
>
> The allegations of similar nature made in Shopian were far worse, but were so false and exaggerated as effectually to prevent the truth coming to light ; but it is clear that the police in investigating the riot collected villagers from the country-side in unnecessary numbers and harassed them in attempts to obtain information as to those implicated. The most serious comments that I have had to make in connection with the conduct of affairs in Shopian after the riot are in connection with the inefficiency of the medical treatment given to wounded at the local dispensary.
>
> In Anantnag there was no military occupation after the disturbance. Mohammedans were ordered to open their shops and they have alleged that they were made to utter slogans directed against their religion. I do not believe this allegation, and it does not appear that officials in Anantnag had resort to any oppressive action after the most unfortunate clash on the 23rd September.

Mr. Middleton has commented most seriously, and quite rightly too, on "the inefficiency of the medical treatment given to wounded at the local dispensary" at Shopian. One could wish he had been the officer, with his love of truth-telling unimpaired, entrusted with ascertaining what was done for the wounded at Jalianwala Bagh and many another place.

## *Hindus in Bhopal*

We have seen the report of the committee appointed by the Hindu Mahasabha to enquire into the condition of the Hindu subjects of Bhopal. It makes shocking reading. But we refrain from discussing it, as His Highness the Nawab of Bhopol has in a statesmanlike manner allowed his Hindu subjects to hold a conference in his state to ventilate their grievances. We shall wait for the report of the conference.

## *Hindus in Hydarabad*

The members of the standing committee elected by the Hindu subjects of the Hydarabad State have submitted a memorial to Raja Sir Kishan Pershad, President of the Executive Council of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. In spite of its not being verbose, it is a long document. Though more than 85 per cent of the population of the state are Hindus, they have extremely little share in its administration and public services. Their second grievance is that, in spite of the Nizam's *firmans* to the contrary, the followers of all the religions in the state are not in effect treated equally, the Mahomedans being the most favoured, though they are only 9 per cent of the population. The following extracts from the memorial indicate how the revenues of the state are spent :

> Looking to the Budget Note for the year 1341 Fasli, it will be obvious that Rs. 50,000 have been specially reserved for the Islamic Societies and Rs. 17,500 for Muslim Literature. Large amounts are spent every year on Islamic institutions. Out of the religious grants allotted each year more than 95 per cent are given to Mahomedans. Similarly, under the head of Special and Riyayati allowances, a sum of Rs. 2,62,830 is given to Mahomedans, whereas barely Rs. 13,884 are given to Hindus. In the same manner, under the head of Special Religious Allowances, as many as Rs. 2,00,642 are given to Muslims, whereas a sum of Rs. 1,341 only is allotted to the Hindus.
>
> We also beg to point out most respectfully that during the last 5 years very large donations have been given to Mahomedan institutions outside the State, such as Rs. 9,00,000 to the Nejd Relief, Rs. 5,00,000 to the London Mosque, Rs. 10,00,000 to the Muslim University at Aligarh, and Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 20,000 to the Jami-i-Millia at Delhi and the Panipat Muslim School respectively; and that these donations are in addition to the donation of about Rs. 2,00,000 given to Islamic institutions each year. We also beg leave to point out that large amounts are spent each year on building mosques, giving scholarships to the sons of Qazis and for preparing Hafizes. Special missionaries are employed at the cost of the Government for the purpose of giving religious education to the Mahomedan subjects. We do not grudge the expenditure incurred on these heads, because we believe that the progress made by one section of the populace is a gain to that extent to the State, but what we beg to submit is that like facilities should be given to the other communities also in this State. In this connection, we beg to point out that the Hindus find it extremely difficult to get permission to build or repair their temples even at their own cost; and this contrast appears most glaring when we find that everywhere the Government is helping the building of mosques.

The Hindus also complain that they do not enjoy religious liberty, and that primary and secondary education being given through Urdu, which is the mother-tongue of a very small minority of the population, the education of the Hindus suffers greatly. And so they desire that

> instruction in Secondary schools also should be given in the vernaculars, *viz.*, Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese, each of which is the mother-tongue of a far larger number of people than Urdu. We further beg to point out that the circular regarding the private schools is detrimental to the interest of the country, and on this account primary education has been denied to a very large number of students. According to the figures given in 1334-F. there were 4,053 private schools, the strength of the students being 76,654, whereas after the promulgation of the above circular the number of private schools dwindled to 1,305 with the strength at 31,740 students, which means that 44,914 students were deprived of their education.

### *Huge Deficit in Railway Budget*

The Railway Budget shows a huge deficit. The final result of 1931-32 is expected to show a total loss of nine crores and 47 lakhs, and the final result of 1932-33 is estimated to show a total deficit of seven crores and 59 lakhs. And all this in spite of (or partly because of ? ) enhancements in rates and fares during the current financial year. These losses are partly due to world depression and partly to the disturbed state of the country, for which futile efforts are being made to hold Mr. Gandhi and his followers alone responsible.

### *Britain's Loss of Market and Japan's Gain*

*The Indian Daily Mail* has published the following table showing the imports of various kinds of cloth into India during the nine months, April to December, 1929, 1930, and 1931

| | In million yards about | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 |
| Bleached goods | 336 | 213 | 203 |
| Grey goods | 663 | 318 | 182 |
| Coloured woven and Dyed goods | 352 | 200 | 160 |
| Artificial silk | 35 | 33 | 64 |
| Woolens | 11.5 | 7 | 4.7 |
| Total | 1397 | 771 | 614 |

The same daily gives the following table showing which country has lost its trade in piece-goods in India and which has gained. The figures relate to nine months, April to December, in millions of yards.

| United Kingdom— | 1929 | 1931. |
|---|---|---|
| Bleached | 313 | 150 |
| Greys | 362 | 45 |
| Coloured and Wovens | 208 | 76 |
| Artificial silk | 5.5 | 1.3 |
| Total | 888 | 272 |

| | 1929 | 1931 |
|---|---|---|
| Japan— | | |
| Bleached | 7 | 44 |
| Greys | 291 | 136 |
| Coloured and Woven | 107 | 68 |
| Artificial Silk | 14 | 56 |
| Total | 419 | 304 |

It is very much to be regretted that people in India are using more Japanese bleached and artificial silk goods and Indian traders are importing them more than before. Japanese goods are *not* swadeshi goods. Moreover, Japan cannot be looked upon as a friend of India. Enemies of freedom can never be friends of India.

### *Number of Convictions in 1930-31*

In the Council of State on February 25, 1932,

> Mr. Emerson informed Mr. Mushin Hussain Kidwai that there was no classification of prisoners as political offenders and therefore he could not say how many such offenders had gone to jail in each province during the last three years. But he placed figures of convictions during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-91 up to 29th March 1931. These were :
>
> Madras 4344
> Bombay 11222
> Bengal 12285
> United Provinces 9378
> Panjab 3777
> Burma nil.
> Bihar and Orissa 12162
> Central Provinces 4093
> Assam 1158
> N.-W. F. 927
> Coorg 9, and
> Delhi 1173.

### *Papei Protection Act*

The Paper Protection Bill has now become an Act, without a division and without a single dissentient voice ! Most of the paper made in India is manufactured by European-managed mills, and Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member, has enunciated the Government policy that these existing mills cannot be compelled to take in Indian apprentices to learn the processes of manufacture nor to observe the other conditions on which the grant of protection against imported paper is given. This is a curious policy. Protection is given *in India* in order that *Indians* may be benefited by learning how to manufacture paper themselves and how to finance and otherwise manage the business side of paper mills ; it is not given to enable foreigners to make money. But the former object is not to be gained, the latter is to be.

### *Various Comments from Japan*

We say "from Japan," because the comments we are going to reproduce are from *The Japan Chronicle*, edited and managed, not by Japanese, but by Mr. A. M. Young and Mr. D. G. Young. But they are none the less interesting for that reason.

In India censoring differs from province to province and the press officer is vested with undefined powers. Such seems to be the case in Japan also, only with this difference that in Japan probably the natives may sometimes enjoy an advantage which Westerners are not allowed, as the following excerpt would show :

> The Japanese newspapers are full of news which we have been expressly forbidden to publish. Apparently they are defying the law, and it must be confessed that there was something in Mr. Bumble's opinion of the law. At the same time possible penalties are severe, and what is done in one prefecture is no index of what will be done in another.

In the following extract the reader may find a fresh illustration of the gander and the goose proverb :

> Japanese newspapers face British tribulations in India with great fortitude, and report with evident satisfaction that the Government is quite unable to check the boycott, which gives Japanese goods a chance of doing good business. But if an organization so powerful as the Government of India which is able to act with a unanimity and force hardly excelled anywhere, cannot check a boycott of British goods, it seems a little unreasonable for the Japanese, who are always speaking contemptuously of the weakness of the Chinese Government whose orders nobody carries out, should insist so strongly that it is behind the boycott in China and could stop it if only it had a will to do so. Our views of things differ according to the interest we have in them.

We have heard *ad nauseam* from British propagandists that there is no such country as India, and that India is a mere geographical name. And yet the world thinks that India has exerted great influence on the culture and civilization of mankind. Similar appears to have been the fate of China. *The Japan Chronicle* writes :

> Some of the apologists for agression nowadays declare that there is no such country as China, b simply a chaos with a common geographical na They even deny large sections the geographi name. But China has passed through tribulati

before, has been conquered and has absorbed her conquerors. It was a civilized country when the British Isles and Japan alike were in a very primitive stage of culture, and there are many who believe that it will survive its present troubles and be great again while the rest of mankind has as many shifts as the kaleidoscope. Of late years much interest has been shown in the historical connections between China and Europe. These have been so slight that the two civilizations stood entirely apart. They might almost be supposed to have originated on different planets. Yet slight as they were, they have a record stretching back many centuries. In comparison the contacts between Japan and Europe are a thing of yesterday, though they have been very momentous. Mr. G. F. Hudson, writing on Sino-European contacts,* says that "although Japan is part of China in the wider sense," he excludes it from the study which he presents to his readers. This is a reminder that in the wider sense China was not a country in the sense of its being one of those explosive units like most of the European countries and Japan. It was a civilization which overcame its neighbours by its superiority. The modern State is by no means the last word in constructive human wisdom: rather is it the outcome of war, serviceable for protecting its subjects from equally bellicose neighbours, but predatory and uncomfortable to live with—held together mainly by the cultivation of national prejudices. The Roman Empire at its best was far superior, but was never free from the military burden. In India there was a growth somewhat similar to that of China, through culture rather than by force of arms.

### *"Cause of Political Terrorism in India"*

As Bengal's mentality is suspect, it may be instructive to know what others say about the cause of political terrorism in India. In a note with the above heading, *New India* says, "*The Manchester Guardian* makes the following extremely apposite comments on the recent outrages in Bengal":

> Morbid hysterical youths inflamed by an extreme sense of injustice get into the dangerous condition of being indifferent whether they live or die so long as they make one dramatic gesture against the system they hate. The wrong that creates this disastrous attitude of mind is a reality, and is made more obvious when, as now, the Government is armed with and makes use of arbitrary powers. At the same time terrorist activity is the most effective way of perpetuating the wrong, and frustrating sincere efforts of those, both here and in India, who would right it speedily.

*New India's* own comments are:

> As the Home Member of the Bengal Government has remarked, there are outrages by terrorists, but also outrages by individuals who are not actually terrorists. The outstanding instance of these latter is the attempt on the life of the Governor of Bengal by the lady graduate who has just been sentenced to nine years' rigorous imprisonment for the offence. When a desire to make such a gesture—she has stated that she had no intention to kill him—overpowers even women who are normally gentle, courteous and well-behaved, and who have nothing to do with active politics, there must be something very wrong with either the system or the measures of Government, which provoke them to such action. The most effective way of dealing with this situation is to take every step possible to convince the people of India that Britain means to confer Dominion Status on them, with transitory and minimum "safe-guards," at the earliest possible moment.

Incidentally, it is to be noted that in Madras it is known what Miss Bina Das said in her confession, though it is taboo in Bengal.

### *Malaviya Septuagenary*

Last year in Calcutta the septuagenary of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was celebrated on the due date during the last week of December. On his return from England, it was celebrated with fitting ceremony on the 11th February in the Benares Hindu University, and in a number of other places. We join with all others in wishing him decades more of beneficial activity. He has always looked younger than he is; and even now he does not look like seventy, but walks erect with firm steps and works hard. That makes us anticipate that he will live long enough to lighten the purses of many a wealthy man by lakhs in order that his ideal of the Hindu University may fully materialize.

### *Irwinism and Canningism*

*The People* of Lahore quotes the following passage from the *Saturday Review* of England to explain the difference between Irwinism and Canningism, to the latter of which classes the British paper recommends a going-back in its article on "End of Irwinism."

> Irwinism may be defined as the punishment of the rebel rank-and-file while the leaders are allowed to go scotfree. Earl Canning, to whom fell the task of pacifying India after the Mutiny, pursued precisely the opposite course, and with the most satisfactory results. Lord Willingdon appears to have decided to follow the precedent set by that greatest of Viceroys, rather than the lamentable example of his immediate predecessor.

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* *Europe and China: A Survey of their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800*. By G. F. Hudson, M.A. London: Edward Arnold & Co. 15s.

On this the Lahore paper observes with grim sarcasm :

> We should be glad if what Mr. H. P. Dastur, Chief Presidency Magistrate in Bombay, has done is dismissed as "Irwinism." That gentleman ordered the 14-year-old Chandrakant N. Joshi to receive 12 cuts on bare buttocks in Mr. Dastur's court-room, for having picketed the rear-gate of the P. and O. Banking Corporation. We do not know whether Canningism would mean more cuts to be delivered on leaders' buttocks, and whether what Mr. Dastur did was Irwinism.

## *Non-publication of Chittagong Report*

The Bengal Government appointed an official committee of two British officers of high standing to inquire into the looting of and outrages on Hindus in Chittagong last year. These two officers have submitted their report, but the Bengal Government will not publish it, though at the time when they were appointed it was not declared that the inquiry and report would be confidential. Mr. N. K. Basu moved an adjournment motion in the Bengal Council in connection with the non-publication of the report, but it was rejected. It cannot be said that the public are in possession of what the Home Member exactly said. But what little of his speech has appeared gives the impression that the report is not so worded as to be fit for publication. He undertook to state the Government conclusion to the Council at a later date. In the meantime people are left to draw whatever conclusion they can.

## *Murderers of Bholanath Sen*

It may be remembered that last year the Panjabi Musalman young men who murdered Mr. Bholanath Sen, a bookseller of Calcutta, and his assistants in broad daylight at College Square, were sentenced to death by the Calcutta High Court. They appealed to the Privy Council against this sentence. The appeal was dismissed. *The Ananda Bazar Patrika*, a vernacular daily of Calcutta, writes that the prisoners were to have been executed on the 15th February last, but that their execution was stopped by official order. One would like to know if this is true, and, if true, what is the explanation.

## *Mr. Neogy's Inconvenient Question*

On the 2nd February last when the Legislative Assembly was considering Sir Hari Singh Gour's resolution relating to the Ordinances, Mrs. K. C. Neogy referred to an inconvenient question which many Congressmen had asked him.

> He quoted from Mr. Churchill's speech of the 3rd December in the Commons wherein Mr. Churchill had asked as to how the proposed R. T. C. Committees would work in the various provinces which would be under a law amounting to martial law and that the repressive measures to be introduced were a result of the past foolish policy. Mr. Negoy asked: "How is it that Mr. Churchill knew that this regime was coming a month before Mahatma Gandhi's arrival and the promulgation of Ordinances? Many Congressmen asked me for an answer. I would ask the Government to enlighten them."

*The World Tomorrow* of America, just to hand, writes that "one suspects the whole campaign [against the Indian National Congress] to have been planned before Gandhi left England. This conclusion is, in fact, more than a suspicion because there is evidence that the India Office practically told Mr. Gandhi what to expect if the civil disobedience campaign were renewed."

## *Mrs. Cousins Defends Her Indian Sisters*

In the issue of 31st January, 1932, of the *New York Times* Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins wrote the following letter to enlighten the American public :

> It is not fair to India to let go unchallenged the statement which appeared in a press dispatch that India "is a country where women occupy a position inferior to men."
>
> Let facts speak for themselves: Between 192 and 1926 the major Indian States and all the provinces of India consecutively voted that suffrage should be granted to women of India along with the right of election to the central legislatures and provincial legislative councils, and all municipal and local government bodies, on exactly the same terms as men. This equality of status was extended while British women were still under the discrimination of being allowed to vote only when they were over 30 years of age.
>
> Since then Indian women have been members of Legislatures, have been elected town councilors, have been appointed honorary magistrates, university senators, barristers and lawyers, while the highest honour in the gift of the Indian people, that of election as President of the Indian National Congress, was twice conferred on women. One woman was elected unanimously by her fellow members, all men, to be Deputy President of the Legislative Council of Madras Presidency, an o

equal to that of Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, and in the Indian State of Travancore an Indian woman was Minister of Health for three years. Sex discrimination has not existed in the Gandhi movement. Women have taken their place as dictators, organizers, pickets, prisoners on conditions of exact equality with men.

This equality of treatment is as old as India. Women saints have been honoured and followed all down the ages. Some of the Vedic hymns were written by women; sculptured figures of great antiquity in all parts of India portray the first manifestation of the Formless Cause of All as Ardhanarishwara—meaning half-lord, half-lady—and the figure is given the signs and drapery of the masculine on the right side of the body and the feminine on the left. A Brahmin may not fulfil priestly functions if his wife is not alive, so much does the Hindu religion consider that the highest human is compounded of the partnership of man and woman functioning as equal partners.

In no country in the world is motherhood so honoured as in India. In their homes the mothers have had remarkable power and experience and that was the background which trained them to such abilities, courage and sacrifice as have astonished the world during the civil disobedience campaign, when thousands of women went to prison for Indian freedom and needed no money bribe to bring them out from purdah.

## *"The New Policy in India"*

Under the above caption the *New York Evening Post* of January 28 last editorially published the following paragraphs on British policy in India :

> Lord Willingdon, thə Viceroy of India, has proclaimed in no uncertain terms in his address before the Indian legislative assembly that the British Government is determined to use its full powers in suppressing the All-India National Congress movement. It will no longer countenance its passive disobedience, its radical agitation or its interference with the orderly development of Indian autonomy. It is a war to the finish between this outlawed party and the British authorities.
>
> At the same time Lord Willingdon stressed the progress which is being made toward meeting Indian aspirations for self-government, pledged the further co-operation of the British Government with the Indian moderates and expressed his pride that, at the end of his public life, he was "leading India to her promised position as an absolutely equal partner with the other Dominions under the crown.
>
> Here are the two sides of England's new policy in India—forcible suppression of the National Congress Party and wholehearted co-operation with every other faction. Britain's clear-cut aim is to drive a wedge between the Nationalists and the moderates, to endeavour by coercion on the one hand and conciliation on the other to convince Indian public opinion that the road to dominion status and complete self-government lies in the direction pointed by the recent round table conference. The test of this policy is to be found in whether the Nationalists or the moderates represent the Indian majority. The British Government in India appears to be convinced that it is the latter.

Indians may want to be convinced whether England's new policy in India is "wholehearted co-operation with every other faction" than the National Congress party. Some of the facts relevant to this question are stated below in the next two Notes.

## *Government's Call for Co-operation*

The Government of India's *apologia,* issued from New Delhi on the 4th January last over the signature of Mr. Secretary Emerson, concludes with the following appeal :

> In this task they (the Government of India) appeal for the co-operation of all who have at heart the peace and happiness of the people of India and who, rejecting the methods of revolution, desire to follow to its certain goal the path of constitutional advance.

It is assumed here that Congressmen do not want the peace and happiness of the people of India. Proceeding upon that assumption, let us see whether Government have tried to secure the co-operation of others.

Four committees have been appointed to continue the work of the Round Table Conference in India. Among the Indian members of these committees there are very obscure men. But many of the most distinguished Moderates—some of whom are members of the R. T. C.—and who have not been sent to jail as revolutionaries, are not in these committees. For example, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Manu Subedar, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Sir Jahangir Coyajee, Mr. J. N. Basu, Mr. Surendranath Mallik, etc. Originally Mr. C. Y. Chintamani was not in any of the committees. He was appointed to one of them after he had strongly criticized their personnel in his paper, *The Leader*. His selection may or may not be due to this criticism, but the fact may be noted.

Government have not sought the cooperation of not only many of the most distinguished Moderates or Liberals, they have not sought the co-operation of millions of non-revolutionary people in different provinces. Sikhs number 30,34,000 in the Panjab, Hindus 63,29,000. Two Sikhs are in two committees, but no Panjab

Hindu anywhere. Several Musalmans have been taken from the 1,33,32,460 Moslems in the Panjab, but not a single Hindu from the 2,15,38,000 Hindus of Bengal. Moslems number 71,82,000 in the U. P. They are represented in the Committees, but not the 2,15,38,000 Hindus of Bengal. Government express great solicitude for the "Depressed Classes." But the millions of the "depressed" castes in Bengal, who have not taken to "the methods of revolution," are entirely unrepresented in the Committees.

### *Legislative Assembly as Witness*

In his inaugural address to the Legislative Assembly on the 25th December 1931 His Excellency Lord Willingdon said :

> 'I look with confidence to you gentlemen sitting in this Assembly which is a witness in itself of what has already been done and a promise of what may yet be achieved by the constitutional method, to support me and my Government," etc.

As to the achievement of non-Congressmen through the legislative bodies, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani told the following to a representative of *The Pioneer* :

> "What is it that we non-Congressmen can place before the public as our substantial achievement in recent years ?" declared Mr. Chintamani. "We can only point to the intolerable load of new taxation, which has been imposed on the country in spite of us. We shall have to admit that our efforts to reduce that load have failed, that the law confers on the Executive Government the power of acting without support of the legislature. Then there are Ordinances, the sum total of which in plain language is Martial Law minus its name.

But this may be dismissed as referring merely to past history. So let us take an event of contemporary history, which happened only last month. Sir Hari Singh Gour moved the following in the Legislative Assembly last month :

> Whereas this Assembly has reason to protest against the manner in which the Ordinances promulgated by the Government of India have been worked in various parts of the country by agents of the Government, and, in particular, considers that the action taken against Mr. Gandhi, without affording him the opportunity he sought for an interview with His Excellency the Viceroy, was unjustified, that the deportation of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the arrest of Mr. Sen Gupta before he even landed on Indian soil were against all canons of justice and fairplay, and ignored all elementary humane ideas, and that the punishment meted out to ladies, including their classification as prisoners, is to the last degree exasperating to public opinion.
>
> And whereas this Assembly disapproves of th fact that various Ordinances have been is immediately after the conclusion of the last si of the Assembly.
>
> And whereas this Assembly condemns the of terrorism, violence, and disapproves of t policy of the no-rent campaign and simil activities, and is convinced that it is the earn duty of all patriotic citizens to join in t constructive task of expediting the inaugurat of a new constitution ensuring lasting peace i the country.
>
> This Assembly recommends to the Govern General-in-Council (1) That he should place bef the Assembly for its consideration such Emerge Bills in substitution of Ordinances as he m consider reasonable and necessary in order enable this House to function effectively as inten by the Government of India Act. (2) That in vi of grave happenings in the N.-W. F. Province committee elected by Non-official Members of t Assembly be forthwith appointed to inquire in the same, including the reported atrocities c mitted therein, and (3) That he should secure t co-operation of Congress and Muslim and Hin organizations, including the Depressed Classes the inauguration of the new constitution for Ind

This was thrown out by the combin votes of the official members, the non-offici European members, the nominated member and a small minority of spineless electe members.

As the Legislative Assembly exists mainl for making laws, nothing could be more reasonable than recommendation (1) in th above motion. But Government wer opposed even to that. Government are n satisfied with not placing before the Assembl Emergency Bills in substitution of Ordinance the Governor-General has in addition exercis his power of promulgating Ordinances eve when the Assembly is in session.

These are not convincing proofs Government's solicitude for securing t wholehearted co-operation of non-Congres men. So the Assembly may turn host witness.

### *Mr. Gandhi Interviewed in London*

Mr. Bruce Bliven, one of the editors *The New Republic,* interviewed Mr. Gand in London and has given an account of th interview in his paper.

The first question put to Mr. Gandhi w "as to whether it would some day be desira to have India's independence guaranteed by t League of Nations or (if the League sho not survive till then) by a concert of Great Powers."

> "Mr. Gandhi promptly answered that. such a thing was wholly unnecessary. If, he said in effect, the League wants to amuse itself by 'guaranteeing' the freedom of India, we should have no objection to its doing so. But *no one can win freedom for anybody else.* The only real freedom is what you take for yourself and hold by your own strength. I certainly hope that neither Japan nor, say, the United States (with an ironic glance) would ever try to gobble up a free India. But if they were to try it, the same methods of non-co-operation which we have applied against the English would be put into effect. The invaders would very quickly find that to hold the country would cost them more than they could possibly get out of it."

When this interview took place, the powerlessness of the League of Nations to prevent Japanese agression on China had not become manifest and Japan's up-to-date object-lesson in predatory imperialism had not been given. Otherwise Mr. Bliven would not have asked the question that he did relating to the League, nor Mr. Gandhi answered it in the way he did. Neither would the Mahatma have probably expressed the hope that Japan would not try to gobble up India.

Mr. Bliven next found out that

> Mr. Gandhi recognizes that freedom from Great Britain would be far from solving all of India's problems. Among the most acute of these is, of course, the condition of the peasants, who constitute such a large part of the population; they are crushed mercilessly by grasping landlords, most of whom are themselves natives of India. Of the remainder, a large proportion are victims of industrialism, working in mills owned by native or foreign capitalists, with all the evils of unrestricted industry, long hours, small wages, child labour and absence of security. He believes, however, that the principles which are being learned in the fight with Great Britain will be successfully applied in the further fight for freedom on the part of the Indian population. He repeated what he had just said in another connection: no one can win freedom for anyone else. The yoke of the landlord, the yoke of the capitalist, will be shaken off when India is free from that of the "foreign invader."

The interviewer says that he was interested to find that Mr. Gandhi "did not agree with the statement often made by some of his followers, that the bad conditions in India are primarily the result of British rule."

> He believes that the British have taken advantage of the fight between the liberal Hindus and the orthodox, conservative element, and have stood aloof when they ought, in accordance with their own theories, to have fought on the side of the liberals. But primarily, the admittedly bad conditions in India are due to the general state of the country, and can only be eradicated in the course of years. He remarked that some of these conditions are less serious than is commonly supposed, and mentioned the small percentage of literacy as an example. In India as elsewhere, he observed, wisdom and education are not synonymous: there are educated fools, and uneducated wise men.

Mr. Bliven thinks that Mahatma Gandhi's position in regard to machinery is often misunderstood, and so he was at some pains to clarify it.

> I am not opposed to machinery, he said; and pointing to his spinning wheel, he added, You may report that you saw me using a machine, and a very good one, beautiful and simple. I do not care how big a machine may be; I only insist that man must be the master and not the slave, that it shall serve him and not the contrary. The objection to machines in India has been that the men who worked them did so in the status of virtual slaves.

Mr. Gandhi commented readily upon another aspect of freedom, the difficulties raised by the Muhammadans and the "untouchables," which, at least ostensibly, were the rock on which the Round Table Conference split, writes Mr. Bruce Bliven.

> He observed, as he has done at other times, that the Hindus intended to give complete equality and justice to everyone. The minorities ought to be willing to wait and see, and if they felt they then had grievances, seek adjustment in an orderly way. But separate electorates, the new device introduced in India only a few years ago and mistakenly, would, if continued, simply produce an impossible, unworkable situation.

At last the time came for Mr. Bilven's exit.

> After some further desultory conversation, I began to feel somewhat conscience-stricken about the length of my visit and therefore asked him, Am I staying too long? His face broke into a broad grin and he made the perfect answer to this embarrassing inquiry: Everyone, he said, always stays too long. I picked up my hat and coat and said goodbye.

### *"No Treaty with Law-breakers"*

In a recent speech of his the Governor of Bombay declared pompously that there would be no treaty with law-breakers—obviously meaning the Congress. But he evidently forgot two facts. One is that the Governor of Bombay, whoever he may be, is not the person who decides what British policy is to be, and the other that the late Governor-General of India, Lord Irwin, with the approval of the British Cabinet of the day did conclude a pact or a truce with Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the law-breakers. The Governor of Bombay may think that that is past history and the present determination to crush the Congress is final. But there is no finality in politics—particularly in matters like these.

## *Society for Improvement of Backward Classes*

It appears from the annual report of the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam that, established in 1909, it had 62 schools with 2,166 pupils in 1916, and that in 1930-31 the number of its schools stood at 439 with 17,794 pupils. Of the pupils, 13,187 are boys and 4,607 girls. They belong to all castes and creeds, none being excluded. Having been connected with the Society from its foundation, we can testify to the excellence of its work throughout the whole period of its existence. In 1930, the Registrar of the Calcutta University wrote to it in part, as follows :

> Some time ago, an anonymous donor offered Rs. 10,000 to the University, for the advancement of Primary Education amongst Bengalis in villages. A committee was appointed by the Syndicate to advise it as to the best way to utilize the money. The Committe has, since, submitted its report which has been duly confirmed by the Syndicate. The Syndicate, on the recommendation of the Committee, have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 3,000 to be paid to your Society, which conducts a large number of Primary schools in East Bengal Districts as well as in the Districts of 24 Parganas and Khulna.

The Hartog Committee's report states that in Bengal, "the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes is an example of the extent to which private effort has helped progress." It was stated in the Bengal Government's seventh Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Bengal that "Considerable progress occured in the education of the backward classes. Much of the credit of the progress is due to missionaries and to the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes." Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore have also borne testimony to the good work done by it.

The Society, which has its office at 13 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta, has to spend about Rs. 90,000 annually. Owing to the general economic depression, its receipts have fallen low. So, no doubt, have the receipts of private individuals. But philanthropic work must be enabled to go on. Hence the Society appeals to the generosity of the public.

## *Bengal Hindu Samaj Sammelan*

The fourth session of this conference was held this year in Canning Town, 24 Parganas, under the presidency of Maharaja Sasikanta Acharya Chaudhuri Bahadur of Mymensingh, and was largely attended. In his presidential address the Maharaja laid stress on Hindu unity and solidarity. He rightly held that the Hindus must show in their everyday life that "untouchability" of all kinds is against the shastras and dharma and approved custom, that all Hindus have the right to follow the highest ideals of Hinduism, and that Hindus of all classes should be educated to follow those ideals; Hindus of all castes should be given the right to enter and worship in all Hindu temples, as there is such right in all the ancient and famous places of Hindu pilgrimage. In the Maharaja's opinion the foremost object and duty of the Sammelan is the total destruction of "untouchability." He also advocated the conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism, and the making of arrangements to enable these converts to lead useful and honourable lives in peace as members of Hindu society. The next subject which received his attention was the abduction and ravishing of Hindu women by ruffians. This crying evil must be eradicated. He advocated the re-marriage of child widows. He strongly condemned the excommunication of persons having anything to do with widow marriages, intercaste marriages, interdining with so-called "untouchables," and the like. He said that the sin of "untouchability" has almost disappeared from Bengal. It must be totally wiped out wherever it exists.

## *Britain Profits by Export of Indian Gold*

The "Free Press" sent a message from London on the 5th February last that much comfort was derived in Britain from the fact that she could that week repay thirty million pounds which she owed to France and America, and that the statement of the Financial Secretary in the House of Commons that arrangements would be made to repay eighty million pounds to France and America when the amount would fall due in August next, was meant to revive optimism in regard to Britain's future finance. But how Britain was enabled to meet her obligations to France and America in the first week of February was not frankly acknowledged. But in British financial circles it was admitted that, if it were not for the huge export of gold from India, Britain would find herself in difficulty. This is confirmed by what has appeared in *The New Statesman and the Nation*, which says that the repayment of thirty millions to America and France could not have been made without the export of gold from India. Referring to the Financial Secretary's statement that paper observed: "But the return of eighty millions will cause us a good deal of trouble, unless gold continues to come from India on an increasing scale."

So it is literally true that, though the Indian dogs may bark, the British caravan has been making good progress.

## *Exhibition of Paintings of Sarada Ukil in London*

Under the auspices of the India Society and with the permission of Sir B. N. Mitra, High Commissioner for India, an exhibition of paintings by Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil was held at India House, Aldwych, London, in January last. The three brothers, Sarada Charan, Barada Charan and Ranada Charan, have all achieved distinction in painting. Ranada Charan is one of the four Indian painters whose work as mural decorators of India House has obtained high praise. Barada Charan was in charge of the exhibition of his elder brother's paintings, which have won high appreciation.

*The Leader's* London Correspondent writes:

> Mr. Barada Ukil is the well-known founder and editor of 'Roopa-Lekha.' The collection at India House includes the pictures with which Mr. Sarda Ukil won tne Viceroy's cup for the best painting last year at the Delhi Exhibition, and the Maharaja of Mysore's prize for the finest picture at the Mysore Exhibition. Mr. Ukil's art is lovely. A delicate draughtsman and a sensitive artist, his sense of colour and luminosity are of the finest, and he would probably be accepted in the West as a very high exponent of Indian art and especially of the Bengal school.
>
> A one man show by an Indian artist is unique, and the collection at India House is of a very high level of distinction, and has attracted even in these difficult days considerable and favourable notice. It has to be recognized that the critics are as a rule unfamiliar, both with the mythology and the ideology, as well as the idealism of Indian themes, and they are no better acquainted with Indian canons and traditions of art. It is all the more noteworthy, therefore, that the professional and technical criticisms that have appeared in the daily press and the art journals are unanimously favourable and friendly.
>
> It may well be, as the former director of the National Gallery once said, that a day will come when we shall be unable to satisfy ourselves with a national collection such as that in Trafalgar Square until it contains some of the best specimens of modern Indian painting.

## *Chittagong Disturbances in Legislative Assembly*

On the 4th February last the Associated Press sent to newspapers the following among other items of the Legislative Assembly proceedings:

> Sir James Crerar replying to Mr. Satyendra Sen's question regarding the action of certain military officers in connection with the Chittagong disturbances said an inquiry was instituted by the local Government.
>
> Mr. Neogy asked what was the Government doing.
>
> Sir James Crerar replied the matter was still under consideration.
>
> *Mr. Neogy*: Was it not an attempt to try the Black and Tan regime?
>
> *Sir James Crerar*: No.
>
> *Mr. Neogy*; Will the hon. member consult the European Association at Calcutta and find out the truth?
>
> No answer was given.

## *Art and Art Critics in India*

Criticism of art in this country is as yet done mostly in a careless and cursory fashion, and in most cases by persons who are not in the least qualified for the task. As a matter of fact, there are only a few persons in this country who have any authority—derived either from training or from personal study—to write on this subject at all. And amongst these foreigners resident in this country form a very small minority. But the political status of India is such that any hack writer can make puerile and derogatory remarks, clothed in bombastic terms and a show of learning, and go scatheless, whatever his knowledge of the subject might be.

A recent example has appeared in an

Anglo-Indian newspaper in connection with the exhibition of Rabindranath Tagore's drawings and paintings. The critic has remained incognito, but it is not very difficult to guess that he is not quite conversant with matters pertaining to Art either in this country or elsewhere. We have neither the patience nor the space to attempt a detailed discussion of the points raised by him, but a few choice examples from the criticism will show the reasons for our guess. The critic asks :

> Are we then all travelling the wrong road in giving encouragement to formal art, in establishing academies and schools, in paying teachers and encouraging pupils to study under them ? Would it not be better to let each man find his own mode of expression in pencil and paint when drawn by the urge to do so, and so save the cost of encouragement ? We should have fewer artists but more individuality. Formalism would be sent to the scrap heap. If that be the right policy, it is pitiful to think of all the thousands of young men and women who are struggling daily in schools to win the mastery of their medium.

It would be pitiful indeed if thousands were really daily attempting to attain a high standard of perfection in "formalism." Luckily in all schools, academies and ateliers of repute the set thing is to discourage formalism and encourage individualism. Almost every recognized master—and we have met a few—is engaged in a strenuous struggle to induce his pupils to break away from the stereotyped "pretty pretty" standards and develop a style and technique of their own. Indeed at the present day there is—and always has been thoughout the history of living art—far more stress laid on individuality than on technique in the accepted sense of the term. Let the critic study the revival of art in any country and he will find that our statements are true.

He lays great stress on school and academic training but without the least idea as to what the term "school" means in art. For example he says :

> India has its art pilgrimages to the caves of Ajanta and Ellora, drawn there by forceful wall paintings which owe *nothing to the teachings of the schools* but which we are asked to believe should profoundly modify the teachings of the school. (Italics ours.)

Eight centuries of living art in one place and yet he thinks there was no "school" ! Does the poor man mean L. C. C. Schools or what ? As regards the quaint ending of the quotation given above it is too ludicrous for comment.

Then in the course of his jeremiad on the reprehensible ways of critics and rebel artists in the West he makes a whole set of novel comments. But still the rebel artists were of the West ; so he must say something in their favour. They at least had the grace to learn the use of brush and paints according to the accepted methods. He says :

> Academic art has become cock-shy of the esoteric. The modern painter turns for inspiration to Cezanne, Gauguin, Renoir and Degas—all of them in revolt against the current standards of art. But with these men there was a difference. They all had trained technical skill. *They had learned the use of brush and paint according to the accepted methods* and then in the flowering of their genius had broken away...(Italics ours)

So far as our information goes it is most difficult to associate Degas, at least, with any master. He frequented the studio of Ingres for a time no doubt but what we would like to learn is what evidence there is from his work that he ever submitted to schooling "according to the accepted methods." Then again, where did the genius of Gauguin flower and was there any atmosphere of formalism or accepted methods in that locality ?

His preamble in the criticism is equally good :

> For if a man without academic training of any kind, merely setting down on paper in crude fashion and without technical accomplishment the vision of things as they appear to him is hailed as an artist, then the world is wrong to spend on teaching art.

What a wonderful eye for technique he must have ! Of course strength of line, vigour in drawing and a control of colour ranging from the most vivid play of iridescence to the dull subdued hues of old frescoes are mere bagatelles. Where is the evidence that the poet ever roamed in Chelsea or the Quartier Latin in flowing tie and paint stained garb ? And of course although schooling and study of current methods is absolutely essential for an artist, there is no necessity for anything similiar for an art critic.

K. N.

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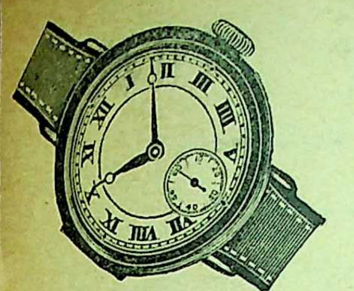

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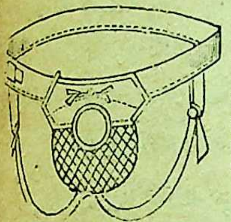

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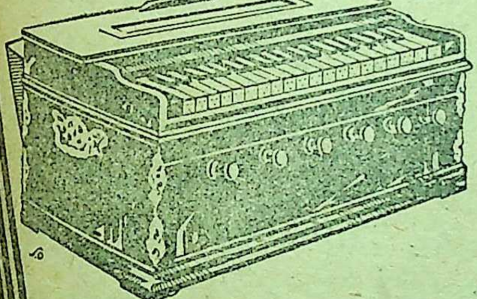

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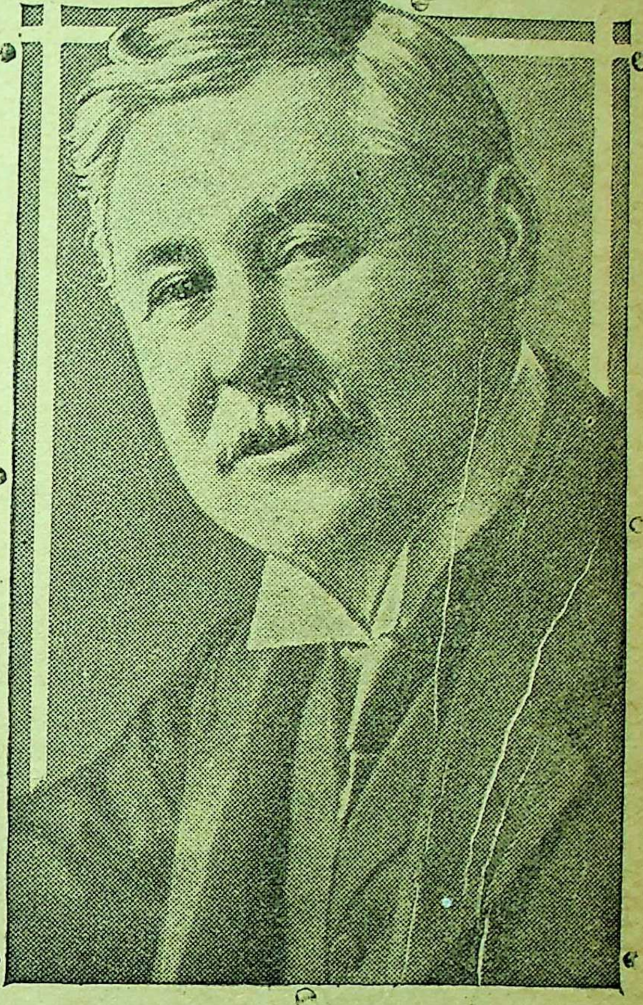

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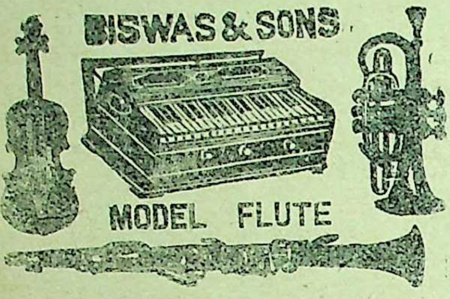

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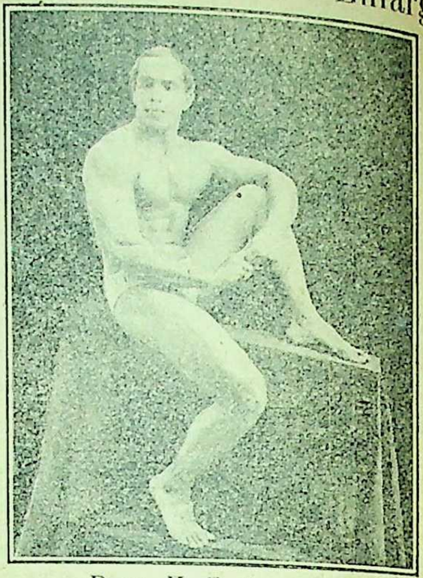

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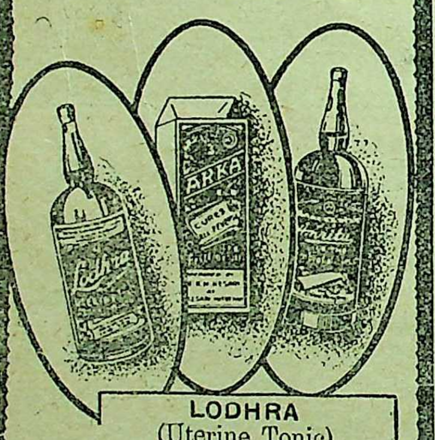

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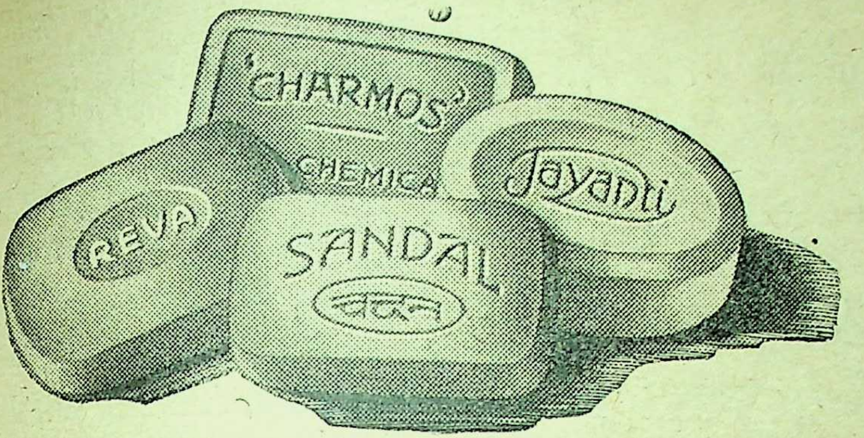
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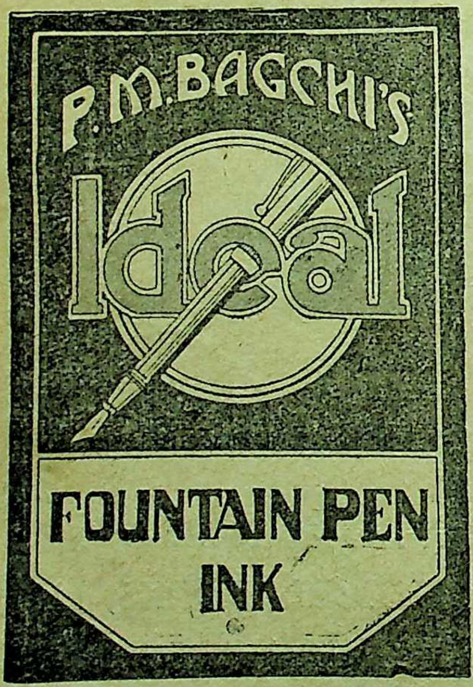

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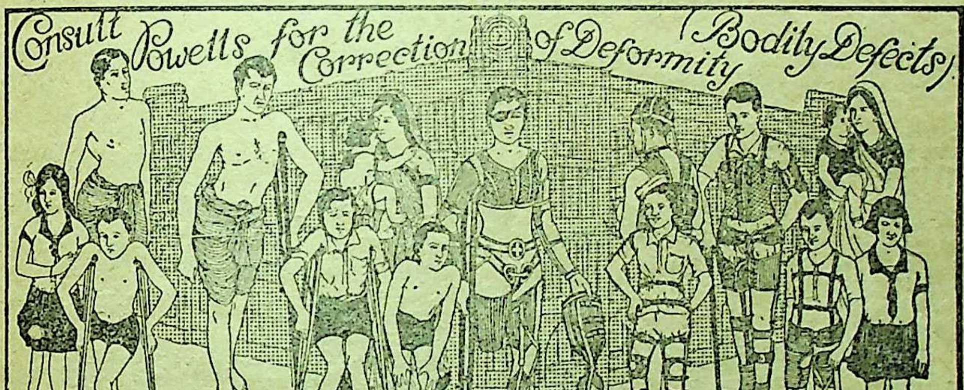
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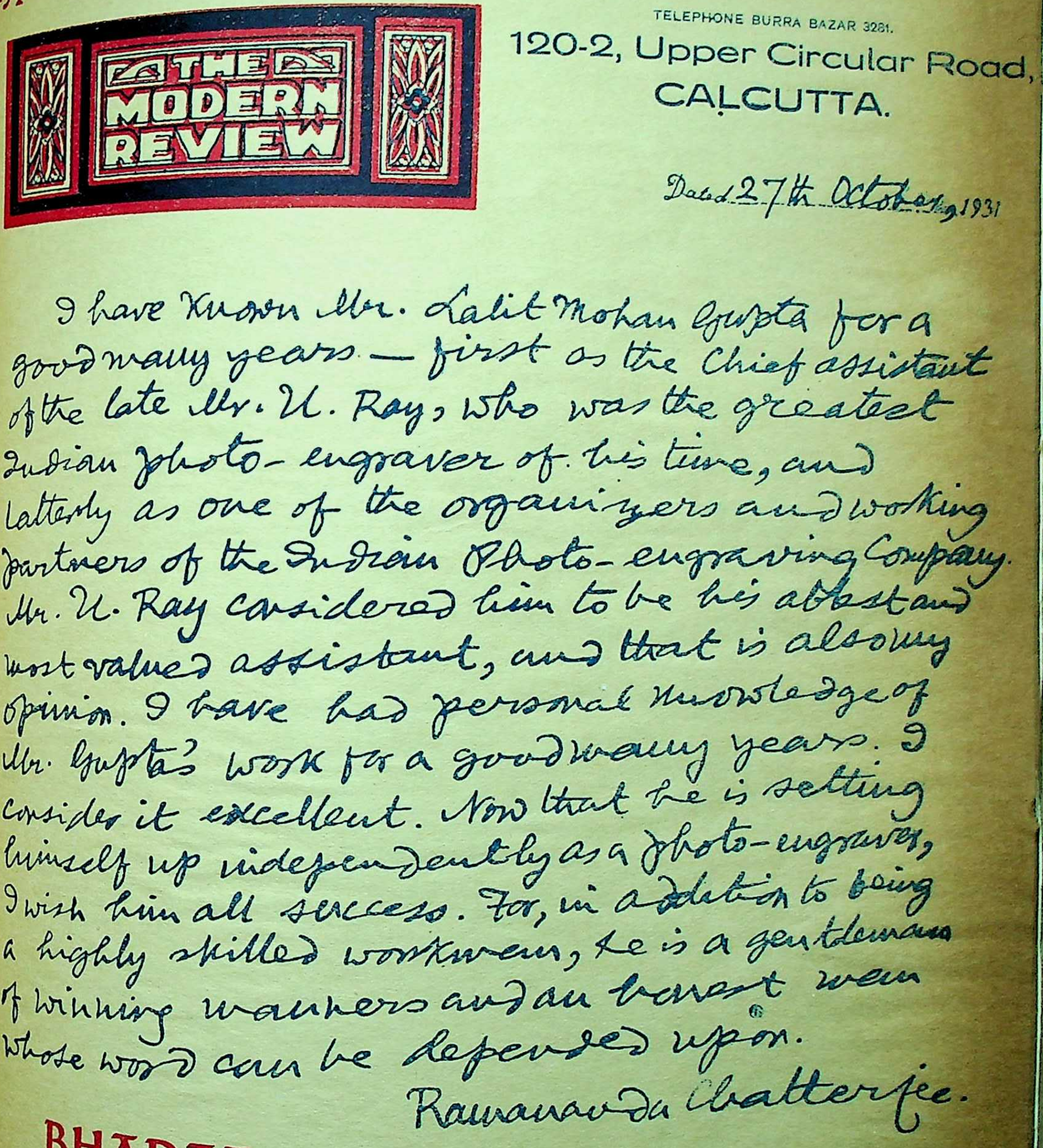

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It was a pleasant surprize to me to find in the February number of the Modern Review, very accurate colour reproductions of several pictures from the collection of the Bharat Kala Parisad, Benares, the originals of which I had occasion to study very carefully and the colour schemes of which are very familiar to me. On enquiry I received another pleasant surprize to find that the colour reproductions of these pictures have been executed in Calcutta by the BHARAT PHOTOTYPE STUDIO.

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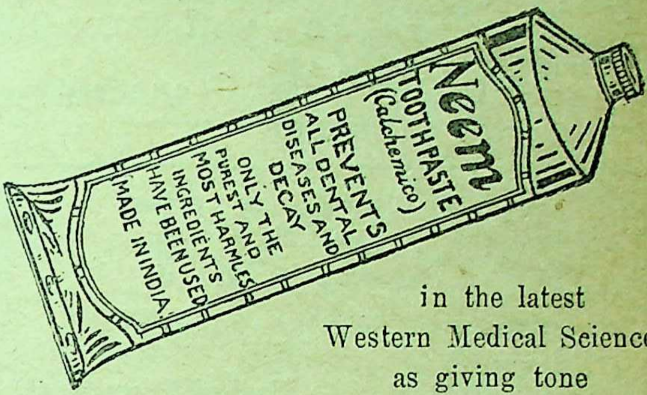
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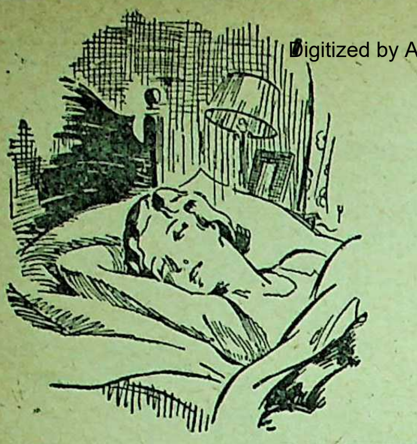

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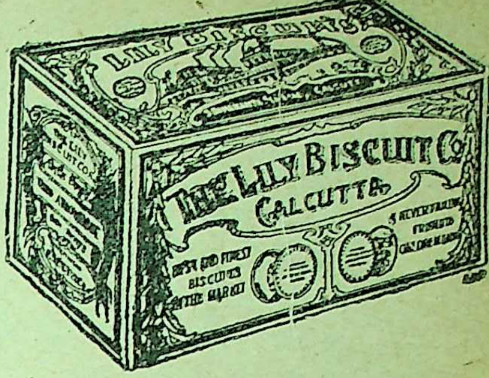

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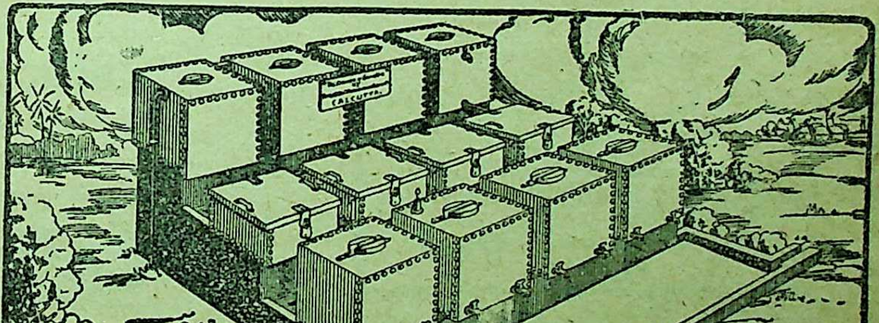

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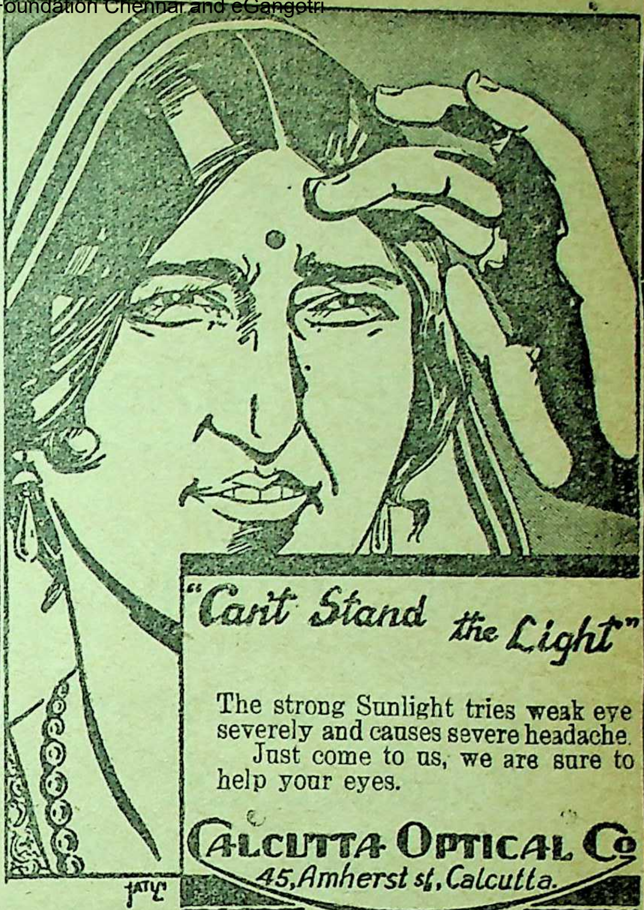

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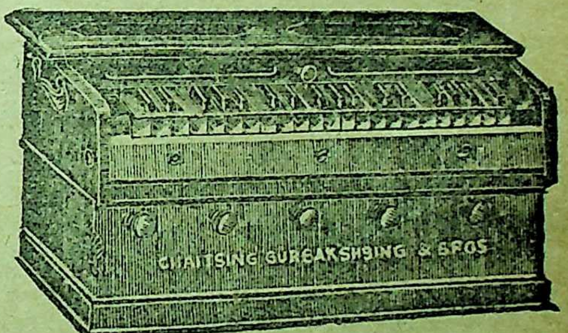

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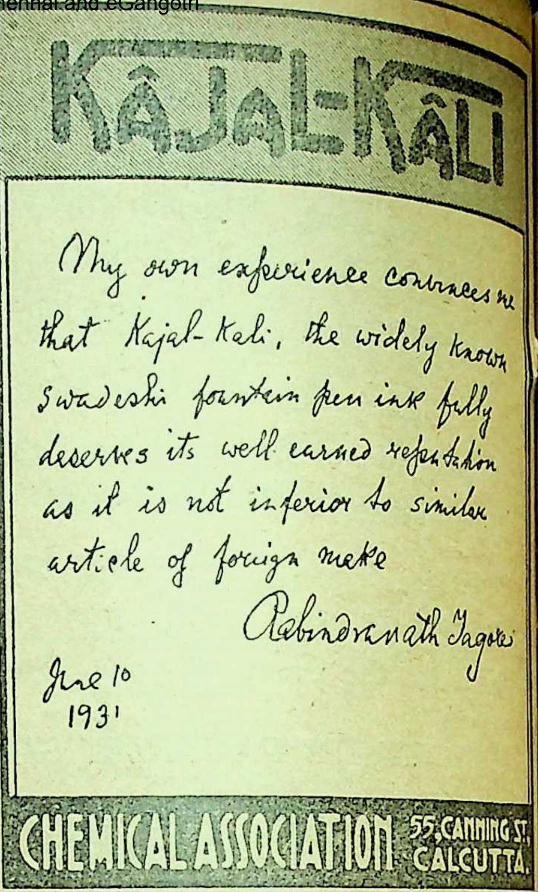

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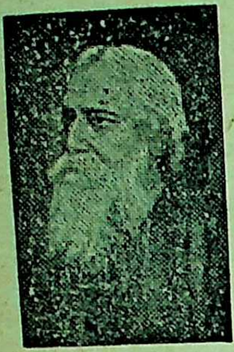

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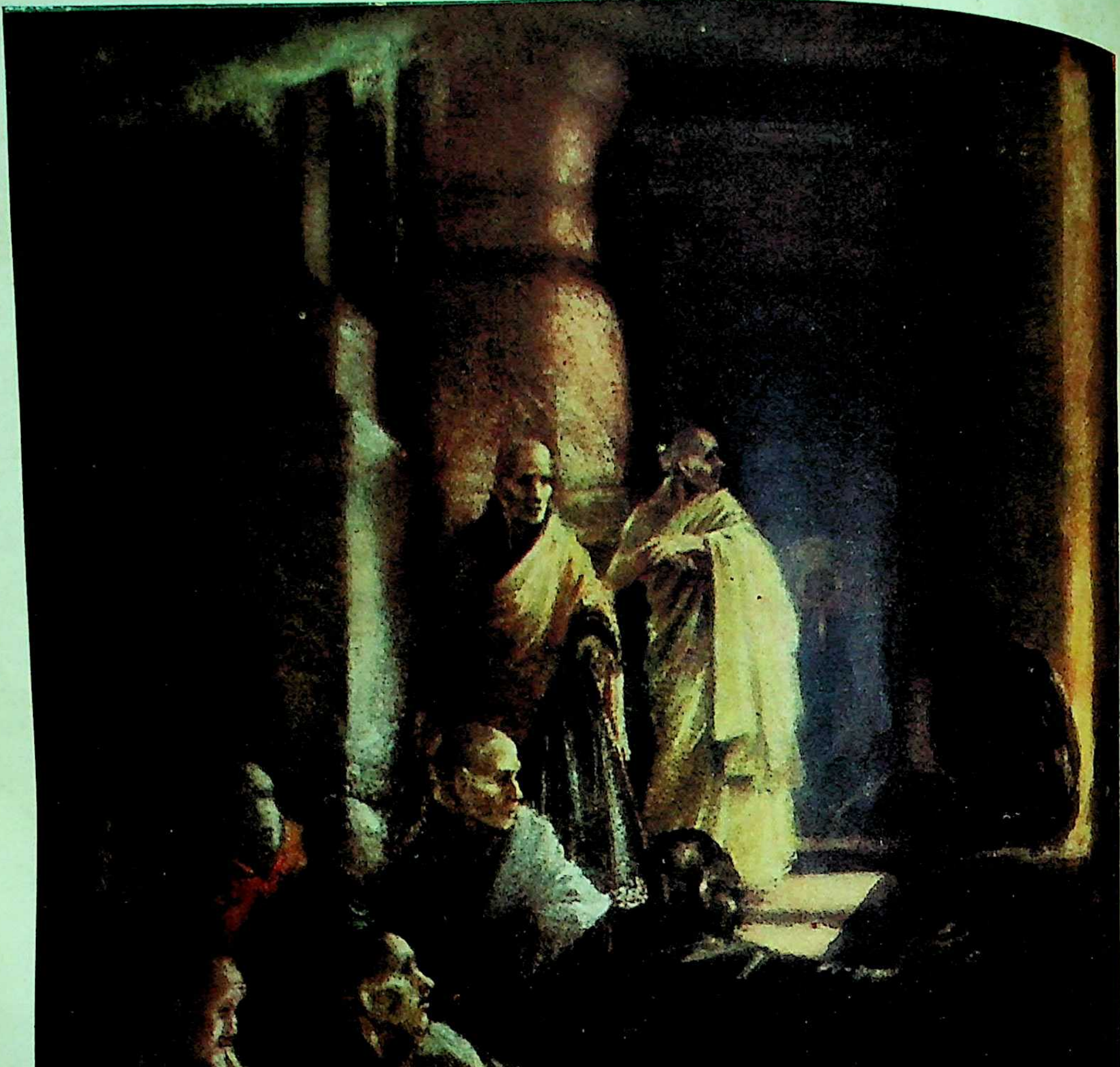

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APRIL 1932

Vol. LI., No. 4 Whole No. 304

# GOETHE

### By Dr. WALTER KUNZE

When Germany marked with impressive celebration the centenary of Goethe's death, in the March of this year, it did not mean honour to a mere poet who always attempted to free the German people from the fury of the confused present and what is inessential, but to Goethe—still the property of German intelligentsia and an embodiment of righteousness and beauty. He is like a life's companion, because in him, as in no other leading intellect, the natural and moral developments remained so distinctly perceptible. From this he became what he was. Goethe's unfailing activity and energetic reaction to real life instead of to only dreams of poets, is like a parable. The man Goethe became the silent maker of many a German. And, moreover, no second German poet and thinker has acquired single-handed for the German nation so much of individuality, as compared to other races, as he has done. For the first time, through Goethe, German literature became linked with world-literature. So, the centenary of Goethe's death anniversary is also a welcome occasion for foreign peoples to honour anew the unique personality of Goethe—the Poet and the Man.

Today we are able to view Goethe as a whole. It must be pointed out that Goethe's direct influence on his contemporaries was through his poetic works only, and not through the totality of his personality, where, however, lay his true greatness. Even his friends had not had a full conception of this totality. And, when he died on March 22, 1832, he was really unknown, although highly respected. It required almost a century to make the full richness of his poems, his thoughts and his unshackled and beautiful humanism accessible to the nation.

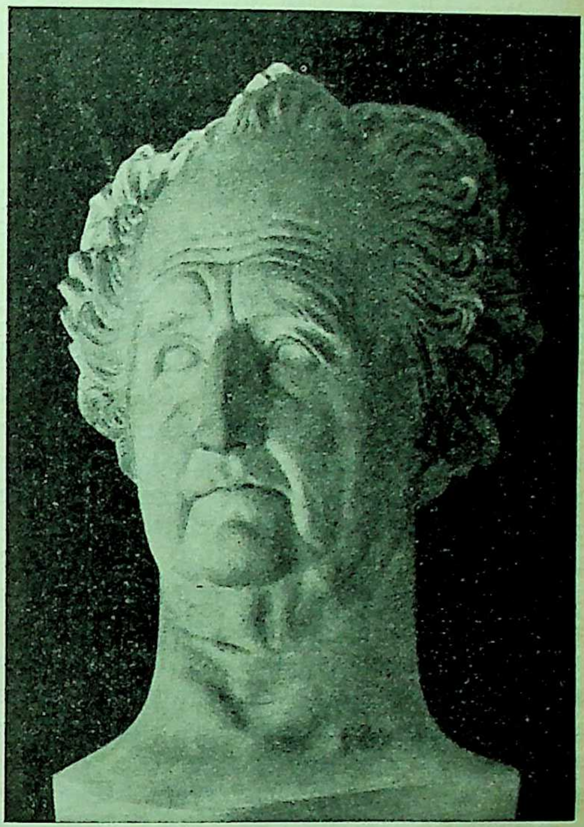
There is a distinct difference of opinion about Goethe in Germany and abroad. Goethe's life and poetry are judged as a whole in Germany, while in foreign countries it is done piecemeal. Thus, one tends to consider only the contemporary character of his poems, and misses even in his most significant work the final insight. Such detailed examination, which leaves out the personality of the poet, through which alone a correct basis for the totality of his creations is made, must lead people astray, particularly in the case of Goethe. Then, Goethe himself is his works, and everything he has written is, from this view point, only a fragment, a part of the whole whether they are outwardly completed or not. For this reason, fragments of Goethe receive the same importance in Germany as completed works. Individual critics would therefore always have the justification, but Goethe is still a great and dominant personality, whom we highly honour.

Here it is unnecessary to discuss closely the whole, the inexhaustible richness of the extensive Goethe literature. It would be sufficient to consider briefly Goethe as a lyric poet. That means the consideration of the personal verses of Goethe, through which he had very great influence over the following generations as also in foreign countries.

Goethe's life as a student in Strassburg in Alsace-Lorraine (1770-71) was a most decisive period for the development of his youthful intellect. In this city, situated on the Franco-German frontier, national sentiments played a hitherto unknown rôle on the poet who had been brought up in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Here in the midst of strongly patriotic friends, Goethe received a decisive direction towards German art and literature. Goethe recognized the characterestic beauty and greatness of German architecture in the minster of Strassburg and the inexhaustible richness of nature opened out to him for the first time in the midst of his long struggles in Alsace-Lorraine.

He was taught in his younger days that only that art could be beautiful which follows the ancient traditions, and such a devotion and such revelation of the nature was impossible in that age of conventions. Goethe took up with enthusiasm the gospel of folk-songs from his somewhat older friend Gottfried Herder and collected the remains of the folk-songs in Alsace-Lorraine. "I became acquainted with poetry from quite a different side than hitherto —the art of poetry is a world by itself, a folk-property and not the private property of a few elegant and educated people." His own poetry was free from playful, half-French trifles and the piquant, roguish descriptions of the commonplace. In "Heidon-röslein" he pictured for the first time folk-song. The art as also the material was taken out from a song of the sixteenth century, but the short form and the force of this little song were a gift from Goethe. The complete departure of Goethe's new lyric, however, came through his love—the love for Friederike Brion—the daughter of the Sesenheim curate. The hitherto limited, obviously uniform and appreciable form of Goethe's lyric became something uncertain and limitless, which he knew how to reproduce in words and rhythms. The poet is identical with what passes and vibrates in him. This elevated condition is expressed in Goethe's lyric and became language, colour and rhythm. The poetic symbols now became the waves of a speaking flute. He put the endless melodies of the inexpressible against the background of his former world of existence and its single manifestations. The directness of dictional expression— experience turned immediately into words— showed the dominance and singularity of Goethe's lyric. Petrarca, Dante and Shakespeare had the suddenness of the experience, but not of the words. On to it was added Goethe's novel appreciation of nature, acquired through wandering. In the whole of nature he found movements, creations and actions. The creative breath, the nature, the dispenser of life, —God—is for him not merely to be but to grow and to create. God is for him omnipresent rather than omniscient and all-embracing. Nature has fully revealed herself to him, she became the blessed comrade of all his feelings and he acquired thereby the astonishing power of metaphorical expression. If by poetry one is inclined to mean conscious work—then Goethe's youthful poems are no poetry at all. They came out of the heart of the poet as effortless and as unaffected as the songs of the birds. It is pure poetry, which is apparently without any effort, yes, composed without any consciousness. Thus alone the poet could make the voice of his heart, the voice of his intuitive nature articulate. The lyric of the romantic epoch is unthinkable without the sweet charm, the flow of natural feelings,—the inner, unaffected, melodious language of the heart in Friederike songs of the Strassburg period and in the poems about Frau von Stein in Weimar. The lyric of the seasoned poet expresses itself naturally, but differently from that of his riotous youth. He does not repeat the tones of his youthful age. He had the courage to traverse other paths and to depict the emotional world of an experienced man. His love episode with Christine Vulpius, later his wife, was no period of resigned spiritual friendship, where the woman appeared as the high and inaccessible priest. The beloved was his comrade of day and night. This antique conception of the relation of the sexes was embodied in his "Römischen Elegien," which was published in the post-Italian period (1788). They are devoid of all skirmishes and languishing longings after the beloved, and do not deal with her as with a far-away ideal, but narrate the pleasures and the comfort of the possessor, which arise from undisturbed enjoyment, and from the well-springs of a satisfied sense-enjoyment, and which fills the parties with the forceful energy of life. Humour also plays a rôle in them with trifling talk, playful follies and the mistakes of love, to which the ripe man condescends with a roguish superiority. The sufferings, the voices, and the sensitive longings of the youthful lyrics are now supplanted by a limitation of circumstances and by the demonstration and perception of a visible event. The lyric became intuitive and objective. The objects started speaking to the poet, and he generalized and attempted to depict typical feelings. His lyric became classical.

The tumultuous events of the German freedom movement against Napoleon did not excite in him sympathy, because he thought that the decline of the power of his respected Emperor and the triumph of freed peoples over this towering personality would be an act of violence. He turned his attention away and buried himself, as he did before, in the art and thoughts of the Orient. Cosmopolitanism became more important than a national State for old Goethe, and he was turning more and more from the German to the world's literature. The poetry of India and Persia were accessible to him: Kalidas's *Sakuntala* captured his imagination. A pleasant discovery as well as a welcome recreation for him was the publication, in 1813, of a translation of the drink and love songs, interspersed with wise sayings, of the great Persian lyric poet Hafiz who lived in the fourteenth century. Goethe found in Hafiz a similarly-minded personality as he himself was—a "merry old man" who knew how to direct the joyful positivism of life into the most felicitous channel, mingled noble sensuality and wise self-control, ancient knowledge and youthful folly and wantoness. He was also attracted by the piousness of the Orientals, a kind of piousness which did not exalt him to a far-away and superhuman God, but made it possible to find God in this world, in the whole of nature, in small as well as big things. Goethe steeped himself in the mysticism and symbolism of Persia, and in this frame of mind composed his "West-östlichen Divan" ("Divan" means "collection") (1814-1819). While working on "Divan" Goethe became acquainted with Marianne von Willimer. Between the two, developed a mutual affinity, whose ardour and intimacy remained restricted to poetic outbursts as was to be expected from the high culture of both the parties. "Westöstlichen Divan" got its touch of love only through Marianne von Willimer. She was the longed for Zuleikha, and he himself took the rôle of Hatem. Marianne was a woman of exceptional qualities, and by her education not of a pining nature. For Goethe, she became thus a subject of study, of an ideal of physico-intellectual perfection in a womanly form.



Goethe at Eighty

*After a bust by D'angers*

The love of a noble lady is for Goethe like God's love. In this high conception of love he has something common with the Eastern and Western mystics, and therefore he could say in his book "Suleika" that "the veil of earthly love seems to conceal higher things." It is certainly an ideal, a spiritual, love, although, at the same time, it is a bond passionately experienced as a symbol of great, secular love. The book "Suleika"—the love lyric—formed the centre of the "Divans." It is the characterstic of the later lyrics that they do not appear with the directness of the personal. The primitive feeling is pictured with a conscious art and the youthful sufferings with the perfect clearness of a peaceful mind. The limit between experience and imagination is nowhere perceptible. The external form is vivid in the play of poetry. Round this book are collected other philosophic and didactic poems, contemplative thoughts, gay songs, and numberless wise sayings. In the poems of Goethe's old age the poet and the thinker are inseparably linked up. It was left to him to present his personal feelings and recollections, hardly framed, in such a way that they appear as the generally acceptable truth and experience of life. A didactic intention is almost everywhere discernible. But it testifies to the exceptional power of the poet to elevate morals and animate them with real poetry. This collection as a whole is a proof of the uncommon intellectual freshness, and the pleasure of life of almost a seventy-year old man. This collection takes the first place among the lyrics of later years. The most significant thing about the "Divan" is not that in common with many other poets of the nineteenth century, Goethe occupied himself with Eastern poetry. Its "greatness lies in the creation of a new lyric—a lyric which pictures before our eyes in its full plasticity the actual, the personal, the perception of sensual-intellectual emotions, but the motley of the personal world is lighted up by eternal rays."

From this brief review it would appear that Goethe as a lyric poet alone is of remarkable significance, because before Goethe it seemed that the German language could not be elevated to that softness and ardour to which he raised it in his poems. And from his ballads, songs and lyrics, the later generations have learnt to depict personal experiences with purity and fervour, and stimulate poetic feelings and mentality without declamatory words. He has thus created certainly something unique and of immense importance for world-literature. With undoubted justification one can consider the lyric as the nearest approach to the poetic expression of Goethe's ways. But Goethe is not less important as an epic writer, as a romantic poet and as a dramatist. He created narrative poems in "Hermann und Dorothea" and "Reinecke Fuchs"—which no modern literature can afford to put aside. He was the greatest novel writer of his time and "Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre" has been taken by his younger contemporaries as a work of the "highest art" and the finest model of an idealist novel of the nineteenth century. He produced something like a variety of modern psychological romance in his "Wahl-verwandschaften." As a dramatist he was the creator of two masterpieces in "Tasso" and "Iphigenie," and in "Faust" he produced perhaps the most forceful and unimaginable model of the greatest perfection of form and the most significant content. The poet Goethe was insolubly linked up also with the scientist Goethe. Both make up in Goethe what he himself once called his "poetic-scientific ways." Goethe's natural philosophy is in the deepest sense creative and purely poetic. Anyone who would speak of Goethe's occupation with the theatre, painting, woodcut and architecture with a shrug of shoulders, would judge him without deeper understanding. Goethe has devoted more thought, efforts, and methodical study to the theatre and painting than to poetry. By an all-round study of Goethe—the man and the poet—one gains a real insight into his personality, who created in many of his works eternal truths. By his high example he proved to the German and the culture-world to what height human intellect can be raised.

# MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION*

## *Preliminary Notice*

Sir John Marshall and his collaborators are to be congratulated on the publication of this great work. Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the enterprising publisher, is also to be congratulated on the remarkable excellence of the get-up of this monumental publication. The binding, the pure rag-made paper, the beautiful type, the distinct and neat printing and the collotype illustrations are equally worthy of praise.

We intend to publish an adequate review of this work by a competent scholar as early as may be practicable, as also a few articles on different classes of finds and the conclusions arrived at, written by specialists. In the meantime we publish this preliminary notice to give the reader some idea of the varied contents of this work.

The excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro have revealed the fact, as stated by the editor in his illuminating preface, "that five thousand years ago, before ever the Aryans were heard of, the Panjab and Sind, if not other parts of India as well, were enjoying an advanced and singularly uniform civilization of their own, closely akin but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt" (Vol. I, page v). The age and stage to which the newly discovered culture of the Indus Valley belonged is called the Chalcolithic Age—"that age in which arms and utensils of stone continue to be used side by side with those of copper and bronze." The material culture of the Chalcolithic Age of the Indus Valley corresponds in its general features with the Chalcolithic cultures of Western Asia and Egypt. But the points of difference are also very striking, as stated by Sir John Marshall :

> "Thus, to mention only a few salient points, the use of cotton for textiles was exclusively restricted at this period to India and was not extended to the Western world until two or three thousand years later. Again, there is nothing that we know of in pre-historic Egypt or Mesopotamia or anywhere else in Western Asia to compare with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjo-daro. In those countries, much money and thought were lavished on the building of magnificent temples for the gods and on the palaces and tombs of kings, but the rest of the people seemingly had to content themselves with insignificant dwellings of mud. In the Indus Valley, the picture is reversed and the finest structures are those erected for the convenience of the citizens." (Vol. I, p. vi.)

About the Chalcolithic art and religion of the Indus Valley the Editor writes :

> "Equally peculiar to the Indus Valley and stamped with an individual character of their own are its art and its religion. Nothing that we know of in other countries at this period bears any resemblance, in point of style, to the miniature faience models of rams, dogs, and other animals or to the intaglio engravings on the seals, the best of which—notably the humped and short-horn bulls—are distinguished by a breadth of treatment and a feeling for line and plastic form that has rarely been surpassed in glyptic art ; nor would it be possible, until the classic age of Greece, to match the exquisitely supple modelling of the two human statuettes from Harappa figured in Plates X and XI. In the religion of the Indus people, there is much, of course, that might be paralleled in other countries. This is true of every prehistoric and of most historic religions as well. But, taken as a whole, their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguished from still living Hinduism or at least from that aspect of it which is bound up with animism and the cults of Siva and the Mother Goddess—still the two most potent forces in popular worship. Among the many revelations that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Saivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world." (Vol. I, pp. vi-vii.)

Regarding the indigenous character of the Indus Valley civilization Sir John Marshall observes :

> "One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, is that the civilization hitherto revealed at these two places is not an incipient civilization, but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavour behind it. Thus India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, as one of the most important areas where the civilizing processes were initiated and developed." (Vol. I, p. viii.)

The excavations made at Harappa and

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* *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, being an official account of Archæological Excavations at Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922 and 1927 : Edited by Sir John Marshall, Litt. D., Ph.D., etc., late Director-General of Archæology in India. In three volumes, royal 4to, with plan and map in colours, and 164 plates in collotype. Volume I : Text, chapters I-XIX, pp. 364, and plates I-XIV. Volume II : Text, chapters XX-XXXII, Appendices and Index, pp. 365-716. Volume III : plates XV-CLXIV. There are in addition 41 text illustrations. Price £ 12-12sh. Published by Arthur Probsthain, 41 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1.

Mohenjo-daro have been epoch-making in their results. Happily, with only one exception, all the officers who have had anything to do with them are still living and would be able, if necessary, to tell the world what their share of the work had been, and also to correct mis-statements, if any, relating thereto. But unfortunately Mr. R. D. Banerji is no longer alive. It is necessary, therefore, to be very careful in stating what he did in connection with Mohenjo-daro. It may be at once said that in what Sir John Marshall has written there is no trace of any desire to deprive Mr. Banerji of the credit due to him. On the contrary, one can without much difficulty understand from Sir John's references to Mr. Banerji's labours how remarkable the latter's achievement was. The desire to ignore or minimize Mr. Banerji's achievement appears to exist in the minds of some men other than Sir John.

Let us now see what Sir John has to say regarding Mr. R. D. Banerji's part in the discovery of Mohenjo-daro. Sir John writes:

> "The story of the excavation of Mohenjo-daro may quickly be told. The site had long been known to district officials in Sind, and had been visited more than once by local archaeological officers, *but it was not until 1922, when Mr. R. D. Banerji started to dig there, that the pre-historic character of its remains was revealed.* This was not greatly to be wondered at; for the only structures then visible were the Buddhist Stupa and Monastery at the north-west corner of the site, and these were built exclusively of brick taken from the older ruins, so that it was not unnatural to infer that the rest of the site was referable to approximately the same age as the Buddhist monuments, *viz.*, to the early centuries of the Christian era. Indeed, when Mr. Banerji himself set about his excavations here, he had no idea of finding anything prehistoric. His primary object was to lay bare the Buddhist remains, and it was while engaged on this task that he came by chance on several seals which he recognized at once as belonging to the same class as the remarkable seals inscribed with legends in an undecipherable script which had long been known to us from the ruins of Harappa in the Panjab. As it happened, the excavation of Harappa itself had at my instance been taken up in the year previous by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, and enough had already been brought to light to demonstrate conclusively that its remains, including the inscribed seals, were referable to the Chalcolithic Age. Thus, Mr. Banerji's find came at a singularly opportune moment, when we were specially eager to locate other sites of the same early age as Harappa. *Mr. Banerji himself was quick to appreciate the value of his discovery* and lost no time in following it up. . . . . With the hot season rapidly approaching, Mr. Banerji's digging was necessarily very restricted, and it is no wonder, therefore, that his achievements have been put in the shade by the much bigger operations that have since been carried out. *This does not, however, lessen the credit due to him.* His task at Mohenjo-daro was far from being as simple as it may now appear. Apart from the discoveries at Harappa, *which he had not personally seen,* nothing whatever was then known of the In civilization. *The few structural remains of t civilization which he unearthed were buil bricks identical with those used in the Bud Stupa and Monastery, and bore so close a re blance to the latter that even now it is not alw easy to discriminate between them. Neverthel Mr. Banerji divined and rightly divined, that th earlier remains must have antedated the Buddhi structures, which were only a foot or two abo them, by some two or three thousand years. Th was no small achievement!* Naturally, some *his conclusions* have required modification—it co hardly have been otherwise—but *in the main th have been proved by our subsequent researches be remarkably correct.*" (Vol. I, pp. 10-11) [Ita ours. Ed., *M.R.*]

Painted pottery from Baluchistan was kn and the seals found at Harappa were well kn before the discovery of the prehistoric antiqui at Mohenjo-daro. But no one in India abroad had conjectured the remote age of th finds before Mr. R. D. Banerji. As Sir J Marshall has pointed out, bricks of ex the same size are found used in the stupa the Kushan period as well as the Chalcoli structures. This size of the bricks would h certainly misled an archaeologist less gifted th Mr. Banerji and prevented him from assumi a distance in time of thousands of ye between the stupa and the massive walls fou only a foot or two below. Mr. Banerji's w indeed a great achievement, as will appear fr the following penultimate paragraph of Sir Jo Marshall's preface :

> "Three other scholars whose names I can pass over in silence, are the late *Mr. R. D. Ba to whom belongs the credit of having disco if not Mohenjo-daro itself, at any rate its h antiquity*, and his immediate successors in t task of excavation, Messrs. M. S. Vats a K. N. Dikshit. The valuable work accompli by each of these officers in turn is alre widely known and will be still further appa from the pages of these volumes, but no o probably except myself can fully appreciate t difficulties and hardships which they had to f in the first three seasons at Mohenjo-daro or t pluck and enthusiasm with which they overca them." (Vol. I, page X.) [Italics ours. Ed., *M. R*

In the penultimate sentences of the extr from pages 10-11 Sir John Marshall has pai well-deserved tribute to the scientific acumen wh enabled Mr. Banerji to perceive the h antiquity of the civilization brought to light the spade under the latter's direction.

In spite of these observations of Sir Jo Marshall quoted above, a scientist of the dist tion of Sir Arthur Keith, F. R. S., has been careless and inaccurate as to write in T *Illustrated London News* of December 19, 19 page 1000 :

> "The highest mound there [*i. e.*, at Mohenjo-d was crowned by the ruins of a Buddhist stu

monastery.* In the autumn of 1921† Mr. R. D. Banerji, an officer of the Archaeological Survey, determined to explore the Buddhist building, and found under its foundations extensive brick buildings. In these buildings he found several engraved seals. Seals of a similar design and workmanship had just been found at Harappa—another ancient city site in the Panjab—400 miles distant from Mohenjo-daro. Sir John Marshall at once perceived the significance of these finds ; . . ."

But Sir John Marshall himself writes, as will be seen from the extract from his great work given above, that it was not himself but Mr. Banerji who "recognized at once" the "several seals" on which he came by chance "as belonging to the same class" as the Harappa seals, though Mr. Banerji "had not personally seen" them. Hence the credit of recognizing the prehistoric character of the Mohenjo-daro site before any one else had done so belongs to Mr. Banerji and to him alone. This will be clearer still from what we are going to add below.

Sir Arthur Keith seems to labour under some fatality which leads him to make inaccurate statements relating to Mr. R. D. Banerji's work. In the course of an article on "An Indian City Five Thousand Years Ago," contributed by Mr. Banerji to the Fourth Anniversary Number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, published on the 17th November 1928, he (Mr. Banerji) mentions an article in a then "recent issue of *The Referee*" in which "Sir Arthur Keith has summarized the results of the excavations of Mohenjo-daro during the last four years." Mr. Banerji proceeds to say :

In his article referred to above, Sir Arthur Keith has referred to me as "a prospecting officer of the Archæological Department," who, "six years ago, arrived on the scene," and, "under the alluvial covering of the mounds, often thirty feet in height, found mouldering bricks."

Mr. Banerji's comment on the above is as follows :

R D Banerji
24.5.25

The late Mr. R. D. Banerji

There was no mound covered with alluvium at Mohenjo-daro, as Sir Arthur Keith supposes, and none of us had to go thirty feet down to find "mouldering" bricks. Incidentally I may mention that Mohen-jo-daro bricks, though 5,000 years old, are very well preserved and may be used even now.

That the bricks at Mohenjo-daro are not at all "mouldering" we personally saw during our visit to the place in April 1931.

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* A *stupa* is *not* a monastery ! Sir John Marshall mentions—and of course correctly—the Buddhist Stupa *and* Monastery.

† This is incorrect. According to Sir John Marshall, Mr. Banerji "started to dig there" "not until 1922." According to Mr. Banerji himself, he excavated Mohenjo-daro "for the first time in December, 1922." See *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, 17th November, 1928.

Mr. Banerji refers thus in the same article of his to certain other misleading statements made by Sir Arthur Keith in his *Referee* article:

> In his article in *The Referee* Sir Arthur Keith makes certain misleading statements. He says, "Several trial shafts were dug and by 1924, Sir John Marshall realized that he had gained access to a lost and buried world of humanity." Systematic excavations were carried out by me at Mohen-jo-daro over extensive areas in 1922-23 and by Pandit Madho Swarup Vats in 1923-24, even before the news of the discovery reached the ears of Sir John Marshall, who did not know anything of Mohen-jo-daro before May, 1924, and paid his first visit to that place in January or February, 1925. It is, therefore, hardly correct to describe the excavations of 1922-23 and 1923-24 as "trial shafts."

How Sir John Marshall came to be convinced of the prehistoric antiquity of Mohenjo-daro, has been thus described by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* article:

> In June, 1924, I brought to the notice of Sir John Marshall the discovery of
>
> (a) A number of ancient sites in the Sindh-Baluchistan area, numbering over eighty, where bricks of modern size along with scrapers of Nummulitic Flint, and a particular type of pre-cremation burials, are always to be found. One of these sites, Dhamraho-daro, lies about fifteen miles south-west of Mohen-jo-daro very close to Badah, a station on the North-Western Railway. Here a Buddhist *stupa* of the 4th century A. D., of a type similar to the one discovered by Mr. Henry Cousens at Mirpur Khas, built on the top of a prehistoric shrine, and about a mile from it, a series of mounds where scrapers or Cherts of Nummulitic Flint were also discovered.
>
> (b) And at Mohen-jo-daro of seals with pictographs, found for the first time outside Harappa.
>
> (c) Painted pottery.
>
> (d) Stone axes and scrapers of the Neolithic period, and
>
> (e) Pre-cremation burials of three different types, *viz.*:
>
> (i) Disposal of the entire body in brick tombs, and
>
> (ii) *terracotta* or earthenware coffins, or
>
> (iii) preservation of a single unburnt bone in a small urn surrounded with offerings of food, raiment, copper jewellery and weapons. In many cases at Mohen-jo-daro a collection of such urns were often placed inside a large earthenware jar (Bengali *Jala* or Hindi *Matka*)
>
> In June, 1924, Sir John Marshall gave me a patient hearing, and then sent for the antiquities discovered by me at Mohen-jo-daro in 1922-23 and Madho Swarup Vats in 1923-24 together with those found at Harappa by Rai Bahadur Pundit Dayaram Sahni in 1920-21 and 1923-24. At the same time, acting on my advice, he sent for, from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Mockler Collection of prehistoric antiquities and painted pottery discovered in Baluchistan more than half a century ago. After comparing all these antiquities, Sir John Marshall not only agreed with me in thinking that the antiquities from Mohen-jo-daro, Harappa and Baluchistan belonged to the prehistoric period but also accepted it to the extent of describing some of them in the *Illustrated London News* (September 20, 1924.)
>
> This discovery of the pre-historic civilization India was the result of six years of ceaseless lab and travel, very often at my own cost, and no a sudden find at Mohen-jo-daro.

This long digression has been necessary order to bring out clearly the part which deceased countryman of ours played in establi ing the antiquity of the Indus Valley civilization. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro were undertak by him on his own initiative. Mr. Banerji says in his *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* article:

> From October, 1917, till December, 1922, I w engaged in the seemingly hopeless task of explori the deserted cities and townships on both banks of the modern bed of the Indus, and I final decided to excavate Mohen-jo-daro late in 19 when I was convinced that it was one of the ol sites, if not the oldest site, in India.

Sir John Marshall has paid a graceful tribute the energy and endurance of Mr. Banerji a his two successors in the following words:

> "For another reason also Mr. Banerji's work Mohenjo-daro is deserving of special recogniti for it was carried through in the face of ve real difficulties, due in part to lack of adequ funds, in part to the hardships inseparable fr camp life in such a trying climate. With th comfortable quarters for the officers and staff wh I took steps to have erected at Mohenjo-da between 1925 and 1927, excavation there h become a very much easier and more pleasant ta than it was in the first three seasons, wh Mr. Banerji and his successors were living und canvas. The fact that two out of these thr officers—Messrs. Banerji and K. N. Dikshit—completely broke down in health before the labours were finished, is proof enough of th many privations they had to endure." (Vol. I page 11.)

This break-down in Mr. Banerji's heal contributed largely to his premature death.

Sir John Marshall has acknowledged i suitable terms the work of all the other offic who took part in the excavations, *viz.*, Messrs. Mad Swarup Vats, K. N. Dikshit, H. Hargreaves, B. L Dhama and Sana Ullah, who formed under h able direction the collaborating and controlli staff enabling him to employ effectively a body o from 1000 to 1200 labourers in pursuit of t most up-to-date methods of excavating a preserving antiquities. Subsequently Mr. Ern Mackay was appointed whole-time offi for Mohenjo-daro. "As Mr. Mockay, howev was unacquainted with local conditions Sind or the ways of Indian administration. was not possible for him to assume immedi direction of the work. In the winter season 1926-27, therefore, it was arranged for him work under Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, excavator of wide experience in India."

Sir John Marshall has been equally in acknowledging his debt to his collabor in this publication. Besides the pref he has himself written the nine chap on the country, climate and rivers, the site its excavation, the buildings, other antiquities and art, religion, disposal of the dead, extent of the Indus civilization, the age and authors of the Indus civilization, and the Stupa area. Mr. Mackay has written 13 chapters on three areas and on architecture and masonry, plain and painted pottery, figurines and model animals, statuary, faience and stone vessels, seals and copper tablets, household objects, tools and implements, technique of metal vessels etc., personal ornaments, games and toys and ivory, shell, faience and other objects. Mr. H. Hargreaves has described one area. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni has described two areas. Mr. C. J. Gould has written on some external features of the early Indus script and Mr. Sidney Smith on the mechanical nature of the early Indus writing. Mr. S. Langdon has dealt with the Indus script. Mr. Muhammad Sana Ullah has treated of the sources and metallurgy of copper and its alloys. The system of weights at Mohenjo-daro has been described by Mr. A. S. Hemmy. The two chapters on human remains and zoological remains are the joint work of Colonel R. B. Seymour-Sewell and Dr. B. S. Guha, while that on minerals and metals has been written by Sir Edwin Pascoe.

The book is the result of strenuous team-work of high quality and is written in a simple and attractive style.

The Editor has expressed his debt to Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the Publisher, "for his unremitting interest in the work as well as for much practical help." On behalf of the public we, too, thank Mr. Probsthain for his discriminating taste and for having spared neither expense nor pains to make the publication worthy of its subject in all externals.

# THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

## By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

WHETHER the Hindu Depressed classes of Bengal are going to have separate electorates for themselves, or seats in the legislature are going to be reserved for them, these and other questions are agitating the public mind. Almost everyday one sees in the papers that different castes in different places have organized caste meetings protesting against separate electorate for the depressed classes. When the Lothian Committee came to Calcutta, some depressed class representatives demanded separate electorate, some demanded reserved seats, and some desired no other change than broadening of the franchise. The Muhammadan members of both the Indian Franchise Committee and the Bengal auxiliary one were very keen in suggesting to the depressed classes witnesses the benefits and advantages of separate electorate for them, completely oblivious of the fact that among the Muhammadans of Bengal, there are depressed classes as depressed as they are among the Hindus.

Let us try to discuss this question of separate representation of depressed classes or of reserved seats as dispassionately as we can.

We do not know what is exactly referred to by the term "Depressed classes." It seems that the various speakers at the Round Table Conference used the term in different senses. Some used it in the sense of Panchamas or Untouchables of Madras. We can at once say that in Bengal, there is scarcely any such problem.

For the purposes of our discussion below, we take the term "Depressed classes" to mean those castes which have been so regarded by the Census authorities in the Bengal Census of 1921, and those who are really depressed in the ordinary sense of the term. The Census Superintendent, Bengal, says :

> "The term has never been defined and it is not easy to define it. It has not quite the same meaning as *the backward classes*, the classes backward in education and in civilization generally, and yet is not coterminous with the lowest class in the Hindu social scale. *There are classes among the Muhammadans which are very backward in education*, as there are Buddhist, Animist and Hindu tribes in the Darjeeling hills and in the hill tracts to the east of the Province, but when the question of proportional representation of the depressed classes in the Democratic Government of the country was considered, it was obviously not intended that any Muhammadan section should be included among them, *for separate representation has been given to the Muhammadans.* . . . There

are castes like, for instance, the Sunris and Telis, who in education are far advanced compared with castes which rank below or level with them in the social scale and I would certainly not count such castes among the depressed classes. The following castes together number about 11,250,000 and with a few smaller castes which should be held to come under the same category we may place the depressed classes in Bengal at about 11½ millions :

1. Bagdi. 2. Bauri. 3. Bhuimali. 4. Bhuiya. 5. Bhumij. 6. Chamar and Muchi. 7. Chasi Kaibarttas. 8. Dom. 9. Garo. 10. Hadi. 11. Hajang. 12. Hari. 13. Jalia Kaibartta. 14. Kulu. 15. Kaora. 16. Kaira. 17. Kasta. 18. Khandait. 19. Kheu. 20. Koch. 21. Koiri. 22. Kora. 23. Kurmi. 24. Lohar. 25. Mal. 26. Malo. 27. Mech. 28. Munda. 29. *Namasudra*. 30. Nuniya. 31. Oraon. 32. Patni. 33. *Pod*. 34. Pundari. 35. Rajbansi. 36. Raju. 37. Santal. 38. Sukli, and 39. Tiyar."—*Bengal Census Report*, 1921 Pt. I. p. 365.

The Bengal Government in their Report on the working of the Reformed Constitution in Bengal 1921-1927, by accepting this estimate of 11½ millions, and specifically referring to some 5 or 6 castes included above, has perhaps accepted this meaning of the term "Depressed classes." The Simon Commission and the Indian Central Committee have adopted the above figures and estimate.

It would seem as if there are no depressed classes (we write the word depressed with a small d) among the Muhammadans. But this is far from the truth. In spite of their democratic religion, there are castes among the Muhammadans, as well as depressed classes. Mr. E. A. Gait, afterwards Sir Edward Gait, in the *Bengal Census Report* of 1901, Vol. VI, made specific enquiries and embodied the results of his enquiry in the census report of 1901. The now defunct Eastern Bengal and Assam Government stopped the enquiry for political reasons at the time of the census of 1911 ; and since then no specific enquiries have been made at the instance of the Government, either at the time of the censuses or at any other time. On the other hand, in spite of the policy of Islamization which has been going on since 1905, customs and social practices die hard.

Sir Herbert Risley in his *Peoples of India* makes the following observations :

> "In the sight of the God, and of His Prophet all followers of Islam are equal. In India, however, *caste is in the air*; its contagion has spread even to the Muhammadans; and we find its evolution proceeding on characteristically Hindu lines."

In another place, he observes :

> "Just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so within the higher ranks of the Muhammadans a Saiyad will marry a Sheikh's daughter but will not give his daugher in return."

Gait says,

> "In some places a...class, called Arzal, or 'lowest of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halal-Khor, Lalbegi, Abdal, and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate, and *who are forbidden to enter the Mosque, or to use the Public Burial Ground.*" (See Bengal Census Report 1901, p. 439.)

The Bengal Census Report of 1901, ch. XI § 813 says :

> "A striking resemblance between the Muhammadan functional groups and Hindu castes is that they have the same system of caste management. The Jolahas, Kunjras, Kulus, Dais, Darzies, Dhunias, etc., all have the governing committees (*i. e.* panchayets).
>
> The panchayet takes cognizance of all breaches of caste custom in respect of trade, religion, or morality....Among the social offences of which the panchayet takes cognizance may be mentioned the *eating of forbidden food*, divorce without due causes,—*marrying women of other castes* (whether of higher or lower rank is immaterial) eating with or smoking from the *hukka* of out-castes, etc. The result is that these groups are often *as strictly endogamous as Hindu castes.*" § 814.

About the rules and practice of commensality among the Muhammadans Sir Edward Gait says :

> An Ashraf—"a man of high position will not sit down to eat from the same dish, or in the same place with a man who is distinctly his inferior. In the case of Ajlaf castes, the usual rule appears to be that each caste should eat alone."

Mr. Muddiman, afterwards Sir Alexander Muddiman, is also of the same opinion.

Sir Edward Gait gives a list of 55 Muhammadan castes. (*Bengal Census Report*, p. 443 *et seq*).

We believe we have made out that there is caste among the Muhammadans as well, and that some of them are equally depressed. We are afraid we cannot give the population strength of these Muhammadan castes. It can safely be asserted that some 20 to 25 per cent of the Muhammadans are usually regarded as low castes.

Assuming that communal representation remains, the non-Muhammadans will have to be divided into two sections (1) Caste Hindus, and (2) Depressed classes, and the Muhammadans also into (1) Ashraf, and (2) Arzal. If the Muhammadans are not divided into two separate sections and allowed to fuse together the Hindus should also be allowed to remove their social barriers, etc. It may be pointed out that some depressed class leaders urge the necessity of separate electorates or reserved seats or some other suitable devices to protect their own interest. In reply, it may be said that the Hindu system, in spite of its caste systems and social drawbacks have allowed these leaders to rise; even conceding that the British administration is responsible for their rise, their rise has been possible because they were within the Hindu fold. It has yet to be seen whether it is possible for any Halalkhor or Lalbegi amongst the Muhammadans to rise to leadership. Even the British administration, in spite of its special patronage of the Muhammadans during the last 30 years, has not been able to make a Halalkhor or Lalbegi rise to leadership.

Since the introduction of the Reforms, there have been four general elections; and out of possible 55 Hindu seats in each Council there have been at least 3 or 4 so-called depressed class M. L. C's returned by general constituencies. Sometimes the number has risen as high as 7; and sometimes they have entered the Council by defeating caste Hindus. No doubt, there are depressed class candidates, who have been defeated by caste Hindus; but the number of such candidates is very small and can be counted on finger's ends. And they have been defeated because of their individual merits, and of the superior organization of their rivals, not because they are depressed class candidates. The so-called leaders of depressed classes are mostly recruited from such disappointed men. If one asks for their achievements by way of moral endeavour in other walks of life, or what they have done for the uplift of their own community, their record is very poor, if not pure blank.

So far as the Muhammadans are concerned, we have yet to see an M. L. C. proclaiming himself as belonging to the Jolaha or Kulu or Halalkhor castes.

We shall now deal with the proposal to form the depressed classes amongst the Hindus into separate electorates.

As stated above, 40 castes are regarded as depressed. The strength of the individual castes vary from 22 lacs in the case of Chasi Kaibarttas or Mahisyas or 20 lac Namasudras to 17,000 Suklis, or 7000 Koiris. There is very little in common between these different castes. Often they are territorially separated, *e. g.* Namasudras are not found in Midnapore, nor any Pods found in Faridpur. If all these castes are to be grouped together to form an electorate, one is tempted to ask the question what have the Koiris (say) done for the uplift and improvement of the Pods that the right to represent the Pods should be given to him exclusively, and denied to the high caste Kayastha. A Kayastha has as much right to represent a Pod as a Koiri, rather a better title as he may have established schools, or organized anti-malarial societies.

The right to representation is something different from the right to represent. A Namasudra may complain that under the franchise rules he is not getting the vote; but when he says he shall have the right to represent, to the exclusion of others, his case is different and he must justify himself in his new claim.

The question of giving separate representation to each of the depressed castes does not arise; for it would be absurd to form the 7,000 Koiris into a separate electorate and give them one representative in the Council, for the Legislative Council then, instead of being a national council, would be a congress of castes.

Another effect of giving separate representation to the entire group of Depressed classes will be to help certain castes to get almost a monopoly of representation to the exclusion of other castes. Our meaning will be clear from the following table showing the respective number of Namasudras, and other depressed classes in the districts named below:

| | Total Hindus | Total Depressed classes | Namasudras | Other depressed classes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dacca | 1,069 | 447 | 257 | 190 |
| Faridpur | 816 | 495 | 411 | 84 |
| Bakarganj | 754 | 373 | 330 | 43 |
| Khulna | 727 | 484 | 228 | 256 |
| Jessore | 656 | 358 | 179 | 179 |

Thus Namasudras, being the most numerous single caste in the above five districts, are either in absolute majority over the other depressed classes or in sufficiently large majority to prevent the return of other depressed caste members to the legislature, if separate electorates be conceded to the depressed classes. It is perhaps for this reason that the Namasudra representative in the Bengal Franchise Committee, the Namasudra witnesses before the Lothian Committee and most Namasudra associations have pressed for separate representation, as opposed to reserved seats, in the local legislature.

What we have stated above about the Namasudras may be true of other castes in other areas.

The different depressed classes are not represented in the electoral rolls in strength proportional to population, as under the present electoral rules the property qualification inposed is a high one and in its ordinary operation it brings more agriculturists within the electoral range than those who follow other occupations. 85 per cent of the Pods are agriculturists, while only 31 per cent of Dhobas are so. Hence for a given strength of population more Pods get votes than Dhobas. Separate electorate for the depressed classes will accentuate and bring into prominence this difference in voting strength between the different castes, whereas, at present, any such difference is mitigated by the presence of a large number of caste Hindus, whose strength in the electoral rolls may not be proportional to their population strength.

A representative of the depressed classes returned by a separate electorate will have as much voice in the Councils of the nation as any other representative. If we assume,—of course it is an assumption,—that the intelligence of the electorate is proportional to the number of literates amongst them, the depressed class electorate will be more illiterate and more irresponsible.

The percentages of literacy amongst certain high castes and depressed classes are given below for comparison. This list is merely illustrative. The figures are taken from the Census Report, 1921.

| High Caste. | | | Depressed Class. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Baidya | 66.2 p.c. | 1. Pod | | 13.8 p. |
| 2. Agarwala | 54.2 p.c. | 2. Chasi Kaibartta | | 13.1 p. |
| 3. Brahman | 48.4 p.c. | 3. Namasudra | | 8.5 p. |
| 4. Kayastha | 41.3 p.c. | 4. Patni | | 7.0 p. |
| 5. Barui | 22.9 p.c. | 5. Rajbangsi | | 6.5 p. |
| 6. Teli | 22.5 p.c. | 6. Koch | | 3.8 p. |
| 7. Sadgop | 20.0 p.c. | 7. Bauri | | .7 p.c. |
| 8. Kalu | 15.2 p.c. | 8. Sontal | | .5 p. |

To such an electorate, which is comparatively more illiterate and more irresponsible, and who will not have the balancing help of an intelligent section of the people, *viz.*, caste Hindus, will be offered the choice of selecting a representative from a narrow group. He will not make a choice between a Kayastha or a Namasudra. He will be forced to make a choice of which Namasudra he prefers.

If we assume that the capacity to represent is proportional to literacy in English among the respective castes, an assumption not very wrong in the peculiar circumstances of our country, we again find that the capacity to represent is less among the depressed classes.

We give below a comparative table of literacy in English between the same castes as above.

Number per 10,000 *males* aged 5 and over who are literate in English.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Baidya | 5,130. | 1. Pod | [illegible] |
| 2. Agarwala | 1,338. | 2. Chasi Kaibartta | [illegible] |
| 3. Brahman | 2,774. | 3. Namasudra | [illegible] |
| 4. Kayastha | 2,560. | 4. Patni | [illegible] |
| 5. Barui | 802. | 5. Rajbangsi | [illegible] |
| 6. Teli | 671. | 6. Koch | [illegible] |
| 7. Sadgop | 587. | 7. Bauri | [illegible] |
| 8. Kalu | 204. | 8. Sontal | [illegible] |

Finally, we see the result will be that a more illiterate and more ignorant electorate will have to make choices from the less educated and the less responsible group of candidates.

We shall now deal with the suggestion of reserving seats for depressed classes. This reservation, we presume, will be proportional to the numerical strength of the respective castes. Suppose the strength of the Council is increased to 500 with 50 million people. Every 1 lac will have a seat. Even then the smaller castes like the Koiris will have to wait for 40 years before they can take their turn in the legislative council. Sometimes when the turn for a particular caste comes the electorate will be forced to make a selection of some half-educated man in preference to really qualified men ; *e. g.* out of the 2 Garos who are literate in English, in preference to the Missionary who educated him. The Bauris are 3 lacs strong, and as such, entitled to 3 representatives. The electorate will have to make choice out of 104 literates in English, of whom perhaps half are minors. If it is suggested that seats be reserved for the depressed classes proportional to their aggregate total strength, *i. e.*, in the proportion of 11½ out of 46, there is no virtue or merit in the suggestion, excepting that of debarring to a certain extent the highly educated caste Hindus from getting into the legislature as representatives of the depressed classes. Those castes among the Depressed classes, who are either most numerous or most educated, will monopolize the representation in the legislature to the exclusion of the minor and more backward castes.

In addition to theoretical objections to reservation of seats, it will lead to administrative difficulties. For most of the so-called depressed classes, especially those which are more numerous, are spread over several districts. For example, the Koiris are found near Calcutta and suburbs, also scattered over Bengal. The Namasudras are in greatest strength in Faridpur, Bakarganj, Jessore and Khulna. In these 4 districts more than half the total number of this caste is found. They are found also in Dacca, Mymensing, Tippera and Pabna. The Chamars are found throughout Bengal, and everywhere they form an insignificant minority.

The depressed classes numbering 11½ millions out of 21 million Hindus are in a majority of 2 millions over the caste Hindus. Reserved electorate for them would be objectionable as it would guarantee an electoral advantage to a majority ; as it would not permit the benefit of a victory in a straight fight, and would place restriction upon "the right to represent" as opposed to "the right to representation" ; and lastly it would lead to inefficiency, as a candidate below the line gets the seat in supersession of a candidate above the line.

With the extension of the franchise the depressed classes are sure to come in greater number within the electoral range. They already form a not inconsiderable section of the electors on the roll. Of course no quantitative estimates can be given, but those who have to do with contested elections in rural constituencies know that a considerable portion of the electorate belong to the lower castes. Assuming that the communal and separate electorate is maintained for the Muhammadans, the so-called depressed classes are in majority over the caste Hindus in 14 districts, and in practical equality with the caste Hindus in 4 or 5 districts more, as will be apparent from the subjoined table. If the Animists are added to the figures for depressed classes their majority will be greater in a larger number of districts ; and ordinarily they will be able to hold their own against the caste Hindus. Their real difficulty lies in the dearth of suitable candidates commanding respect.

| District. | Proportion of the population per mille belonging to the depressed classes. | Caste Hindus. |
|---|---|---|
| Burdwan | 406 | 373 |
| Birbhum | 407 | 273 |
| Bankura | 426 | 439 |
| Midnapur | 598 | 284 |
| Hoogly | 448 | 371 |
| Howrah | 469 | 323 |
| 24-Parganas | 419 | 223 |
| Calcutta | 113 | 595 |
| Nadia | 186 | 205 |
| Murshidabad | 214 | 236 |
| Jessore | 208 | 93 |
| Khulna | 333 | 167 |
| Rajshahi | 137 | 76 |
| Dinajpur | 419 | 21 |
| Jalpaiguri (*) | 559 | 177 |
| Rangpur | 241 | 74 |
| Bogra | 96 | 70 |
| Pabna | 105 | 135 |
| Malda | 198 | 208 |
| Dacca | 143 | 199 |
| Mymensingh | 119 | 123 |
| Faridpur | 220 | 142 |
| Bakarganj | 142 | 145 |
| Tippera | 86 | 171 |
| Noakhali | 54 | 169 |
| Chittagong | 29 | 196 |

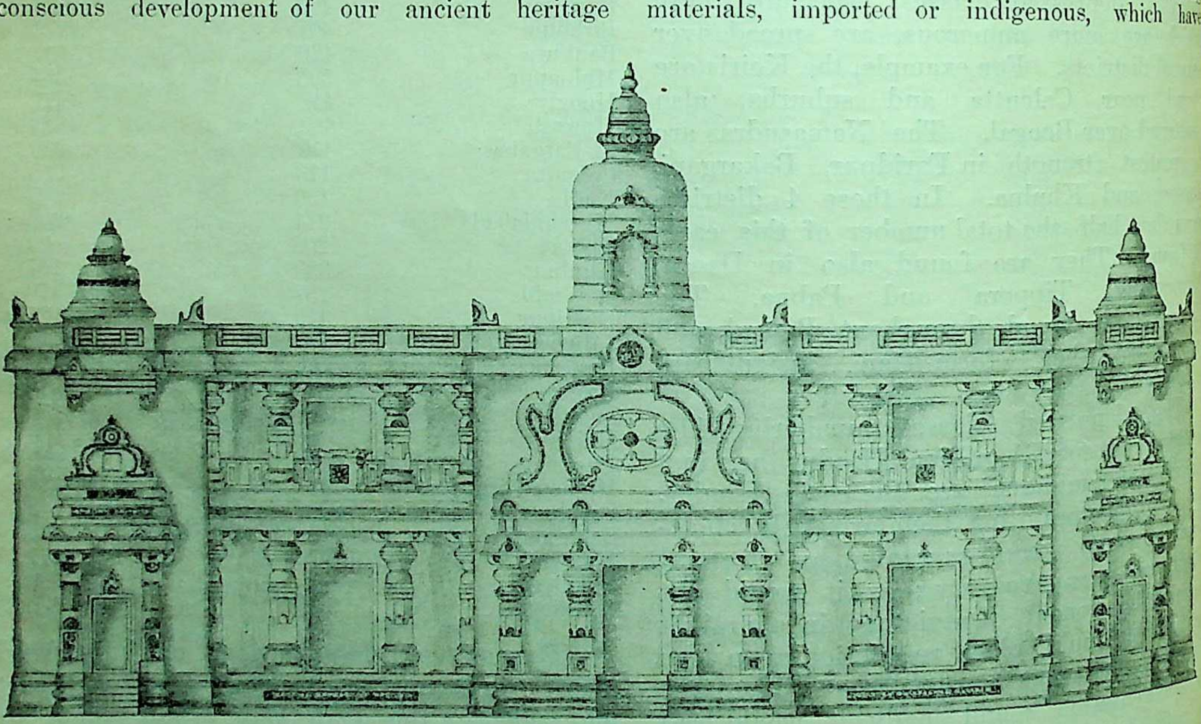
The above classification of depressed classes began with the 1921 Census Report and ended on the 12th May, 1930 when Sir John Simon signed his Report. The Bengal Government published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 29th May, 1930, a fresh list of minority communities and BACKWARD CLASSES, (not 'depressed classes'—mark the change in the phraseology), which comprised in addition to the 39 depressed castes as enumerated by the Census Superintendent of Bengal, 14 other Hindu castes. This list was prepared for the purpose of Civil Services (Governors' Provinces) classification Rules.

We have been told that there is another and a different list for the purposes of the Political Department of the Government of Bengal. As this is an era of never-ending special privileges and an ever-expanding classification of backward and depressed classes and minorities, perhaps we will some day see the Europeans classed as such, as they form only an insignificant proportion of the population. Let us hope and wait for such a day !

# ALL-INDIA HINDU ARCHITECTURE

By SRIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, A. M. A. E., M. R. A. S. (London)

ARCHITECTURE must march with the progress of time, its growth can not remain arrested. In this machine age, our conditions and our outlook on life have changed. The political atmosphere of India is also changed. Now we are striving to unite in a common aspiration and forge ahead on the path of the conscious development of our ancient heritage our thoughts. Hence also our recent artistic revival. At such a time, one would likewise expect the evolution of a simple, artistic, composite, style, which, on the one hand, will represent, before the world, modern Hindu architecture, and, on the other, suit our common requirements and utilise standardized building materials, imported or indigenous, which have



Elevation of the Kala Bhavan at Benares
*Architect, Srish Chandra Chatterjee*

to suit our modern environment. We are engaged in moulding ourselves into one nation and, consequently, crave a common language for been found all over India to be suitable to our political and economic conditions. Such style, as I have said, will be of an "all-India Hindu character. At the same time, different provincial or communal styles, based upon local conditions and local history, must continue to flourish side by side, as spontaneous art creations coming out of local folk traditions. The conditions of the country have changed, as I have said, and changed in the direction of uniformity of taste, habit and requirements. Reinforced concrete is becoming increasingly important in our present-day building construction all over India. This has resulted in the character of the structures and the method of construction coming to have common features even in places so distant from one another as Bengal and Malabar. Like the standard type of railway station buildings, a common all-India style of architecture, for imposing residences and, specially, for public and commercial buildings is, naturally, and without any conscious effort, being evolved, under one and the same political sky. (The Gupta and Hindu-Mogul styles once unified all parts of India and the classical and Gothic renaissance styles conquered this country from South to North during the last century.) One would wish for an artistic communion between all the provinces in building up that future all-India style.

We cannot prevent the intrusion of some foreign elements. The architecture of each and every country of the world has had to submit to such intrusion and has often been the richer for it. Our ancient Indian architecture was no exception to this rule. Cave No. 19 of Ajanta is one example which with its broad eclecticism is extolled as a marvel of Indian art. But whether in art or architecture or in any domain of thought, India first absorbed and made its own all the foreign influences that it admitted before they flowered. The waves of invasion which passed over India thus left the essential continuity of Indian culture and the solidarity of the sub-continent unbroken. Our modern Indian architecture, although it should be adapted to suit our present needs, must have as its foundation the traditions of our age-old architecture which has been in continued existence for over two thousand years. It is neither possible nor desirable to break with the past. Even the most violent iconoclast can not cut himself adrift from the tendencies with which he was brought into this world, or do away, as we say, with his inherent *samskaras*.

The design for the proposed Kala Bhawan at Benares is an attempt in such all-India Hindu style of architecture. It bears on its face traces of the successive developments of Indian architecture in Magadha from the time of Asoka down to this day. It also attempts at a harmonious display of elements from South Indian architecture. Benares, the city of the yore, the cradle of Hindu civilization, stands for, and is claimed by all India. Its art museum should, therefore, breathe the spirit of cosmopolitanism. The modern clerestory shown in the *chaitya* window has been Indianized to harmonize with the structure which can obviously be accepted as the modern *development of the Bengal architecture of the Pal period.* Proper arrangements according to modern ideas will be made for the introduction of ample light and air into the rooms. The structure will be partly of reinforced concrete and the facing of Mirzapore stone such as is locally available. The symbolism is typified by the figure of Buddha holding the Wheel of Law, which is to be seen on the main entrance. The central *sikhara,* adapted from a votive stupa at Sarnath, can also *serve the function of a clock-tower*: the corner domes symbolize the bells of the Visvesvara temple. Few decorative elephant friezes and *nayika* figures bespeaking the arts of different periods, from the Sunga to the mediaeval Gupta, will judiciously be inserted, The cost is expected to be moderate compared to the richness of effect achieved.

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# THE FALL OF BALI*

## By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Bali, the King, of the race of giants,
Waxed mighty in war and seized the kingdom
Of the gods, who hied to Vishnu, the wise,
The invincible, for help in their plight.

He, the chief of the Triad, the helper of the universe,
Gave patient ear to the woes of the gods:
Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, told
(The crimson shame mounting to his temples),
How the godly host had fled before the dazzling
Puissance of Bali without the clash of battle.

To the gods spake Vishnu in voice of passionless calm,
'Ye have been vanquished by the splendour
'Of Bali without measuring his might,
'Not by war but by wile shall he be humbled.
'Rest ye in hope and be of good cheer.'
And the gods, taking heart of grace, departed.

King Bali was bountiful as he was brave,
And he gave of his abundance with royal grace,
Nor Brahmin nor beggar sought him in vain.
The royal treasure was poured out by stintless hands
And the poor blessed the King for his lavish bounty.

To the King as he sat in royal estate
Came a tiny, little manikin, a strange youth,
Diminutive of height and small of limbs.
His matted locks fell from his shapely head,
The sacred thread showed him a Brahmin born.
Albeit a dwarf he was clothed with native majesty
And his eyes shone like twin stars.

Up rose Bali with bowed head and folded hands,
'Hail, Sir Brahmin!' quoth the King, 'Welcome,
'O noble youth! How shall I serve thy need?
'What wouldst thou? Ask and it shall be given unto thee.

'Sir King,' said the midget in a voice that
Sounded like music of compelling power,
'I have heard of thy royal bounty and I crave a boon:
'Grant me land that I can cover in three steps.'

Much marvelled King Bali to hear this prayer;
Was the lad little of wit as well as of limb?
'Child,' said the king, 'Ask for an island kingdom
'And it shall be thine. How will it profit thee
'To hold a little bit of land? I rule over
"The three worlds and seek thou of my grace
'What thou wilt, nor turn to another for help.'

'I ask for no more and no less, O King,'
Answered the youthful pigmy in even tones;
'I seek land that I can measure with three steps
'Mine be the profit and thine the merit.'

Sukra, the wise preceptor, bent to the king's ear
And spake low, 'Beware, O King, for this dwarf
'Is not what he seems. He is the Lord Vishnu
'Incarnate as a puny pigmy. Withhold thy boon
'Lest thou help thine own undoing.'

With kingly dignity answered the King,
'Prahlad, the truthful, the prince of steadfast faith,
'Was my grandsire and I hold to my word.
'Let come what may, the Brahmin gets his boon.
'Come, young Sir, measure thy steps and take thy land.'

In a flash came the miracle, and, lo,
The pigmy grew till his head struck the stars
And towered high above the starry host.
The universe was mirrored in his limbs,
And gods and men stared with speechless awe.
In a single stride he covered the whole earth
And the second took in the wide range of heaven;

Neither earth nor heaven had space for the third step.

From the high empyrean fell the Lord's voice
On the king's ear: 'Thou art forsworn,
'For thou gavest me land measured
'By my three steps; I have taken but two strides

'And there is neither land nor space left in earth or heaven

'Thou promised more than was thine to give
'And thou art false to thy plighted word.'

Of a royal and fearless race came Bali;
Undismayed he bent his head and said,
'Nay, Lord, my plighted word holds good.
'Take thou the third stride and place
'Thy foot upon my bowed head. So thou
Shalt have thy will and I shall be content.

Bereft of his wide domain King Bali
Was appointed lord of the nether regions,
And the gods came into their own again.

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* The letter *a* in the name Bali is to be pronounced like the *u* in the word *but*.

# EDUCATION FOR THE FREE COMMUNITY

By E. M. GILLETT

IT is a well-known biological fact, that the higher the species, the longer is the period of childhood. Since the business of education, whether conscious or unconscious, has always been evolution, it is as well to take this primary fact into account in a system of education which aims at providing a better type of citizen than the world has seen before.

## 1. TIME FOR GROWTH

The first ingredient of education for citizenship in a free community is time for growth. What patience we need in watching the growth of a tree, yet how little patience we often have in watching the growth of something infinitely more precious, the individuality of a human being. The normal classification in English primary schools, of Infants department five to eight years, Juniors eight to eleven years, and Seniors eleven to fourteen years, is entirely arbitrary. Our insistence on a certain standard of work at eleven years as a test of capacity for the higher education of the secondary school, and our fetish of examinations at each stage of education, show a woeful lack of patience with the essential difference in rate of development between one child and another. Thus we hurry over that most important of all the periods of growth, the play period, and we press the child on through that time when his one ambition is to "Stand and Stare" or to carry on his own experiments, in order that at fourteen or seventeen, as fortune allows, he may have the required amount of education to pass his examinations. India is longing for her emancipation. Let us hope the new India of the near future will emancipate her children from the tyranny of the examination system, without which teachers would dare to let their pupils go their own pace, knowing that "The slower the growth the stouter the tree."

## 2. RESPONSIBILITY

It has been very wonderful to see how, in time of need, the people of India have responded to the call for leaders and have filled positions of danger and responsibility with little previous training. But in time of peace this stimulus will not be present, and one of the first needs of the India of the future will be people who can take the lead and people who can be relied upon to give loyal support. Our schools, therefore, must produce an environment which will develop initiative and responsibility. We cannot begin too young. The home, of course, is the normal starting point, for even a child of two or three can learn to do many things for himself if the adult will have the patience to let him, even if it takes a much longer time. School, however, offers opportunities not possible in the home, because there he is always surrounded by his elders. Self-government is one of the essentials of modern education most held in suspicion by those who have never tried it with perseverance, and yet it is no use trying to teach responsibility without a large measure of it. Children of seven years can be made responsible for the care of their own room and possessions, for any accounts that need to be kept, and for discipline. At Santiniketan even the youngest pupils keep their own laundry accounts, and have entire control of the discipline of their group. This means that the teachers must expect mistakes to be made, and frequent failures, but all the time the children are learning what the world has not yet succeeded in learning, the adjustment of the individual to the demands of a society. In my own experience at the King Alfred School in London, self-government for the younger children from eight to eleven years sometimes resulted in extreme rowdiness working up to a climax, followed by a new beginning on slightly different lines. We modelled our form-council on lines of committee procedure and sent representatives to the junior and senior school councils, but the model can be various: The ancient village moot, council gathering of a clan, parliament, or in India, the Panchayat. In any case, leadership would probably be by election, the group being responsible for the leader chosen by themselves. In my own experience, I found it a mistake to attend the council in the beginning. It is a better plan to teach the children the necessary procedure beforehand and then to leave them alone to work out their own salvation. It will probably be necessary for the teachers to see reports of the meetings and to hold the right of veto since children are inclined to be stricter disciplinarians than their elders.

Four elements are essential to the teacher if this system is to be any good at all (1) faith in children's sense of pair-play, (2) readiness to be a helper well in the background, (3) patience with failures, (4) a deep respect for each individual, however young. It is always a great inspiration to watch the growth of order from pandemonium and the dawn of social consciousness from self-interest. Hard at times it may be for teachers and children, but it has been truly said that "freedom still remains the only cure for freedom's temporary inconveniences."

### 3. FREEDOM

Freedom and responsibility are inseparable. When freedom is lacking in any State, it is our business in school to make good rebels, for only so can we make good citizens—

> "Till he can forge a yoke for his broad back,
> And drag mankind one step up some new track."

When will this not be necessary! "But will this education fit my child for life in the world?" ask anxious parents. The answer is, "No, we hope not. Our task is to enable him to make a new world fit to live in." This means too, that there must be freedom of speech in school. The history, literature, science and other lessons must be times for free intercourse and debate between teacher and children, believing that it is more important to make people think than to give them information, though the latter must not be neglected. Sometimes liberty of speech will result in licence. One little girl was asked why she had spoken rudely to me, and her only reply was "Are you so grand that no one may be rude to you?" She was in one way quite right. The teacher must enter the rough and tumble of juvenile intercourse, having faith that by the practice of courtesy and humility in himself, his children will come to be good 'Satyagrahis' themselves.

A system which wants mere hands, wage slaves, tame mechanized beings, upholders of the *status quo* whatever it may be, must look elsewhere, not to us for its supply. We must take the fetters of adult domination from off our children, for freedom means life more abundant, the growth of man's divinity. We want our children to respect rightful authority, we want them to learn that brute force will never bring justice and peace and brotherhood; we want them by respecting themselves to learn respect for every other child of God. If we can get these things, we can safely leave the future to the children.

# ENGINEERING EDUCATION IN GERMANY

By TRIGUNA SEN, M. E.

## I

LIBERTY in every direction is the characteristic of the German institutions of higher learning. The spirit of absolute liberty that permeates the universities and technical institutes really represents their characteristic feature and entered them when an entire epoch was filled with aspiration for liberty. This spirit maintains itself in them, because it is upheld by the idealism of the entire nation. The phrase, "science and its doctrines are free" is firmly established in the German constitution.

The university as a whole enjoys an extensive autonomy. The head of the autonomous administration is the Rektor, a member of the teaching body, elected yearly by the professors and assisted in his official work by a small committee of professors, the Senate. "Fakultat" (faculty) means the body of professors of one department. The chairman of a faculty, elected each year is the "Dekan" (dean). He conducts the affairs of the faculty and is its authorized representative for all matters concerning instruction and examination. The organization is similar with the other institutes. The State refrains from interfering in the matter of self-administration of the board of instructors.

A professor in Germany enjoys a high degree of personal independence. He is at liberty to proceed in the domain of his own choice according to the methods which appear to him best ; nobody will prevent him from uttering freely his convictions or the results of investigation.

The liberty of the teacher corresponds with the liberty of the students. The student is free to choose the university. He may change it to his liking from term to term. There is no system of regular semestral or yearly examination. He need not follow a prescribed plan in his studies nor is he bound to attend definite lectures. The free self-determination left to the student is considered to be the best foundation for the development of joy for work, sense of duty and responsibility.

Thus the entire work at the universities and technical institutes is adapted to the education for free scientific thinking and investigation. The greatest scholar is considered at the same time to be the best teacher and whoever has finished his scientific education with the seriousness of searching for truth, is supposed to be preferable also in the practical profession, to the man that has but knowledge of facts and technical ability at his command.

In Germany there are the following kinds of scientific institutes, universities, institutes of technology, veterinary, agriculture, forestry and commercial institutes, the academies of mining, etc.

The institutes of technology or Engineering Universities (Technische Hochschule) are in Aachen (1870), Berlin-Charlottenburg (1879), Breslau (1910), Hanover (1831), Munich (1827), Dresden (1828), Stuttgart (1829), Karlsruhe (1825), Darmstadt (1836) and Brunswick (1745).

At the institutes of technology there are departments for instruction in various subjects, such as architecture, civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering, ship-building and marine engineering, chemistry and metalurgy and general scientific education. Economics is included in the general scientific education. Only Munich has a special department for economics. Aachen and Berlin have the departments for mining. There are special departments for mathematics and natural science in the institutes of technology in Darmstadt and Dresden and for pharmacy in those of Darmstadt and Brunswick.

The subjects of study in the different institutes of technology in Germany :

(1) Architecture—in all the institutes except that in Breslau, with special arrangements in Berlin, Dresden, Munich and Stuttgart.

(2) Aeronautics, designs and constructions of aeroplanes, etc. are taught in all of the institutes of technology with special arrangements in Aachen, Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Darmstadt and Dresden.

(3) Agricultural engineering—Agriculture is taught in the special agriculture institutes in Berlin, Bonn, Hohenheim, Weihenstephan and also in the universities in Breslau, Halle, Königsberg and Leipzig.

(4) Civil Engineering—in all the institutes except that in Breslau. There are special laboratories for civil engineering in the institutes in Aachen, Berlin, Brunswick, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Munich and Stuttgart.

(5) Chemistry—organic and inorganic chemistry are taught in all the institutes as well as in the universities with the following special laboratories in the respective institutes of technology :

Aachen—Chem. tech. Institute, Electro-chem. Laboratory.
Berlin—Inst. for Physical Chem. and Electrochem. Techn-chem. Laboratory.
Brunswick—Inst. for Chem. Technology.
Breslau—Labor. for Physical Chemistry.
Darmstadt—Electro-chem. Institute.
Dresden—Laboratory for Electro-chemistry and Physical Chemistry Laboratory for Dye-chemistry and colour technique.
Hanover—Chem-tech-laboratory, Electro-chemical Institute ; Bacterolog. chem. Institute.
Karlsruhe—Institute for Phys. chem. and Electro-chem ; Chem. tech. Institute except laboratory for chem. tech. Institute for Photochem.
Munich—Labor. for Applied Chem. Chem-Tech. laboratory, Electro. chem. labratory.
Stuttgart—Labor. for Electro. chem.

6. Electrical engineering—In all the institutes with the following laboratories and institutes.

Aachen—Electro. tech. Inst. ; Test-bed for Elec. machines ; Magnetic fields.
Berlin—Elec. tech. laboratory ; Expt. Installation for Electro. tech ; Labor. for Light-technique.
Breslau—Elec. tech. Inst.
Darmstadt—Elec-tech. Inst.
Dresden—Elec-tech. Inst. for Elec. machine construction and elec. plants ; Inst. for "Schwachstromtechnik" : Labor. for Dynamometer section.
Hanover—Electr. Inst. and Expt. labor. for High Voltage techn. Labor. for Elec. Machineries.
Karlsruhe—Electr. Institute with "Starkstromtechnic, Schwachstromtechnic. Light-tech. and Tech. physics.
Munich—Elec. tech. Inst. Laboratory for Measuring Instruments. Labor. for Elec. Machineries ; Labor. for High Voltage tech ; Electro-phys. Labor.
Stuttgart—Elec. tech ; Inst.

(7) Metallurgy—In the Institutes in Aachen, Berlin and Breslau.

(8) Mechanical engineering—In all the Institutes with their following respective laboratories and institutes.

Aachen—Labor. for the construction of machines ; Labor. for Machine tools ; Labor. for motors, working machineries and internal combustion engines.
Berlin—Mechanical laboratory ; Experimental Laboratory for installation of machine tools ; Experimental laboratory for Hydraulic Motors.
Brunswick—Mechanical laboratory ; Testing laboratory for carrying on special experiments in machine parts, measuring instruments and fuels.
Breslau—Mechanical laboratory ; Laboratory for machine tools.
Darmstadt—5 laboratories for the mech-engineering and construction of machineries.
Dresden—Laboratory for machine construction ; Institute for the experiments on machine tools.
Hanover—3 Mech. Engineering laboratories ; Institute for machine tools, Elect. machine laboratory.
Karlsruhe—Mechanical-eng. laboratory with power-plant. Institute for mech. technology (testing materials and machine tools) ; 3 more laboratories for mechanical engineering.
Munich—Mechanical engineering laboratory ; Hydraulic Institute Experimental labor. for turbine and waterpower machines.
Stuttgart—Engineering laboratory ; laboratory for machineries with power plant.

(9) Minerology—In all the Institutes of technology as well as in the universities.

(10) Paper industry—besides the special Institutes for the subject in Altenburg and Cothen, paper manufacture is also taught at the institute of Technology in Darmstadt and Munich.

(11) Physics—Theoretical and practical physics are taught in all the universities, Institute of technology, Agricultural Institute, Veterinary schools and in Academies for mining. A physical Institute with both theoretical and practical physics depts. is attached to all the universities except those in Cologne and Konigsberg and in all of the Institutes of Technology except that in Breslau. In addition to the physical institute for general education in theoretical and experimental physics, there are the following special establishments in the following respective Institute of Technology.

Aachen—Institute for theoretical Metallurgy and physical chemistry.
Berlin—Institute for technical Physics.
Breslau—Physical chem. Laboratory.
Darmstadt—2 physical Institutes.
Hanover—Institutes for high frequence physics.
Munich—Laboratory for technical physics.
Stuttgart—Laboratory for X'Ray technique.

(12) Railway engineering—in all the institutes of technology with special arrangements those in Aachen, Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Hanover.

(13) Ship-building and Marine engineering—In Berlin and Darmstadt.

(14) Wireless telegraphy, telephony, etc. are taught in the physical laboratories attached to all the Institutes of technology and universities with the special arrangements at the Institutes in Berlin, Darmstadt, Dresden, Munich and Stuttgart.

(15) Wasserbau—correction and regulation of rivers waterways, construction of bridges. Dams, etc. Irrigation are taught with special arrangements at the Institute in Aachen, Berlin. Brunswick Darmstadt, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Munich and Stuttgart.

Besides these subjects of special interest a student in an institute of technology learns many other subjects such as—sociology, history, law, economics, psychology, hygiene, geography, philosophy and photography.

Lessons are given also in shorthand and typewriting in the Braunschweig Institute of Technology. Chemistry relating to textile industry is taught in Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Munich and Stuttgart and Zoology in the Karlsruhe and Stuttgart Institute of technology.

There is a special branch of theatre and stage managements in the Munich Institute.

### METHODS OF STUDY

The choice of the course of study is as free as the choice of the place of study and the professors. Attendance at lectures is not compulsory nor is any record of attendance kept. Attendance at the laboratories and workshops is however strictly observed.

Besides the practical laboratory work, machine drawings and designs, the study is made up of "lectures," exercises, and "Seminars." A considerable part of the instruction consists of lectures by professors. The exercises are discussions between teachers and students, intended to induce independent thinking. They are a requisite complement of the lectures. The seminars consist of joint-work by teachers and students in which as a rule all members carry out independent work. Seminars are of special importance for all the students ; they are "joint assemblies of young scientists," who are either personally working together with some leading scientists or else carrying out the projects of some institute of research.

In Germany particular stress is laid on "private study." Independent choice of text-books and specially unhampered research of sources take the place of prescribed books. There is no fixed text-books and the students are to buy for himself the important scientific works dealing with his branch of study. Professors generally give a list of books which may aid students in their studies.

### SEMESTER SYSTEM

Attendance in the institutes is reckoned by semesters or terms and not by years. The summer semester lasts 3 months (May-July), the winter semester 4 months (Nov.-Feb.) Study can be begun either in summer or in winter, at will. Registration for the summer semester begins on April 15, for the winter semester on October 15. The lectures begin a week or two later. In some institutes the study begins some two weeks earlier.

### ADMISSION

Every student has to submit a written application in German to the "Rektorat der Technischen Hochschule" before March 25 for the summer semester and before September 25 for the winter semester. The following papers must be attached :

(1) An original Matriculation certificate with certified German translation.
(2) A certificate of the student's nationality.
(3) A certificate of practical work in the subject chosen for study. The practial work must have been taken without interruption. It consists of
  (*a*) 6 months' machine-shop training for the mechanical engineering faculty.
  (*b*) 4 months' handicraft training for the civil and structure engineering faculty.
  (*c*) 5 months' handicraft training for the architecture faculty.
(4) postage and a fee of 5 marks.

After the application for admission has been accepted, the student has to attend personally for his "matriculation" or registration.

### EXAMINATION

There is no entrance examination in the German institutes of technology, and as a rule no obligatory examination at the end of the semester. There is a special kind of state examination which is the so-called "Diplom Examen." This examination consists of an interim and a final examination taken four semesters apart. Duration of the study up to the "Diplom" examination is eight semesters.

For students from abroad the examination for a doctor's degree is of great importance. It denotes the completion of university study in Germany. The degree of doctor is conferred after the writing of a scientific treatise and an oral examination by the faculty in question. The minimum preceding term of study is eight semesters ; this promotion depends on the passing of the "Diplom" examination.

For the students who have finished an equivalent study up to the standard of the "Diplom" examination of the German institutes of technology, in a foreign country and want to try for the doctor's degree here should first apply to the Ministry of Education for the recognition of their diplomas or degrees. In case they are recognized, they are eligible to sit for the doctorate examination after 2 semesters, provided they finish their dissertations assigned by the professor of the faculty concerned.

### THE COST OF STUDY IN GERMANY

Due to the varying conditions of the different places, as well as diverse styles of living of individual students, it is difficult to give a right estimate of the cost of studies in an institute. However, one can try to indicate the minimum necessary expenditure one has to meet. The cost of living and the cost of study should be calculated separately.

In general, one can get a very simple furnished room with breakfast from 45-60 marks a month. To this, the cost for light and heating is added. In summer it does not vary too much, in winter one should add a sum of 10-12 marks a month. It is difficult to estimate the cost for boarding, as it depends more on one's self, on the standard of living of the individual. A plain dinner or supper in a restaurant cannot be had at a price lower than 1 mark. For light refreshments he should add an amount of about 15 marks a month. Besides, one should take into consideration the smaller but necessary extra personal expenses such as concert, theatre, washing, mending, paper and writing materials, postage, etc. A student in Germany always gets special concession in everything on showing his students' card, but the most economical student cannot manage with a sum less than 25 marks for a month. It does not however include the cost of dress, shoes and other necessities. One may say, that the minimum cost of living for an Indian student in Germany is between £10 to £12 per month.

The fee for matriculation is 25 marks, for rematriculation 15 marks. Tuition for semester is 30-40 marks. The fee for attending lectures is 2.50 to 3.50 marks per week for the semester, if the student chooses to attend the lectures of a professor who holds two one-hour lectures each week, the fee for the semester is 5 marks in case of lectures, and 7 marks, in case of exercises. The number of lecture hours attended per week multiplied by 2.50-3.50 marks will give the total fee for the semester. The fee required for whole day exercises in the laboratory is about 50 marks per semester. Fees for students' self-government, sports etc. amount to from 10-15 marks per semester. In total however one can account for 200-300 marks for a semester. In addition, one should account for books, instruments, drawing appliances, etc., a sum of 50 marks a semester. At the end of the studies one has to pay a fee of about 200 marks as an examination fee and also for the cost of printing the dissertation (thesis).

1 Rupee=1.50 marks (app.)
1 Pound=20.25 marks (app.)

Students entering the German universities or Institutes of technology are generally older than in our country—on the average 19-24. There is no I. Sc. or B. Sc. grades or degrees in Germany. The standard of education a German student receives in a high school before he is allowed to join the universities, is almost equivalent to that of our B. Sc. in India.

It is mentioned elsewhere that one can join the universities or the institutes of technology after having passed the Matriculation examination in India. The fact is, that the people here are not aware of the low standard of education we receive in our high schools. Since we are allowed to join the universities and technical institutes just after passing our Matriculation examination in India as they think, we also get the same education as their students do.

Judging from the curriculum a German student has to go through, during his studies in a high school and the subjects of study he chooses for his first term in an institute of technology, I am of opinion, that *it will be better for an Indian student to come to Germany after having passed his B. Sc. in India, when it will be easier for him to follow the course of instructions; or better still, let him finish honestly and seriously the complete course of engineering in an engineering college in India and then come to Germany to specialize in his special branch of study. He will save both time and money*

*After having finished his specialization of the subject in a German Institute of Technology, one may do its best through the efforts and co-operation of the India Institute af the Deutsche Akademie to make arrangements for his practical training in a recognized firm in Germany, where he is not required to pay any premium as is customary in Great Britain or elsewhere.*

It must be kept in mind that no Indian student should come to Germany with any expectation that he will be able to become partly self-supporting. It is practically impossible to secure any employment by a foreigner in any German factory or office. Those who wish to gain practical training in any branch of engineering or industry should have adequate theoretical knowledge of the subject and good knowledge of German language.

It is imperative that an Indian student desirous of studying in Germany should acquire working knowledge of German before leaving India. He should come to Germany at least a month or two before the beginning of a semester, which time may be profitably utilized for acquring efficiency in German language and to adjust himself in the new environments and living conditions.

For further particulars a prospective student may communicate with Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, "Residenz," Munich, Germany.

# LIVING LAMPS : LIGHT-PRODUCING SEA CREATURES AND INSECTS

### By N. C. CHOPRA

THE production of light is widespread among animals, but its significance is very obscure. Out of the various sources of light, phosphorescence is one. Phosphorescence is the property which a large number of substances possess of emitting light when placed under certain conditions and spontaneous phosphorescence is observed in certain animals and vegetables.

In tropical climates, at night the sea is often covered with a strange blue light, and the crests of the waves will glitter just as if they were adorned with millions of tiny diamonds. This weird and beautiful light, spreading out in all directions like a wonderful luminous coverlet over the quietly heaving bosom of the sea, is the most commonly known kind of "phosphorescence" and is produced by countless numbers of tiny creatures, to which scientific men have given the very appropriate name of Noctiluca, a name which really means "nightlights." This creature is one of the larger Infusorians, being one-twentieth of an inch in diameter and it is more or less abundant close inshore in nearly all parts of the world.

So small are these creatures that a single specimen looks like a tiny speck of jelly. It is almost a perfect sphere in form and has attached to its body a whip-like attachment of flagella, with which it lashes its way through the water. Should we touch the animalcule gently with a needle-point, the light will at once become visible. If left undisturbed, it will appear and disappear at fairly regular intervals.

Just before death the little Noctiluca becomes continuously luminous, the phosphorescence vanishing directly after cessation of life.

A number of interesting and ingenious experiments have been made with these Noctiluca to test their luminosity. On one occasion a goblet was filled with them and used as a lamp, and the light was found sufficiently strong to enable the experimenter to read a book. If a tumbler is filled with the phosphorescent water and examined with a pocket lens in a dark room, it is quite easy to discern the Noctiluca. Each of the round bodies, like specks of jelly, is provided with a long stout lash, by means of which the wee animal moves about in the water. The light is seen to come from all parts of the body, but here and there are points where it is most brilliant. A higher magnification would show these points to be really groups of smaller points, just as a nebula is resolved into stars by increasing the powers of the telescope.

Unlike other luminous bodies, this phosphorescent light gives forth no perceptible heat, and the most delicate thermometers are not affected by it. That it is not produced by combustion is inferred from the fact that oxygen gas when introduced will not restore the light after it has disappeared at the death of the animal.

The majority of the Medusae or jelly-fish become luminous at night, their mysterious phosphorescence lighting up the sea.

Not very much is known about the causes which induce the Noctiluca to give out the light. There is good reason for believing that the glow is at certain times much brighter than on other occasions. In fine hot weather the Noctiluca is specially brilliant, and also again during the winter when there is a settled frost. Obviously, to see the Noctiluca at their best, it is necessary that the night should be dark and without a moon.

## MARINE LIVE CYLINDERS OF LIGHT : THE FIRE-FLAME

Another very remarkable marine night-light is produced by the Fire-Flame or Pyrosoma. Each Pyrosoma is really made up of innumerable individuals, united side by side, so as to form a hollow cylinder from two to fourteen inches long, and from half an inch to three inches in circumference.

At night these creatures are vividly phosphorescent, with greenish-blue light or with changing colours. Each colony resembles a miniature incandescent cylinder of iron, and it is from this bright light that they have received their scientific name, Pyrosoma, derived from Greek words—Pyros, fire ; and Soma, a body.

This wonderful light is discontinuous, and the lighting-up seems to require a stimulus, such as a touch or a splash from a wave. When the Fire-Flame is kept in an aquarium it is brilliant for a time, and then the light fails. When a Fire-Flame is carefully examined, it is seen to be a tubular colony of thousands of individuals, and each individual has two luminous organs or spots like little jewels. In the cells of these small spots there are rod-like and horse-shoe-shaped corpuscles of very minute size. The luminous organs or Fire-Flame are simple spots, but in many cuttle-fishes they are very complex structures.

Besides these lights which shine on the surface of the sea there are Nature's lights which burn down on the ocean-bed with a steady and vivid radiance, turning those dark depths, which are never illuminated by the orb of day, into a veritable fairy land.

## LUMINOUS FISHES

Not very long ago, Professor E. Newton Harvey studied two luminous fishes, Anomalops and Photoblepharon, common off the Banda Islands of the East Indian Archipelago. They have very large luminous organs, and they give out light without ceasing, by day as well as by night, and without requiring any provocation. This is unlike what occurs in other luminous fishes, where the light producing material shines under the influence of certain stimuli and is generally regarded as a secretion of glandular cells. In many cases the cells that produce the luminous material have associated with them a lens, a reflector, a dark envelope, and a nerve which brings the command to "light up." Thus the luminous organ of many a fish is very like an eye, though there is obviously a great difference between producing light and perceiving it.

## LUMINOUS BACTERIA

It is well known that there are various luminescent bacteria, such as those which make dead fishes "shine in the dark."

Professor Newton Harvey then found that, if the organ was dried and moistened again, it gave only a faint light, which is also true of luminous bacteria; whereas the luminous organs of most animals can be dried without much loss of their light-producing power when re-moistened. Again, the light was extinguished without a preliminary flesh by the addition of fresh water, which is likewise true of luminous bacteria. Poisons that put out the light of luminous bacteria had a similar effect on the light-organs of the fishes in question. So the light-organ of the Banda fishes is an incubator for the growth and nourishment of luminous bacteria living in partnership with the animal.

The case of the Banda fishes makes one ask whether there are many cases of luminescence due or probably due to partner-bacteria, and much information on this subject has been recently made available by Professor Buchner in his great book on "Symbiosis"—that is to say, the living together of two kinds of creatures in mutually beneficial internal partnership. The theory that the luminescence of an active animal might be due not to its own laboratories, but to the intense life of partner-bacteria, is not a new idea, but it has been usually regarded as having a very restricted application. Recently, however, numerous instances have been observed similar to that of the Banda fishes, which indicate more or less convincingly that luminescence is another pie in which bacteria have their finger.

Luminous bacteria give out light continuously whereas the animal light seems often to be interrupted; but it is possible that the apparent discontinuity is merely a contrast between very dim and very intense luminosity. Finally, in the cells of the insect's luminous organ there are crowds of granulations, but the supporters of the new theory declare that these are the partner-bacteria. What is needed is a culture of the alleged partners away from their insect host, and evidence that light can be produced under these conditions.

### THE HERON'S BREAST

A remarkable phenomenon, the probable cause whereof has given rise to much speculation, is the luminosity of the heron's breast. Many naturalists and sportsmen have seen the heron, standing motionless in some shallow reed-bordered pool, a weird phosphorescent light gleaming on its breast, on each side of its hips and between the hips and tail, with a radiance plainly visible at a distance of fifty yards.

The birds on which this strange light has chiefly been observed are the night heron and the blue crane. This curious phosphorescence is believed to attract fish and so help the heron to secure his supper.

During the spring, in those districts where frogs are plentiful, the mucus surrounding their eggs is frequently found to give out a phosphorescent light.

### BEETLES: THE GLOW-WORM

No less beautiful than her marine lights, are Nature's earth lamps which shine during the hours of darkness with a bright and steady light. Of these probably the most familiar is the glow-worm. The light produced by these little beetles, very ordinary looking in day-light, is the result of phosphorescent particles concentrated in two or three of the abdominal segments.

According to Nature's law of compensation the wingless female glow-worm has a much brighter and more powerful light than her winged husband.

Nothing finer can be imagined than the effect these insect-torchbearers create on a dark and sultry night in the Tropics. Hundreds of these luminous winged creatures may then be seen crawling about the luxuriant vegetation, seeming like starry jewels and shining with so brilliant a radiance that the trunks of trees and their foliage may distinctly be seen.

Several of that many-legged tribe, the Centipedes, are highly phosphorescent, some members leaving quite a fiery trail behind them when on the move. This is caused by a luminous secretion.

The eyes of many night-flying moths are luminous at night, the intensity of the light becoming greater when the insect is enraged or otherwise irritated.

### The Fire-Fly

Among the families of beetles, the fire-flies and the Pyrophores, there is brilliant luminescence, which often seems to be used in love-signalling between the sexes; and the generally accepted view has been that under various stimulation a ferment like luciferase produces or accelerates oxidation in a luciferin, with light as the result. In some cases the light-production is very definitely localized—for instance, in two eye-like lamps on the thorax of the large "Cucujo" of tropical America.

It is a remarkable fact that the eggs and grubs are luminescent as well as the adult; the torch is handed on from generation to generation. But this is not unlike bacterial infection. The luminous organ may be reduced to powder and shaken up in water; what passes through filter-paper is still luminescent for a while. But this is again suggestive of bacteria, and so is the frequently observed continuation of the light after the death of the insect. The light is often unequal in two sexes and at different times, and we know in the case of diseases that the activity of bacteria may vary according to their vital "soil" and at different periods.

Professor Buchner is satisfied with the evidence that the luminescence of Fire-Flies, Fire-Flames, and Cuttle-fishes—three very diverse types—is due to luminous bacteria which have established a partnership or symbiosis with the animals. More than that, he thinks it is time to ask whether any multicellular animal produces its own light! Perhaps theirs is always a borrowed splendour after all! Theories of the uses of the light abound, and some of them may be true. It may be useful as sex-signal or as kin-recognition; it may be a lure, or a lamp, or a snare; or it may be but the by-product of a symbiosis whose significance has nothing to do with light at all.

### Vegetables that Gleam

There are also a goodly array of Nature's night-lights in the vegetable kingdom, and some of these may, if carefully looked for, be found in our gardens. The flowers of the sunflower, the orange lily, the hairy red poppy, and the double variety of the common marigold, have all been noticed to emit flashes of phosphorescent light. In the gathering gloom of evening and the dimness of dawn, the flowers of the nasturtium under certain atmospheric conditions, give out fitful phosphorescent gleams of light.

Occasionally the humble but useful potato, when stored in a dark cellar, becomes luminous, much to the astonishment and consternation of one's servant.

Many a story of a weird spectre, or ghostly visitant from another world, has had its origin in some phosphorescent display. There are many forms of more or less luminous fungus which live in woods and forests, caves and churchyards, and their mysterious bluish-green light, shining out in the hours of darkness, would doubtless fill the superstitious mind with awe and fear. How little we know!

# BRITISH MALAY'S RUBBER INDUSTRY

## By N. A. PERUMAL

THE announcement that the Du Pont de Nemours and Co. have discovered a new process to manufacture artificial rubber from salt, water, and acetylene* should prove to be a shock to the already tottering rubber industry in Central and South America, Africa and the Orient. The United States has, of late, put to despair these rubber producing countries when for the first time she announced two years ago that Thomas Edison was at work with his golden rod experiment. The news of the purchase of vast acres of land for rubber cultivation in Brazil and Liberia by Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone was also another bombshell to the foreign rubber growers. Although these measures are directed to meet the enormous demand of rubber United States has, the foreign producers will suffer a great deal when these artificial means of production become effective. A country like British Malaya which solely depends upon the resources it draws from its rubber trade will then be obliged to give up that industry for good if at all she should survive, since Malaya's best customer has been the United States. In 1922 out of a total of 5,558,714 tons of rubber produced in that country, the United States bought 4,044,781 tons mainly for the sake of her automobile industry. But at present Malayan rubber does not find a good buyer in the United States.

Malaya owned three-fifths of the total acres cultivating rubber in the world, according to official reports issued in 1922 but today there must be only a slight increase from that, since the industry on the whole has proved to be fruitless. Originally tea, coffee and tapioca were the chief products there, but with the birth of the present century rubber trees grown in the Amazon valley were introduced into Malaya. The United States coming as a large consumer of rubber, with her automobile industry thriving, Malaya cleared large areas of virgin jungle in order to cultivate rubber to meet the demand. New uses for rubber also arose at this time. It was used largely for matting in homes and abroad the ocean-going liners besides numerous other forms of utility.

British capital began to flow into the Peninsula. Many syndicates were formed and the government leased out lands on an extravagant scale. British investors began to turn their attention in this period solely to the Malayan rubber industry which paid handsome returns. The old economic law of limited production was forgotten. With the prices standing at 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound of rubber, its exports were carried on almost unchecked. The Malayan plantations merely produced and produced because they wanted to make the best out of the golden opportunity which lay before them. And then towards the close of the war the demand for rubber became lesser and lesser. Stocks were already accumulating in the London market, although the United States continued to buy and store in spite of the tariff wall. Prices fell to the bottom and all these led Malaya into a state of depression. However, the prices continued to rise gradually in the succeeding years.

The trade slump in 1921 awakened the consciousness of the British economists. They wanted to protect the industry from ruin. In order to do so the Colonial Government appointed a committee presided over by Sir James Stevenson to enquire into the state of the British rubber industry in 1921. The committee's proposals which in 1923 became law in Malaya suggested that in the quarter of any year only 65 per cent of the production from any plantation would be allowed to be exported, if the London price of the commodity showed between 1*s.* 3*d.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound. The lesser the price became the limit of the export would be made narrower and narrower until it reached 5 per cent. But this scheme proved to be without any effect since it did not control the production of native producers. Prices began to fluctuate very frequently but never reached a level to yield profits. They often went down without almost any increase.

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* Acetylene is produced from coal and limestone.

Those who clamoured against the restriction scheme in 1923 were gratified to see the ban on exports removed in 1928. As was expected, production and exports began to reach the top once again, although the London stocks at hand showed no prospects for outlet. Prices also dwindled down to the bottom, even deep below the actual production costs which were estimated at 6 and 8 *d.* per pound of rubber. Malaya again fell into the grip of another trade slump. Experts and economists again sat down to devise schemes and remedies but all without any avail. The bigwigs of British capitalism one after another aired their views through the Press and platform to save the industry but all merely fell on deaf ears because they were found impracticable. Then Sir Cecil Clementi, the Governor of Malaya, got an idea that without the co-operation of the Dutch who grew a lot of rubber in the East Indies, the British rubber industry could not survive. He discussed the question with the Dutch authorities, but they would not fall into line with any of his suggestions. Sir Cecil then told the Malayans that "economic laws should be allowed to take their own course" and soon after departed for England on furlough.

The Malayan rubber industry, besides paying fat dividends to the British captains of commerce and finance, helped Britain in in no small measure to alleviate unemployment by receiving thousands of workers every year. In 1930 the slump becoming effective, a large number of Britishers became unemployed in Malaya. To solve the situation, an unemployment committee was formed and subscriptions were raised from philanthropical sources, but the amount thus raised was found insufficient as the number of unemployed continued to increase. Then the British Government in Malaya took the unemployed Englishmen as "reserve volunteers" to be given military training at the expense of the treasury. Even this was found an unsuitable measure and therefore streams of unemployed were repatriated to England.

Besides unemployment among Britishers thousands of Chinese, Indians, Ceylonese and Eurasians were also deprived of their chances to earn their livelihood on account of the slump. As many as 100,000 Indians left the country as a protest against wage reduction by 12½ per cent in plantations from their original minimum wage of cents (gold) a day. A greater number of Chinese were also thus repatriated. Thus Malaya began to face the worst that had ever happened to her, because the rubber industry had so miserably failed.

Malaya, which cultivated tea, coffee, tapioca and rice on a large scale before 19 began to contemplate going back to the cultivation of those products. And now there is a suggestion, even a vigorous encouragement from the British authorities that she should increase her rice cultivation so that it might be brought up eventually as Malaya's chief agricultural product in place of rubber whose failure has brought the country on the brink of insolvency.

# TINSEL AND GOLD

## By SEETA DEVI

A small house, inside a narrow lane in Calcutta. The ground floor was occupied by one family and the first floor by another. The people of the first floor looked down upon the inhabitants of the ground floor, both figuratively and literally ; they spoke very seldom to them, and for the most part avoided looking at them during chance meetings.

There were only two small rooms and a still smaller kitchen on the ground floor. A young woman sat in the kitchen, preparing barley water. A brass plate, full of vegetables, lay by her side, while at a little distance stood a bowl, full of uncooked rice.

A plaintive voice was heard from the bedroom, "Mother, how much longer are you going to be ? I am so hungry !"

"I am just finishing," called out the young woman, in a soothing tone, "I won't be more than two minutes." Then she began muttering sorrowfully to herself, "I have not the power to give him a spoonful of milk. How can a sick child live on water like this ? What an unlucky wretch I am !"

A small girl of about ten or eleven years rushed into the room, crying, "Mother, Nutu is crying for his food. I am also very hungry. Is there anything for me ?"

"Look into that tin," said the mother sadly, "if there be a handful of puffed rice left there. I have made these cakes of bread for your father and cannot spare any for you. The barley water is ready, I shall take it to Nutu."

The girl opened the lid of the tin and finding some puffed rice lying at the bottom, she shook them down into an enamelled cup and began to munch. "Is there any molasses left, mother ?" she asked eagerly.

"Only a small bit," replied the mother. "But leave it for your father. Take this green chili and some oil from that pot. Your puffed rice will taste nice then."

The mother, the daughter, even the sick child knew, that the father's demand must be satisfied first, because he was the wage-earner. They never quarrelled about that. They ate whatever was given them. Nutu cried if he got nothing, but Kunti, being older, understood her mother's grief better, and remained silent with a sad face. The mother Sashimukhi worked like a slave, day and night, looked after the ailing child and bore her husband's abuses silently, for the most part. Sometimes she too was goaded into retorting, but it only made matters worse. Sashimukhi took down the pot of barley from the fire, and poured the water into a bowl. "Give me some sugar," she told her daughter, "and see if there is any lemon left in that basket of vegetables."

"How can there be any ?" asked Kunti. "Did not you take away the last piece in the morning ?"

The mother sweetened the barley water with some sugar, and got up with a sigh. "When you have finished eating" she told Kunti, "set the rice to cook. I shall feed Nutu and sweep the rooms, before I come back. It is time for your father to return." Kunti nodded in assent, her mouth being too full to speak. Though she was but a child, yet she helped her mother quite a lot, else it would have been impossible for Sashimukhi to manage alone. Nutu was a perpetual invalid and took up a good deal of her time.

As soon as he saw his mother entering he cried out fretfully, "Go away, I don't want anything. Why are you so late ?"

Sashimukni began coaxing and soothing, "It is not very late, my darling. You have your food everyday at this hour. Your father is not back yet."

Nutu sat up. "If father does not bring me biscuits today, you shall see what a row I kick up. Everyday he makes false promises. Today I am not going to listen to sweet words."

Sashi had no answer. She took up the broom from the corner of the room, and began to sweep. Both the rooms were small and gave evidence of the poverty of the inhabitants. A cheap wooden bed stood in the middle of the room and a cloths-horse in the corner. Two wall calendars, with crude illustrations and a small mirror, with wooden frame, decorated the walls. The bedding, the curtains, the clothes all were equally dirty and torn. There were two small windows.

After sweeping the two rooms, Sashimukhi took up the refuse on a piece of paper and threw it outside. Then without any further attempt at tidying the rooms, she hurried back to the kitchen. Kunti had already set the rice pot on the fire, and was washing the rice. "Go and talk to Nutu," her mother said, "I shall look after this."

The staircase that led to the first floor could be seen from the kitchen. A young man was going up the stairs. A servant followed him with a box on his shoulder. "Look mother," said Kunti, "that gentleman has come again to sell sweets. Why does he do this mother? Isn't he a gentleman? Then why does not he work on salary?"

"He does well," said her mother. "Jobs are not awaiting every one at the street corner. It is better to work honestly than to beg."

The young man suddenly stopped in the middle of the stairs. Perhaps he had heard the mother and daughter speaking, though it was impossible for him to hear the words distinctly. Anyway he stopped and asked, "Will you buy some sweets, Madam? I I have got many varieties."

Kunti had never seen her mother buying sweets in the course of her young life. She violently nodded her head, indicating they had no use for sweets. The young man passed upstairs. Sashimukhi sat down to cook, Kunti went inside to her brother.

At the same time, Kunti's father Atal came in from his office. "Give me a glass of water," he said, standing in front of the kitchen, "there's a man waiting outside."

Sashimukhi brought the water and asked, "Is it a creditor?"

"Who else?" answered her husband, "does anyone ever give us a social call? Have you got anything to eat?"

"How shall I get anything?" said Sashimukhi. "I have got only two pieces of bread for you."

"Let that be," said Atal. "I shall come and take them, after I have done with the man," he departed with the glass of water.

Sashimukhi went on with her work. From the bedroom sounds of Nutu's fretting and Kunti's voice trying to comfort him, penetrated to her ears.

Atal returned after half an hour. "Give me the bread," he said. "Sheer hunger drives me to take this rubbish, else I would never touch them. Are these things fit for human consumption?"

Sashimukhi made no answer. She laid down a wooden seat for him and placed a glass of water by its side. Then she brought the bread and some molasses on a brass plate and placed it before him. Atal began to eat.

Nutu cried out from the bedroom, "There are good things enough for yourselves, but barley water alone for me. You are always telling me lies."

Atal smiled bitterly, "The fools think I am gorging myself upon *pilau* and meat curry. These children are born idiots."

The mother did not like this criticism, hurled at the innocent children. "They are only children and cannot be as wise as seers. Poor Kunti never says a word, even if she starves. Nutu has become peevish through constant suffering."

"I have never seen such unhealthy children," said Atal. "Our family was healthy enough."

Sashimukhi lost her temper for once. "All right, all right," she muttered. "Everything bad seems to have come from my family. Still no other woman who has married into your family can slave like myself."

Atal finished eating and raised the glass of water to his lips. "You seem to be always ready for a fight," he said after setting down the glass.

Sashimukhi remained silent. If she once began answering back, there would never be an end to it. There were unhappiness and discord enough as it were. Atal got up and left the kitchen.

But he seemed to be in a mood for fault finding that evening. Seeing Sashimukhi in the bedroom, he cried out "Cannot you even keep the rooms a little tidy? I feel ashamed to bring anyone inside this pigsty."

"I have no energy left for tidying up. And what's the use of tidying up such a place?" said Sashimukhi.

"You don't seem to have any energy for anything," said Atal. "Do you consider for a moment that another besides yourself is being worked to death? I have a good mind to give up work, and sit tight at home saying, I have no energy left for anything."

"Do it by all means," said his wife, getting up to leave the room.

Atal stopped her, "Have you written to your uncle, as I asked you to?" he asked.

"No," answered Sashimukhi shortly. "And why not, pray?" asked Atal angrily, "does it go against your principle to obey your husband?"

Sashimukhi did not utter the words that came readily to her lips. After a while she said, "I had no postcard or stamped envelope, how could I write? Let me go now, or the rice will get burnt."

"Tell Kunti to bring in the hurricane lantern," said her husband. "It has already grown dark."

Sashimukhi went back to the kitchen. She sent Kunti to the bedroom with the light. Herself she lighted a small kerosene lamp that gave out more smoke than light, and began working again.

The days pass on in dull monotony. There is never any variety in the life of the poor. Sometimes the children are well, sometimes they are not. There are occasional quarrels between the husband and wife, that is all. No hope, no joy, no recreation. They have no time to pay social calls and nobody calls on them either. Kunti calls on the new bride next door, once or twice a week. She would like to go oftener, but is afraid of the old mistress of the house, who does not like her daughter-in-law to gossip too much.

Next morning Atal prepared to go to his office as usual. As he sat down for his breakfast, he began, "Look here, I have got to tell you something. It is hard enough to say anything to you, you are always ready to pluck one's eyes out. I am in a tight corner this time. I may even lose my job."

The introduction made Sashimukhi pale with dismay. They were miserable enough, God knew. If over and above that Atal lost his job, starvation and death would be the only course open for them. "What is it?" she asked in a trembling voice.

"Do you remember," said Atal, "that I had to borrow three hundred rupees from a Marwari when Nutu became seriously ill last summer? I had not been able to pay him the interest even, so I owe him four hundred now, capital and interest combined. He is unwilling to wait any longer and is threatening to take legal proceedings against me. If he does, you may rest assured that the decree will go against me. If he brings an attachment on my salary, I shall be totally ruined. My chief is very strict about these things. Last year he dismissed one of his employees for this very offence. He won't let me off more easily."

Tears rushed into Sashimukhi's eyes. "What a calamity!" she cried, "What would happen to us then? We have got nothing on which even a hundred rupees could be raised. I have got only a small chain of gold, that mother gave to Kunti. It won't fetch more than sixty or seventy rupees. Would it be of any help?"

"It can put him off, for a month, at most," said Atal. "But what is going to happen after that? He may agree to instalments, but how am I to provide for it? There is no other way, but to write to your brother, will you do it? He lives in Bhowanipur, which is near enough."

Sashimukhi's face became still more sad and depressed. After a while, she said, "They never take any notice of us. How can I ask him?"

Atal began to lose his temper. "Beggars cannot be choosers," he said. "Will you be able to maintain this pride, when I lose my job? You will have to beg on streets then. The Poojah and the Brothers' festival are coming, it would pay you, if you renew acquaintances now. When you find him in good temper, broach the subject. You might get a lump sum. He is a good soul, only he cannot tolerate your pride. It is no humiliation for a sister to beg from a brother."

"Have you forgotten his wife's insulting words so soon ?" said Sashimukhi.

"Poor people are insulted by everyone," said her husband. "What's the use of remembering them ? The thing is, you don't want to do anything to help me. But don't blame me, when you are turned out in the streets." He left his breakfast unfinished and left the place in anger.

Sashimukhi gave the children their breakfast, then came and sat at the kitchen door. She was too depressed to think of her own breakfast. She had always been poor and miserable, but had not fate been satisfied yet ? Did more suffering await her ? If Atal really lose his job, where would she find a shelter for herself and the children ? What grieved her most, was her husband's unsympathetic attitude. He thought she could help him, yet she would not. If he had understood even a little what it cost her to beg from her rich relatives ! But she was ready for any humiliation, if thereby she could really have helped him. But she knew it to be fruitless, only she could not make Atal understand. She had tried more than once to get money in this way, but in vain. She had not yet forgotten the terrible pangs of humiliation, but Atal's memory seemed to be very weak about these matters.

Suddenly she started at the sound of footsteps and looked up. That young man was again passing by on his way upstairs. He had no servant with him today. He must have felt Sashimukhi's eyes on him, for he, too, turned round and looked at her. Her face depicted despair and sorrow so deeply that the young man stopped, a bit amazed. He had noticed Kunti and Sashimukhi often. He had heard about them too, from the first floor people. He knew well the terrible misery of poverty, so he could feel for this family.

Seeing a stranger looking at her so intently, Sashimukhi was displeased and said, "We don't want any sweets. What are you waiting for ?"

The young man smiled embarrassed. "I did not stop here for that purpose," he said, "You are looking so ill, that I wanted to ask whether I could help in any way."

Tears sprang into Sashimukhi's eyes. She was used to sorrow and worry, but sympathy was new to her. Both she and Atal were too overworked and worried to try to cheer each other up. They had no comfort to offer to each other. Atal thought his wife heartless, Sashimukhi had too many grievances against him to consider his side. Their love lay buried under the crushing load of poverty. So this sympathy coming from a stranger upset her. She cleared her throat and said, "No sir, none but God can help me. It has passed beyond man's power."

The young man approached and stood before her. Then he said, "Mother, I am a stranger to you, so you are to me. But I seem to see my past life revived again in the hopeless expression of your face. Once, even I had thought that my case was too hopeless for God. I had even tried to take my own life. But you see, I am alive still, and working, I am no longer a gentleman according to the current definition, but I am a man. I call you mother, but you are probably younger than I. Look at me and know that it is never too late to turn back and improve. The most hopeless tangle can be set straight in some way or another."

"I don't see any way out of my difficulty. My husband earns a hundred rupees, which enables us to live in this stinking hole to put on rags at least and to have one meal a day or more. But even this, we are about to lose. My husband is threatened with loss of job on account of debts. What would be our fate then," said Sashimukhi.

"Cannot you pay off by instalments?" asked the man. "All creditors listen t reason."

"How could we pay instalments out o that hundred ?" asked Sashimukhi. "Yo know how dear living is in Calcutta and w are four in number. My boy is very delica and we have to provide for his treatment t such as it is." Sashimukhi had alre forgotten that the young man was but stranger. It was such a relief to be able t speak.

'Why don't you try to increase y

income ?" asked he. "You too can earn something."

"How can I ?" asked she. "I come from an orthodox family and have not been educated. I cannot become a teacher. I know only a little Bengali. Even had I been properly qualified, where is the time for me to work ? I am like a prisoner in this cell. There is a grown up girl and there is that sick boy. I cannot leave them for a moment, else I would even serve as a cook or a servant."

"There are many ways," the young man said. "Today, I have no time, but if you permit me, I shall come again tomorrow at this time. I believe, I can really help you," saying this he bowed and left.

Sashimukhi was feeling a bit light at heart at being able to speak to sympathetic ears. She did not really believe that the man could help her. Still, it was something, to know that one person at least had felt for her.

Atal returned from his office in the evening and called out, "Come here for a moment, let Kunti attend to the cooking."

Sashimukhi called Kunti, and entered her bedroom, with the bit of refreshment, she had prepared for her husband. Nutu was feeling better today, and was playing in the lane.

"I have settled with the Marwari," said Atal, "he has agreed to take instalments of fifty rupees a month. I know very well that I cannot pay out of my salary. Give me Kunti's chain, I shall sell it and manage for this month at least."

Sashimukhi got up and brought out a small chain of gold from her box. "Here, take it. See that you are not cheated." Atal left with the chain at once.

He returned late at night. The children had dined and were sleeping. Sashi had not taken anything. She was feeling too sick at heart to eat. Atal's dinner awaited him. Atal threw six ten-rupee notes into her lap. "That was the most, I could get," he said. "The gold was not very pure. I shall take away fifty rupees tomorrow. As for the remaining ten, don't spend it. I have a plan."

Sashimukhi did not show any eagerness to listen to his plan. She locked the money up and then retired to sleep.

Atal departed for his office, next day, with the fifty rupees. Sashi finished her midday meal, then sat down at the kitchen door, with some torn clothing and began to mend them. She did not really expect the young man to come. Even if he did, what could he do to help them ?

But at the appointed time, he appeared with his servant and his tin trunk. He sent the servant upstairs; with some sweets and then sat down on the wooden seat Sashimukhi offered him.

"My name is Keshab Roy," he said. "I am a Kayastha by caste, and a graduate of the University. But as you see, I have taken up the profession of a sweatmeat vendor. I am not ashamed of it, though many of my friends are ashamed of me. But if I had been a clerk with a salary of thirty rupees and had been driven to beg money of them every other day, they would not have been very proud of me, either. So it is all the same for me. Do you think one need be ashamed of honest labour of any kind ?"

"Certainly not," said Sashimukhi, "One should be ashamed of begging and of dying of starvation for want of work. Honest labour is nothing to be ashamed of."

"Then it is all right," said Keshab. "I have brought you all the ingredients for making sweets. You know, of course, how to make them ? Any kind will do. I shall take them away early next morning, sell them during the day, and bring you the money in the evening."

Sashimukhi felt a bit awkward. "I have lost the habit of making these things," she said "though once I was considered an expert. I am afraid of spoiling your things."

"Never mind," said Keshab. "If they are not very good on the very first day, you need not be discouraged. I shall sell them cheap. I have not brought you much. You will improve every day."

His servant came down with the tin box. Keshab opened it and measured out everything needful for making sweats. "But have you got any time to spare ?" he asked.

"Of course, I shall find time," Sashimukhi answered, "I have nothing to do in the afternoon except brooding."

Keshab went away. Sashimukhi was already feeling somewhat relieved at being able to do something. If she could earn even one rupee daily, that would be of great help. She began her work at once. She called back Kunti too to help her from the neighbouring house. The girl was taken aback at the sight of such preparations. "Where did you get these ?" she asked eagerly.

"A certain person had ordered these things," her mother said, "don't tell your father about it."

Kunti never spoke to her father unless spoken to, so she readily assented to her mother's request.

They worked steadily till the evening and finished everything. Then Sashimukhi put everything away safely, as it was time for her husband to return. "It is a mercy that Nutu is not at home," she said, "else he would have howled down the roof for a sweat."

"Would the person know, if we took even one ?" asked poor Kunti.

"Don't be so greedy," rebuked her mother. "These are not ours."

Keshab came and took away the sweets next morning. "They are not bad for a beginner," he said. "I shall bring you a cookery book. You will find recipes for all kinds of things in it."

When Atal came for his breakfast, he was astonished to see Sashimukhi smiling, "What is the matter ?" he asked. "I thought you had completely forgotten to smile."

"I was thinking of the approaching Pujah" said Sashimukhi, for want of anything else to say.

"What is that to us ?" said her husband with a scornful voice. "The poor have no festivals. The same rice and salt for us and the same torn clothing. I shall get a few days' leave from the daily grind, that's all. But we must utilize the Pujah in another way."

Sashimukhi got up and went away in displeasure. She knew what he meant. He was thinking of her rich relatives and ways of approaching them for help. But her heart was singing another tune. For the first time in her life, she had refused to bow down to cruel fate, and was trying to defend herself against its blows.

She had just lighted the evening lamp when Keshab returned. He gave her one rupee and twelve annas. "Today, I could not get more," he said, "but you must not be disappointed. Sales are bound to improve during Pujah days. These few sweets are left, give them to the children."

Joy had bereft Sashimukhi of speech. If she could earn two rupees daily, then the terrible burden of debt would be lifted very soon from their shoulders. She did not know how to thank Keshab. Keshab understood what she was feeling and said, "You are not to feel grateful to me. I am but fulfilling a pledge. I promised my saviour that I too shall show the way to ten other persons. And I have taken my usual commission too, so it is purely a business proposition. You too must remember to help any other person, who is in the same predicament."

Nutu and Kunti were delirious with joy at the unexpected gift of sweets. None of them were eager to tell Atal.

A few days passed by. Every day Sashimukhi earned something. She did not spend a pice of her earnings, but stored them in a small bag which she concealed in her box.

The Durga Pujah arrived. Kunti and Nutu cried for new clothing. All the children of the neighbourhood had dressed up in new things, were they alone to remain in rags? "There are still that ten rupees left, from the sale of Kunti's chain," she said to her husband, "why don't you buy the children some new things ?"

"No, no," shouted Atal. "I have kept the money for another purpose. New clothes, indeed."

Sashimukhi felt very much tempted to buy the children new dresses out of her own savings. But she restrained herself. This year they must be very careful, perhaps then next year things might brighten up.

Keshab came and went regularly. One day he said, "You can do other things, besides making sweets. Do you know sewing ?"

"Not very well," said Sashimukhi. I don't think I can do anything worth selling."

"Everything can be sold," said Keshab, with a smile, "only you must know where to sell. Do you know the number of poor gentlefolks in Calcutta ? They do wear dresses of some sort, but they do not go to the big dress-makers for them. Cheap things sell fast more easily than costly things. If you take a walk along the streets of Northern Calcutta, you will find many people selling frocks, handkerchiefs, singlets and tunics at many corners. They do quite good business. Even if you cannot make anything else, you can make handkerchiefs. Hand-sewn things will sell easily."

"I can do that," said Sashimukhi. "but who will get me the necessary materials ? I never tell my husband anything."

"I could have got everything for you easily," said Keshab, "but unfortunately my hands are quite empty now. I have invested every pice I had in purchasing stock for the Pujah. I shall soon get some money, but then it will be too late for making things for the Pujah market."

Sashimukhi had taken a vow not to touch a single pice of her own earning, till the Marwari's debt was repaid. She thought for a while, then went to her bedroom and got the ten-rupee note left from the sale of Kunti's chain. "Take this and get me some cotton stuff," she said. "Coloured and printed cloth would be best. I want to make a few frocks and tunics for children."

Keshab brought her the things the very next day. Sashimukhi began her work very carefully. She took special care to keep the things clean and devoted every bit of time, she could spare to it. She finished her work a couple of days before the Pujah. She had even managed to make a coloured blouse for Kunti and a tunic of some sort for Nutu. Their joy knew no bounds.

Keshab took away the frocks saying he would put them for sale with a trustworthy man, as he did not sell these things himself. He told Sashimukhi to return to her old job of making sweets again, as this was the best time for them.

Sashimukhi's luck had really turned. Her frocks and tunics fetched a very tidy sum. She felt with joy that the small bag was nearly full. The instalment of the Marwari was nearly ready.

"It would cost far more than ten rupees," said Atal, "else I would have made Pujah presents to everyone of your brother's family. I shall try at the Brother's festival."

Sashimukhi laughed to herself thinking of the fate that had befallen the ten-rupee note.

The Pujah came and the Pujah passed off. Sashimukhi's work went on satisfactorily.

A few days before the Brother's festival, Atal came and said to his wife, "Look here, I want you to do something. Go to your brother's house in the afternoon, with the children. I shall leave a rupee for the carriage fare. Invite him to dinner on the day of the festival. I shall buy the present of clothing for him tomorrow. For once, listen to me and see. Will you go ?"

Sashimukhi had to say, "Yes, I will." In the afternoon, Sashimukhi arrived at her brother's house. It was a two-storied house, moderately big. The house seemed very silent. Still she entered and began to climb the stairs in order to see her sister-in-law. A maidservant was coming down and cried out, "Oh, it is our aunt ! But master is not at home."

Sashimukhi was dumbfounded at such reception. After a while, she said, "But sister is at home, isn't she ?"

"She is sleeping," said the woman impertinently.

Sashimukhi felt ready to sink into the floor. Kunti shook her, saying, "Let's go down mother, the carriage is still waiting."

As they went down, the maidservant cried from behind. "All right, I shall tell master that you called."

Sashimukhi came back with her brain on fire. It took her a considerable time to recover composure.

"Did you go ?" asked Atal at night. "Yes," replied his wife shortly.

The day of the festival arrived. Sashimukhi was busy in the kitchen from early morning. Atal peeped in once and remarked, "You are making very lavish preparations I see. Have you spent all the ten rupees ? How am I to purchase clothing then for your brother ?"

"No, I have not touched your ten rupees," said his wife. "The note is all intact. I secured the money for the dinner, myself."

"Oh you have borrowed from the lady next door, have you ? She is a good soul," said Atal. "Very well, give me the money. I shall get the clothing before I go to office."

Sashimukhi brought him ten rupees and he departed. He came back, half an hour later, with the present and said, "I could not get anything better for that sum. I shall return from office as early as I can. Your brother too, will have to attend office and won't arrive very early."

Atal rushed back home from office as early as he could manage. "Has the guest arrived ?" he asked, standing at the kitchen door.

Sashimukhi was still busy cooking. "Yes, he has come. He is in there," she replied.

Atal ran in to look after the much honoured guest. But he stood dumbfounded at the sight of the person, sitting there. It was that young man who sold sweetmeat in that quarter.

Keshab got up and bowed, as Atal entered. "Has not sister told you that she has invited me ?" he asked, seeing the amazement in Atal's face.

Atal forced a smile to his lips and stammered, "No, perhaps she forgot in her hurry. But sit down, sit down." He ran back to the kitchen to have it out with his wife.

"Why have you invited that man ?" he asked in a tone of suppressed anger. "Where is your brother ?"

"He is at his own home probably," replied Sashimukhi. "I have invited him, who has been a real brother to me. One who encourages begging is an enemy, even if he is a brother by birth."

"What rot are you talking ?" shouted Atal.

"It is not rot, as you shall know very soon," said Sashimukhi. "Go in and talk to the gentleman. I am bringing in the dinner."

Atal had to go back mystified.

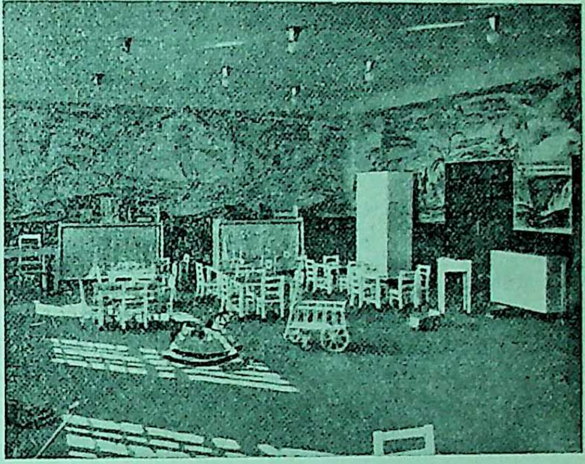
# TENEMENT HOUSES IN VIENNA

## By RENUKA RAY

AUSTRIA was deprived of her possessions and her great industrial centres after the last world war and is doubly crippled in these days of economic and financial depression. Gay Vienna, happy Vienna of the past stands almost alone in Austria, and what is most wonderful of all, even today she retains something of that sparkling natural gaiety of hers—a gaiety which is unsullied by the sordid artifices designed by scheming *entrepreneurs* to attract foreign tourist business. This is so unlike gay Paris and gayer Berlin. The effects of over-production and unemployment are being felt the world over, the present methods of distribution are showing signs of failure, grave problems beset human society, and Vienna too has her proper share of them. Yet in the all-pervading gloom one feels there is a ray of hope when one visits Vienna after London, Paris or Berlin. There is so much optimism in the air, so much faith in the future of the human race, so many enthusiastic and willing workers who are making a real advance in equalizing the position of all classes of men, without allowing bitterness to creep in, which makes for disruption.

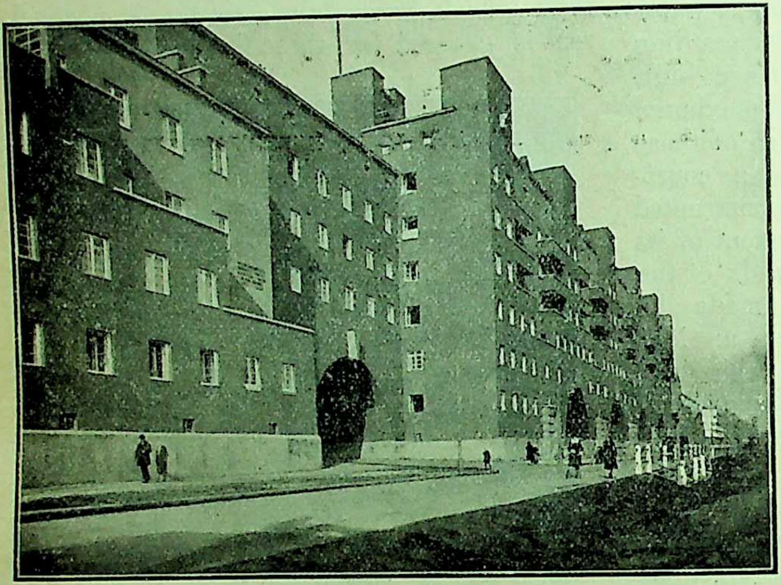
"Have you seen our tenement houses?" the question proudly asked by Viennese friends is insistent and pressing, and the new-comer wonders why, until one actually enters one of these municipal dwellings. These tenement houses in Vienna are built for the poorest—the slum people—and yet they are built with a care and a forethought as if indeed they were built for the nobility of the land. They are designed by the best and ablest architects and are products of the newest styles of architecture. They have been set up by the Socialist municipality of Vienna, who have taken up welfare work with a new spirit,—not "the alms-giving spirit of the haughty rich" which characterized the efforts of their predecessors. They have laid particular stress on the housing problem, as this problem became acute after the war during which period house building was naturally at a standstill. Under a comprehensive building scheme, 30,000 new municipal buildings were constructed by 1927 and another 30,000 were under construction between 1927 and 1932. The rent of these buildings has been fixed according to the cost of maintenance and not the cost of construction. Each of these municipal buildings comprises large blocks of flats in which about 300 families are lodged. Every flat consists of a parlour kitchen, a water closet, one, two or more bedrooms according to the size of the family. The flats are built in such a manner as to receive the maximum amount of sunlight and air. Each of these municipal tenement buildings has a court-yard, garden and play-ground constructed with a view to the aesthetic enjoyment of its inhabitants. The statue in the grounds of the Karlmarxhof municipal buildings, made by one of the best sculptors, gives one an idea of the trouble taken to achieve this end. Children brought up in this atmosphere of pure air and beautiful surroundings no longer suffer under the disadvantages of slum children in larger cities.

What strikes one is the extraordinary personal cleanliness of the children, one almost doubts if these can really be the children of the working classes, their clothes are so clean and they are so different from the children even in the settlements of the slum areas of London. I remember that when I expressed my doubt and astonishment, we were at once conducted to the laundry, which everyone of these municipal buildings possesses. It was a perfected system of steam laundry, which we saw, with drying apparatus and electrically driven mangles for ironing. It needed so little effort and took so short a time that even for the lazily inclined, there was an incentive to use the laundry. It explained to us the mystery of the clean clothes worn by the children. No middle-class family and few rich, possess these advantages which Vienna has made accessible to her poorest. These tenement buildings are equipped with every modern necessity and convenience. There is generally a school house for children, a Kindergarten school with up-to-date methods, a hospital or dispensary with the best of equipment, a gymnasium, and a special children's nursery. Mother clinics are also set up to help and advise the women. An up-to-date library, concert and lecture halls and a swimming bath are also quite common. One or two modern buildings even have their own cinema houses and post office. The most recently built tenement dwellings such as the Fuchsenfeldhof and the Karlmarxhof buildings are more perfect and have greater facilities than those which were first erected. A nominal rent is charged for these flats. Brought up in this atmosphere, children have an environment to help them, which goes a long way to equalize their chances of happiness with the children of the upper classes. The inhabitants of each of these tenement buildings are like separate communities in themselves which are more or less self-sufficing. Social life is organized among the adults with the help of eager and willing workers from outside. The latter have to be very careful not to hurt the feelings of the inhabitants as they are quick to sense a 'patronizing or superior spirit' and resent it. Debates and instructive lectures by well-known speakers, games and sports, concerts and a variety of musical entertainments take place. As much as possible, the organization of their recreation is left



Nursery in Municipal Dwellings
Quarinplatz, Vienna

to the initiative of the tenement house-dwellers. There are some blocks of tenements which are exclusively occupied by people in particular services and their families such as domestic service. The working class quarters in Vienna, before the new building scheme was inaugurated, taken in concert with the modern tenement buildings and their well laid out grounds, are a clear indication of the vast change wrought in Vienna. This change is not only on the surface of things but has permeated the inner consciousness of people of all classes, and changed their outlook on life.

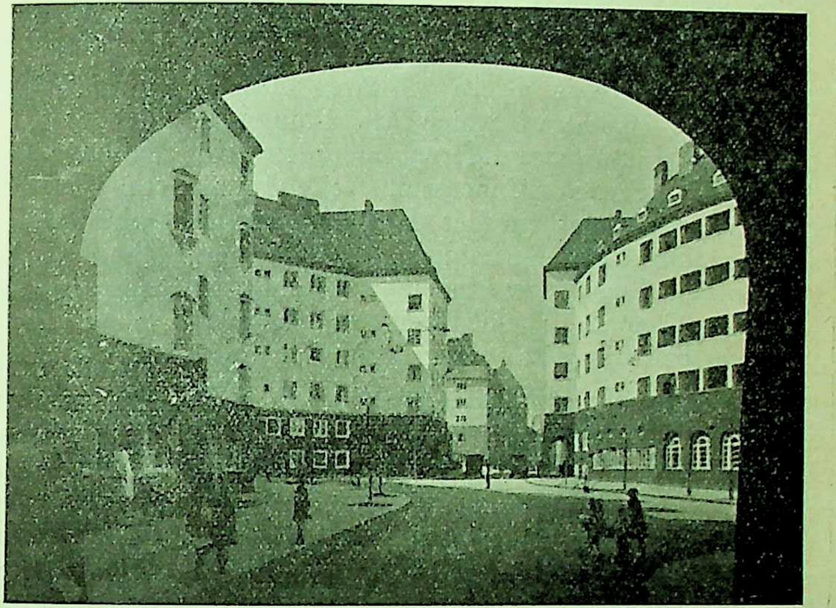


Municipal House in Vienna
Heiligenstadt Karl Marxhof

The municipality has taken a special interest in the garden suburb movement. It has not only helped the settlement 'association' for this purpose but has laid out garden cities of its own. These houses are provided at specially low rates to enable the poorer classes to live in the vicinity of the beautiful "Wiener Wald," the forest surrounding Vienna. The municipality also undertakes child welfare work which is extensive and starts with the unborn child, educational reforms which give equal chances to the rich and the poor, adult welfare, and innumerable other activities. Each sphere is so comprehensive that it is only possible to make a passing reference to them here. The child welfare work is probably more fully developed in Germany. No one can doubt that the Viennese are one of the most musical people in the world and yet they pay heavy taxes on all their musical entertainments so as to ameliorate the condition of the poor and provide them with a better environment. Apart from a tax on all entertainments, there is a tax on certain expensive and fashionable restaurants which are considered to be luxury business. There is a servant tax which should be noted. All persons employing two or more people for domestic service have to pay it. What indeed would be the condition of the majority of the well-to-do, if such a tax were introduced in India! The land tax, the increment value tax, and the house duty, where the incidence of taxation falls on luxurious dwellings, all help to pay for the various improvements to equalize conditions. It is true that taxation has been raised beyond all previous expectations in every European capital after the war, but as a result actual constructive work among the poor and not a mere distribution of doles which lead nowhere, is not so widespread.

Apart from improving the environment of the working classes, a vigorous attempt is being made to popularize culture and to present art and literature to the poor so that they can appreciate and imbibe some of its beauty and grandeur. It was to further this object that "Des Vereines Sozial-Democratische Kunstelle" was formed. "Kunst und Volk," "Art and the People," is a popular working class magazine. It sells at a nominal price. It contains articles on art and literature, music, poetry and drama, and the lives of prominent men and women in these spheres in the simplest language possible, so as to make it easy for the uninitiated to understand. There is also a daily paper with a wide circulation for the same purpose. "The accepted canons of culture are those by which the upper and middle classes bar the humble working man from gaining an equal footing with them. Neither culture nor genteel society manners are so difficult to acquire if one has the will—let the people show the superior classes that they too can acquire these qualities, and then no one will dare affect to despise them or treat them with contempt, and they will be able to hold their own with the highest born." This is the kind of editorial article with which this newspaper exhorts the people to take an interest in cultural pursuits. Simple articles on society manners and deportment are also included. In order to create a real interest among the working classes the opera and the best theatres and musical plays are brought within their range. "Des Vereines Sozial-Democratische Kunstelle" buys up the majority of the best seats at each of the different theatres once or twice a year at reduced rates, and these tickets are distributed by rotation among the working classes. We were taken to the Vienna Opera on a "workman's day" by Dr. Bach who is the editor of "Arbeiter-zeitung," the chief Social Democratic organ. He is a zealous worker of this society for the infusion of culture among the working classes. It was like a miracle,—the Cinderella fairy tale came true—to see the working classes dressed in their Sunday best, occupying boxes and stalls which not so long ago the aristocracy alone adorned, and to find that the royal boxes, formerly kept for the exclusive use of the scions of the Hapsburgs, occupied perhaps by the family of a crossing sweeper !

As a Viennese pointed out to me, "unlike the Communists, we do not need to level down conditions to attain equality for all classes; we have started by levelling up,"—and truly they have made a fine start.



Municipal House, Vienna
Füchsenfelde

How different are conditions in India from those seen in Vienna. It is possible to compare working class and slum conditions of Vienna with those of London, and show the former to be much in advance. But what of conditions in the cities of India. Can these bear any real comparison ? It is true that we realize it is only by an insistent social reform, education for one and all, and economic regeneration of the masses that we can really make progress. Yet the rate of progress and change is very slow, and if we do not proceed faster disruption and chaos are likely to result. It is only when we are willing to sacrifice class interests and privileges, and genuinely work towards the ultimate aim of equality of opportunity for one and all in India, irrespective of caste, class and creed, that we can show a real advance.

[To the kindness of Mrs. René Fülop-Miller (the charming wife of the famous author of *Lenin and Gandhi,* and *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism*) and her husband and to Dr. and Mrs. Bach, amongst other Viennese friends, we owe the opportunity we had of obtaining an insight into the conditions of life in Vienna during a short visit.]

# THE JAPANESE AT SHANGHAI

## By AGNES SMEDLEY

After having tried their hand in Manchuria, Tientsin, and Tsingtao, the Japanese militarists made Shanghai their next stepping-stone to the disintegration and perhaps the conquest of China. By striking at Shanghai they automatically struck at Nanking, which is but an appendage of this great international port, banking, industrial and commercial centre, and one of the most important bulwarks of imperialism in the Far East. Here is a city of three millions all except 75,000 of which are Chinese, a city divided into three different administrative areas—the French Concession, the International Settlement (in fact British) and the surrounding Chinese-administered city, one part of which has now become known to the world as Chapei. These foreign settlements are now bristling with every kind of weapon of war, as the foreigners hold on to their islands from which they dominate not only the Yangtze valley, but most of China, and manage the Nanking Government as it suits their fancy.

The incidents leading up to the war in Shanghai were many, all of them consequent upon the anti-Japanese boycott that followed upon the heels of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, and many of them leading to the death of both Chinese and Japanese. It can be quite certainly stated that Japanese *agents provocateur*, as advance agents of the Japanese militarists, instigated many of these incidents, which finally culminated in the expected Japanese ultimatum to the Chinese authorities on January 20. The Mayor of Chinese-administered Shanghai, carrying out the policy of "non-resistance and dependence on the League of Nations" accepted the terms of this humiliating ultimatum on the afternoon of January 28, and immediately began the suppression of every kind of anti-Japanese activity among the Chinese population. British and American imperialist interests had also been advocating the suppression of the boycott as "unlawful"—fearing, of course, that it would some day be turned against themselves.

Following shortly upon the acceptance of the Japanese ultimatum by the Chinese authorities, the Shanghai municipal council (foreign administrative body of the International Settlement) declared a state of emergency. Most of the foreigners knew that the Japanese, now heavily reinforced in Shanghai by men, cruisers, destroyers, and over 100 air bombers, were going to take military action anyway; and, in view of this, the state of emergency practically meant that while the Japanese attacked the Chinese at the front, the other foreigners guarded their rear against the united action of the Chinese population. At eleven o'clock on the night of the 28th, the Japanese Admiral delivered an ultimatum to the Chinese military defenders of Shanghai, ordering them to withdraw from their defence positions, but before the Chinese had time even to read the document—that is, just 35 minutes later, the Japanese invasion began, that section of the International Settlement to which the Japanese had been assigned by the Shanghai Defence Forces to guard, now became the base of war operations against the Chinese.

The Japanese attempted to take possession of the Chinese city of Chapei, using every known method of warfare in their actions. They bombed and bombarded the North Station of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, and one of their first acts was to bomb and burn to the ground the Commercial Press, the greatest Chinese publishing house and the greatest publishing house in the world; they also bombed and burned to ashes the famous Oriental Library attached thereto, in which were some one million volumes and ancient manuscripts, many of which can never be replaced. In the first encounters the invaders were driven back into the International Settlement, where the Chinese co not follow because this territory is supposed to be "neutral," the neutrality of which was now exposed as nothing whatever but a matter of force. Had the Chinese followed up their victory and occupied that part of the Settlement, as they had the legal right to do, they could have driven the Japanese from the city and saved the lives of thousands of their people as well as the whole city of Chapei. But the commanders of the Chinese defence force, that is, the 19th Route Army, are not revolutionaries and, like many others of their class, they either fear foreigners too much, or they, in common with many other rich Chinese, do not want to see Shanghai brought under Chinese sovereignty. They even gave out a statement that they could have taken the Settlement, but did not care to violate the neutrality of the Settlement, or do violence to foreign lives and property! The result was that the Japanese consolidated their position, brought more men-of-war, more air bombers, and more marines and troops to Shanghai, moved them right through the International Settlement and began a reign of terror and atrocity that has lasted for nearly two weeks. The Japanese cruisers in the Shanghai harbour are about 35 in number, the bombers 140. Daily these bombers droned over the unfortified city of Chapei in which some half a million unarmed Chinese civilians lived. We could stand on the tops of buildings in other parts of the Settlement and watch the giant Japanese bombers dip, drop their bombs on the Chinese defence lines, or drop incendiary bombs on Chapei. For days Chapei burned, clouds of smoke rolling up over the city, and all Shanghai roared from the din of war.

During the early part of the struggle, foreign newspaper men and other civilians could go right down into the war zone, watch the street fighting, and take pictures. What they saw was blazed across the pages of the foreign and Chinese Press each day. Here we saw Japanese marines, accompanied by bands of Japanese civilians, called *ronins*, the latter armed with guns, swords, knives, bayonets, or base-ball-bats, attacking the Chinese civilian population. The *ronins* operating in gangs, would capture Chinese civilians, often tie them hand and foot, and then stab or beat them to death. An American consular official watched a Japanese marine catch a poor coolie and bayonet him to death and every time the body showed signs of life, drive the bayonet through it from a new angle. In the first five days, practically no prisoners were left alive—they were either shot, beaten or stabbed to death. Since the Chinese defenders were a Cantonese army, no Cantonese prisoner was left alive. The Japanese seems to have carried out a consistent policy of killing every intellectual they lay hands on. Despite the confusion, I have learned that at least two of my own personal friends were murdered by the Japanese, one a writer recently returned from America who was doing absolutely nothing against even the Japanese, but who happened to be an intellectual and a Cantonese; and the other friend was beaten to death with an iron bar because a book by Bogdanoff on proletarian literature was found in his room. Another acquaintance was condemned to death and was saved by a Japanese friend, the charge against him being that he was a Communist. The "evidence" against him was a tag bearing a number in the lining of his hat. This was a tag of the dry cleaners, but the Japanese said it was a secret Communist number. A German business man named Hans Krenn, trapped with his family for days in the war zone, finally escaped and told what he had seen. He had seen Japanese creep up to houses, set them on fire, and then when the families hiding inside were driven out by the flames, the Japanese shot them dead in their tracks—men, women, children. The Japanese seldom feel called upon to make an excuse for their atrocities, which they seem to regard as but a natural part of the business of killing, but when "sentimental" foreigners constantly protested at the atrocities in the Press, the Japanese excused their action by saying that the houses of civilians had been used by Chinese snipers who fought the Japanese invaders.

It is not known how many thousands of Chinese civilians were killed. Mr. Krenn saw piles of dead bodies on which hungry, yelping dogs fed for days. The Chinese Press reported that the Japanese unloaded sixteen trucks of corpses into the river on one day.

But the Japanese spared nobody, even bombing the miserable camps of flood refugees, where the old, sick and impoverished lay, killing about fifty on one afternoon of bombing. A German newspaper friend of mine was engaged in the task of taking a picture of a group of Japanese *ronins* who had captured a Chinese civilian and were busily engaged in stabbing him to death ; but a marine saw my friend's intention, stepped up to him and stuck a mauser against his nose.

The Japanese extended their war to the Woosung fort and to the surrounding towns and villages at the mouth of the Whangpoo and the Yangtze, repeating there their actions in Shanghai. The foreign concessions and Chinese territory beyond the Chinese lines are now filled with hundreds of thousands of refugees, with civilian and soldier wounded, and it is said that fully 1,000,000 Chinese are homeless, or have suffered injuries or death. About 200,000 skilled workers in Shanghai are unemployed, which means that with their families, 600,000 of this group alone are without the means of existence.

All of this is but the external view of the scene. There were many disgraceful events taking place in the rear of the heroic 19th Route Army. This Army is composed of Cantonese men and officers, but it has not been under the command of either the Nanking or Canton Governments. It is under the sole command of its commanders, who have taken it here and there according to their own personal alliances. General Chiang Kai-shek has never commanded it and it is known as one of the stumbling-blocks to his supremacy. Therefore, when the Nanking Government, now under Chiang Kai-shek and the so-called "leftist" Wang Ching-wei, lay down a policy of non-resistance, the 19th Route Army commanders publicly announced that they would, instead, defy this order and defend Chinese territory to the last. Chinese say that Chiang Kai-shek sent two brigades of his own forces to Shanghai to disarm the Shanghai garrison, but they arrived only after the fighting had begun, and joined the defenders. In any case, two weeks passed and while the Chinese defenders fought with a courage and heroism that aroused even the astonishment of the imperialists, General Chiang sent not one man, gun, or aeroplane as reinforcement. Nanking and Chiang Kai-shek was furiously hated by the Chinese, for not only did sabotage Chinese defenders, but, under the pretext of removing the capital inland, Chiang and Wang Ching-wei escaped to Loyang. Chinese remark cynically : "The first man to reach Loyang was Chiang ; he ran that fast !"

The Cantonese Kuomintang clique, headed by Sun Fo and Eugene Chen, which had been recently ousted from Nanking by Chiang and Wang, now attempted to exploit the heroism of the 19th Route Army in order to consolidate their own position. They sent appeals to Nanking for reinforcements and got official replies that were evasive refusals; they gave money to the commanders of the 19th Route Army, and many Chinese declare that this was an attempt to induce the commanders to withdraw their forces southward so that Chiang Kai-shek would have to fight the Japanese himself. Rumour had it that Sun Fo was trying to form a new government in Hangchow. It was known that General Chiang's policy was to see the 19th Route Army annihiliated by the Japanese, whereas the other rival Kuomintang clique desired nothing better than to see Chiang's own model divisions annihilated. Yet the brave young defenders of Chinese territory thought they were fighting for the freedom of China, and not being merely used as pawns in a game of rotten political cliques. During this period, there were about fifty members of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang, but so deep were their conflicts that they could not even hold one united meeting. Only after nearly two weeks had passed did Chiang Kai-shek realize that he was being mercilessly exposed, and only when he feared he would lose control even over his own forces as well as of the 19th Route Army did he find it expedient—as the good gambler and stock speculator that he is—to change his tactics and send some reinforcements to Shanghai. It seems these are nothing but a demonstration. The Chinese fliers that have since come to the rescue of the defenders have so far defeated the Japanese in every air battle.

Of course, both the foreign and the Chinese authorities passed their decrees of martial law forbidding mass demonstrations or any kind of organization of the masses that might revolt against them. The Chinese Press, in both English and Chinese constantly carried editorials warning the Japanese that they were taking action that might lead to a Communist outbreak—a most undesirable thing for the Japanese! And the afternoon American daily solemnly declared in one editorial that Japan "had struck at the very elements in China which the Japanese and the other Powers were pledged to support" which means the corrupt, reactionary Chinese ruling class.

But despite all precautions against mass action, there was and continues to be some revolutionary activity, although weak indeed. There have been some workers' demonstrations broken up by the police; a number of mass organizations continue to exist and operate in secret or semi-secret, such as the Federations of Mass Anti-Japanese Committees —which have been closed down repeatedly only to spring to life again. The Strike Committee of workers from the Japanese textile mills continues to exist. And the Cultural Federation of Chinese Writers, Artists, and Social Scientists, has issued proclamations and is active. The walls of the city have also carried manifestoes of the Korean Revolutionary Committee. But still the revolutionary movement, following five years of terror, and now the continued suppression of the Chinese and imperialist authorities, remains weak in Shanghai.

The role which is being played by the other imperialists in the Shanghai situation, is important. I have received reports from authoritative sources that, in the secret conferences before the invasion began, the Japanese informed the other foreigners of their intentions, boasting that they could drive the Chinese defenders out of Shanghai within six hours from the midnight of January 28 to the morning of the 29. The other foreigners are reported to have agreed to close their eyes to this, provided it was done too quickly for them to be held responsible. But when the Japanese failed in their objective, their prestige and their position in Japan demanded that they should continue. The anger of the foreigners later on was caused, not by Japanese atrocities nor by the invasion of Chinese territory, but because the Japanese had not carried out their boast and thus had endangered the future foreign control of the Settlement by having exposed it as a base of war against the Chinese. When faced with the active hostility of the Chinese, the foreigners held their secret defence and Consular conference in the first two days of February and took an action which further exposes them as actively aiding in the invasion. In their conferences, they declared officially that the actions of the Japanese have been within the bounds of legality. Their "explanation" is that neither the Chinese nor the Japanese have declared war, that the Japanese acted only after the declaration of a state of emergency, and that they have been acting merely in defence of Japanese lives and property! This disgraceful decision finds expression in the official report to the League of Nations, and is finding its way in cable dispatches. Why the decision was taken was, I understand, that the Japanese have so much "on" the other foreigners that not one of the latter dared to do anything else but this. What the Japanese have "on" their imperialist colleagues is one of the many disgraceful Shanghai diplomatic secrets, but it may be that they used their six-hour understanding as a club to bring all in line behind them; or they have dozens of similar incidents. Since the 4th of February, the Shanghai public has been informed that the armed foreign defence forces of Shanghai will "defend the integrity of the Settlement" which means nothing else than that they will fight the Chinese who attempt to take it, but support the Japanese who use it as a base for the invasion of Chinese territory.

These foreign "friends" of China are now acting as the negotiators between the Japanese and Chinese forces. The Japanese have made such severe demands on the Chinese, that only foreign imperialist pressure, in unity with the Chinese bourgeoisie of Shanghai and the authorities who are supposed to be the Nanking Government, will force the 19th Route Army to accept. The Japanese have demanded, among other things, that the Chinese army be withdrawn 30 miles from Shanghai, and that the Chinese enter into direct negotiations with them. The foreign diplomats have been trying to arrange a compromise but that compromise most certainly will not demand that the *Japanese* withdraw 30 miles or even one foot, from Chinese soil. If the demands of the Japanese are not met, nobody seems to know what the Japanese will attempt to do. It may be that they will try to occupy all coastal and river ports and try to make a colony of China ; or they would try to force the Chinese to declare war so they can later dictate peace terms ; or, perhaps, they may intend to wage such a war of terrorization that they will completely disintegrate Chinese society, and set a puppet in Nanking to sign any kind of treaty they wish. Certainly, foreigners in China seem to think that Japan is mistress of Asia, and their chief mental conflict is what they should do about it. Some of the foreigners have no desire to see the Japanese make a colony of China and usurp markets and privileges ; yet at the same time most of them regard Japanese imperialism as a bulwark against Soviet Russia and against Communism in Asia. The White-guard Russians, headed by the bandit leader Semeonoff, work openly with the Japanese, and White Russians in Shanghai have been building Japanese trenches and barricades and working on an aerodrome for them.

But before the Japanese can carry out their plans, they have to defeat the Chinese armies, and even if they defeat these semi-feudal, bourgeois armies, they cannot conquer China until they have conquered the Red Armies and destroyed the Chinese Soviet Government inland and that they cannot do. Not even 300,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's picked troops, together with this same 19th Route Army now in Shanghai, could defeat the Red Armies in one province. The Japanese have issued a cool statement declaring that after they have taken Shanghai, they will progress rapidly and will later look about for someone with whom they will deign to negotiate! Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei and their followers may, and undoubtedly will, negotiate with them, under the persuasion of their friends, the foreign imperialists and Shanghai bankers, gangster leaders, and millionaires. But when the Red Armies of Central China negotiate with the Japanese, it will not be through Shanghai bankers, gangsters, the imperialists, nor will they plead and weep before the League of Nations.

SHANGHAI

# SOME CONTRIBUTIONS OF CHEMISTRY TO AGRICULTURE

## By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH. D.

AMONG the many contributions of science to the welfare and happiness of mankind, the contributions of chemistry to the development of the vegetable industry stand out as most noteworthy in the sight of countries like Russia and India which are still agricultural. In view of the fact that something like two hundred and fifty millions of India's population live on the soil and that special attention is now being drawn to agricultural development, it may not be out of place to make a brief survey of what chemistry has done for vegetable industry in the United States in the hope that we may receive some inspiration and learn a few lessons from America's experiment in this direction. A visit to a vegetable market in the United States makes such an impression on a stranger that it cannot be easily erased or forgotten. Whether it be summer when the lawns are velvety green and gardens loaded with flowers, or winter when the trees are bare and streets buried under snow, the vegetable market welcomes the visitor with a wealth of vegetables and an abundance of fruits. Time was in America when certain kinds of vegetables and fruits could only be had during certain seasons, but now what is remarkable is that such vegetables and fruits are made available to the consuming public all the year round.

### THE VEGETABLE INDUSTRY IN AMERICA

Since the beginning of the century, agricultural experts in America have so ordered the vegetable industry and so distributed the crops, taking the utmost advantage of varying climatic conditions and up-to-date transportation facilities, as to give the menu of the city-dweller an air of summer time abundance all the year round. Science has now helped all of the forty-eight States to participate in the vegetable shipments; they fill hundreds of thousands of freight cars every year and thus supply the city markets with fresh supply of several important varieties of vegetables and fruits. The musk-melon, for instance, is produced in the Imperial Valley of California in the month of May, and if the people of the United States depended on California alone for that fruit, then it could be had only in the month of May and at no other time. But scientific distribution now makes it available from various sources at different times of the year. According to the present plan of cultivation, the musk-melon comes from Arizona in the month of June; from Arkansas, Central California, Indiana, New Jersey, North Carolina and Texas in the month of July. Some of the other States produce it in August, and the farms of Colorado and Maryland produce it in September and so forth. Tomatoes, for example, are produced from December to June in Florida and from November to January in Texas. In the State of Texas tomatoes appear again in the month of May and last until August. From June until October, twenty-eight other States grow them. Besides these, greenhouse crops are raised in the north-eastern quarter of the country. Thus the tomatoes are made available in season and out of season for the American table.

While this was achieved through a scientific study of soil and climatic conditions and proper distribution of crops the year round, the increase in production is being accomplished through the application of chemistry and machinery to agriculture. The potato acreage, for instance, increased 13 per cent in the first quarter of the century, and the average production was increased through scientific farming from 72.4 bushels to 100.6. In the same period the cabbage industry doubled in acreage, and the musk-melon industry increased more than one and a half times. The lettuce industry, practically unknown outside of greenhouses in 1900, now uses more than 10,000 acres a year, and today between 40,000 and 50,000 car-loads a year keep most sections of the country supplied from January, the time the green-houses of Ohio and the fields of Florida, California and Arizona begin to yield, until the end of the year. The onion crop in the last quarter of a century has spread from 40,000 acres to almost 90,000. Onions come from New England, New York, Ohio, Michigan and Colorado in September and October, and from Southern California and Texas in April and May. The sweet-corn crop has increased from 150,000 to more than 400,000 acres, and the tomato crop from less than 200,000 acres to more than 420,000 acres. Agriculture in the United States is now valued to be a Rs. 150,000,000,000 industry. American farms and farm property represent, according to the estimate of Dr. C. A. Browne, Chief of Chemical and Technological Research of the United States Department of Agriculture, approximately one-fifth of the national wealth and pay one-fifth of the taxes of the country.

## Contributions of Agricultural Chemistry

Though the agricultural problems awaiting solution are both many and complex, and the need for wider application of chemistry to their solution most pressing, it is gratifying to note the many contributions chemistry has already made to the development and improvement of agriculture. Agricultural chemistry is defined for practical purposes as that branch of chemical science which treats of the composition of soils, crops, and farm animals, and of the mutual chemical relations of these in so far as they concern the production of the means of human subsistence and welfare. This definition is comprehensive enough as it not only includes much chemistry but also touches on minerology, mycology and other correlated sciences. When chemists first turned their attention to agriculture, the importance of the scientific contribution was soon recognized. Many of the earliest directors of agricultural experimental stations were chosen, not because they were politicians or administrators but because they were chemists. Chemical science had almost a monopoly of agricultural research. This is no longer true in the United States as chemistry has broadened its field and divided itself into specialities. Much of what was once done under the name of chemistry is now known as agronomy, horticulture, plant physiology or animal nutrition; these are after all largely specialities of chemical relations.

Not long ago Dr. Browne circulated a questionnaire among agricultural chemists asking their opinions as to the twelve most important contributions which chemical research has made to the prosperity of the nation. Replies indicated substantial agreement on five services, and others had a considerable support from a large number. The five included the work of chemists which led to the passing of the Federal Food and Drugs Act, the development of accurate methods for the analysis of agricultural products, accurate studies of the values of various foods for specific purposes in maintaining health and vigour which were made possible by use of the respiration calorimeter; studies of the chemical composition, properties and nutritive values of various crops as guides to proper diet, and the experimental use of lime to correct the sterility of acid soils.

Other developments ranked high by the chemists and somewhat familiar to non-technical readers, are the following: tests of fertilizers for farm crops, studies of vitamins, reclamation of alkali soils, development of the cane and beet-sugar industries, work on utilization of wastes and by-products of agriculture, investigation and development of insecticides, fungicides, serums, etc., and the investigation of the chemistry of soils. To these achievements Dr. Browne adds the consultation service of chemists to the farmer in protecting him from schemes designed to cheat him. On matters which require expert advice, farmers can now consult chemists at any of the State experimental stations. At present the subject in which agricultural chemical research is most actively engaged in the United States, is that of vitamins. Besides the Department of Agriculture, some twenty-three States and numerous educational institutions are seriously engaged in carrying on research in this field.

## Some Immediate Problems for Research

Though agricultural chemistry has not advanced to the point where it can foretell the yield of a crop by a simple analysis of the soil, yet it has at least risen in America to a place where it can make predictions of considerable importance. Among the many problems confronting the agricultural chemist, the most important and immediate is, in the opinion of many American chemists, that of the prevention of soil erosion. This may seem to be primarily a task for the agricultural engineer; nevertheless the chemists can help in the maintenance of a reserve of organic matter in the soil which, in turn, will hold water and check erosion. Another field for research is found in the development of methods by which straw and wastes can be converted rapidly into produce of equal value to barn-yard manure. Farmers will save millions of dollars through the development of such concentrated fertilizers which obviate the expense of bagging and transportation of "fillers" for fertilizers. Until recently agricultural chemists devoted most of their attention to a few of the more obvious constituents of plants and animals, the fats, carbohydrates, proteids and some dozen elementary compounds. They believed that these were the essentials for plant and animal growth. Now it is recognized that other substances, besides the ones mentioned above, are essential even though they occur in minute quantities. Because of this new discovery, chemists are finding it necessary to introduce greater refinements in their methods of analysis. Another task before the chemists is to find out ways and means of eliminating farm wastes. When agriculture enters the chemical industry, farm waste will be unknown and there will be complete utilization of nature's products.

It is interesting to observe how agricultural chemists are assisting the farmer to prolong the life of many articles he buys, such as leather, wood, cloth and metals used in tools, homes and utensils, and are teaching him to prevent the spoliation of goods he offers for sale. The marketing of agricultural products is becoming now more and more a question of the application of chemistry to demands of popular taste, to the disposal of surplus and to the relief of shortage. The markets for particular varieties of fruits and vegetables are widened by chemical analyses used as tests in the breeding of new strains which are richer in sugars, starches, acids or essential oils and so better adapted to the demands of the consuming public. Agricultural chemists are also supplying tests for determining when fruits are ready for picking. If a ripe orange has a green skin, the chemist tells the farmer to expose the fruit to ethyiene gas which colours it without harming its food properties. Chemists have devised methods of preventing dust explosions in agricultural and industrial processes. If a changing style or the substitution of another product diminishes the market for a certain crop, it sometimes happens that chemical science can point to an alternate use and thus save the market, or develop a new use for the product and thus increase its demand. In all these activities of agricultural chemists, the laboratory is as truly an adjunct of the chemical factory system of farms in America as are the industrial research laboratories of industries.

### Plants Forced to “Speed up”

For many years scientists have been experimenting with various chemical vapours to inspire plants with the ambition to be up and doing in their normal rest period. Ether, chloroform and other agents have been tried as stimulants and found only moderately effective. At the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research in Yonkers, New York, it is being demonstrated now that several sorts of plants may be put to work again almost as soon as they have finishsd producing in the usual season and retired for their winter's nap. Dr. F. E. Denny of the Institute is demonstrating further that chemical treatment inducing plants to bloom early may be used conveniently and inexpensively on a commercial scale. His laboratory at the Institute contains a series of galvanized iron cylinders, which may be lifted with hoisting apparatus and lowered to fit tightly into circular grooves in their bases. On these bases potted flowers are placed and into the tops of the cylinders are introduced at the same time shallow pans of certain chemicals; then the device is clapped tightly together. Sometimes a galvanized iron box with a tightly fitting door and an electric fan to distribute the vapours used. In either case plants that have been boxed with these fumes for a day and a night, or two days and two nights, are brought out and left in the greenhouse under ordinary conditions, and they quietly go about the business of early budding.

It is interesting to observe that under such chemical treatment flowering almonds burst into bloom fifteen days earlier. A number of the lilacs put out buds ten days after treatment and were found to be in full leaf in twenty days, while the ungassed or “check” plants were still bare. The untreated crab-apple proved particularly dormant, showing no signs of budding for weeks; whereas buds developed within ten days on plants that had been gassed, and leaves were fully opened in fifteen days. The curtailment of the rest period was effected without interference with the subsequent normal and satisfactory growth. In fact, I was informed that many of the gassed plants turned out considerably better than the others, their buds developing more uniformly and opening more nearly simultaneously. Each species gave, I understand, evidence of having its own laws of reaction. The chemicals found most satisfactory for bringing about quick reaction are said to be ethylene chlorhydrin, ethyliodide and sodium thiocyanate. The action of these gases on plants is described to be very different from the action of chemicals applied as fertilizers. The latter are consumed as food, being absorbed and oxydized, but the gas serves rather to produce an internal physiological condition inducing early germination. The results achieved are said to be proportionately greater than those from chemicals applied in the form of fertilizers. The results achieved so far are only preliminary; the chemists are now eager to find out why the plants have dormant periods, why they have to rest and why it is that they can get along without rest if they are treated with poisonous chemicals.

### POTATOES UNDER CHEMICAL TREATMENT

Dr. Denny's work has had important bearing on the southern winter potato crop, which is most responsive to his chemical treatment. In Florida, Cuba, and Bermuda potatoes may be planted for the second time in the year if good seed potatoes could be had. If the first crop is used for seed for the second time, results are, however, poor on account of the lack of rest period. Seed may, of course, be kept over from the previous year in cold storage, but that process is considered expensive. The more desirable way is, says the scientist, to induce the southern summer potato seed to germinate for the second crop without insisting upon a vacation, and this is being accomplished at the Boyce Thompson Institute for Plant Research. Whole potatoes, as well as cut-up pieces have been treated for breaking up dormancy by exposing trays of them in a vapour-filled room from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. In seven to ten days they were found to develop sprouts if left at ordinary temperature. As a rule, potato seed puts forth one sprout to an eye, but treatment with chemicals increases productivity; treatment with thiourea brings forth, I believe, from two to six sprouts from each eye, and that from all the eyes, while in untreated potatoes the eyes located at the base are barren. Such increase in the number of sprouts from each eye means, of course, smaller potatoes but more of them. Every State Experimental Station, every laboratory of the Federal Department of Agriculture, and most of the educational institutions in the United States have provided laboratory service for this important and expanding agricultural industry. Now they are looking forward to the time when each farm will be so organized as to employ one or more agricultural chemists to supplement the services rendered by those employed by the State.

In India there are over 250,000,000 persons living on agriculture, and yet we may safely say that no industry has been so badly neglected as Agriculture. Look at the way Russia—which, like India, has an enormous agricultural population,—is trying to reorganize her agriculture. Anyone who visits Russia cannot but be impressed by the huge sums of money the Soviet Government is spending on science. Soviet Russia is at present a poor country but her expenditure in this direction compares favourably with that of rich countries like America and Great Britain. She probably spends a much greater percentage of her surplus wealth on science than any other country. For instance, she spends Rs. 4,500,000 a year on research in applied botany. An experimental electrical laboratory is being constructed in Moscow at a cost of Rs. 22,500,000. If Soviet Russia can make such efforts when she is still poor, why not India ?

The researches in applied botany are among the most remarkable in progress in Russia. Some of the experiments, which are being carried on in Soviet Russia under the direction of Professor Vavilov on plant breeding, are, indeed, attracting the attention of the scientific world. It is generally known that plants of different species do not ordinarily give fertile crosses, that is, the offspring of such crosses are sterile. Prof. Vavilov's workers have produced fertile crosses between entirely different species, such as the cabbage and radish. The new plant is quite distinct and produces offspring like itself. Another plant crosses cabbage, radish and mustard. It also breeds true to the new type. Thus the Russian plant geneticists are bringing into being entirely new strains of vegetables. Not only can they produce new species of plants but explain how they arise on the modern chromosome theories of heredity. They are much interested in plant physiology. Sometimes plants occur whose cells contain twice the normal number of chromosomes, and when this occurs the plant is often twice the normal size. In the Bio-chemical Institute in Moscow experiments are being conducted on injection and immunity. It has been found out that if eggs are injected at a certain spot with certain amino-acids, they hatch out large chickens which grow into giant fowls. If injected at another spot, the chickens are dwarf and grow into dwarf fowls. The Soviet Department of Agriculture is endowing further research on this discovery.

India, like Russia, is predominantly an

agricultural country and much attention must be given to India's agricultural development. No doubt, we have now a few agricultural colleges scattered here and there, a few provincial departments of Agriculture and also an Agricultual Research Council. We are thankful for these. But our agricultural colleges train men, like other departments of education, for jobs and hence they have been signal failures in reaching the unit farmer. Our Agricultural departments are spending more money in perpetuating their own existence than in striving to place scientific agricultural knowledge in possession of the cultivator. Our Agricultural Council is placed mostly in the hands of distinguished and high salaried statesmen, most of whom have little knowledge of our farmers, their needs and requirements. We need scientists, not the type that helps to swell the army of educated-unemployed but such as can apply the knoweldge acquired to the solution of the problems of the agricultural India. We need research scientists and agricultural chemists to find out how India can improve what she has, and increase her production through the application of science. We need to spend less on departments and more on applied science. In this respect we must turn to America and Russia for ideas and inspiration.

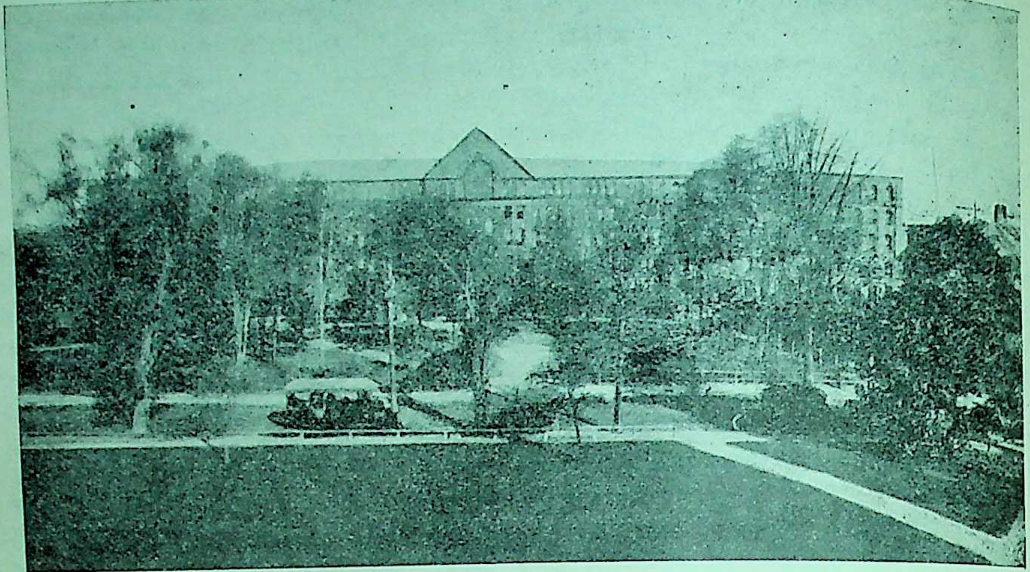
# AMONG THE RED INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

By B. S. GUHA, Ph. D.

ONE of the most interesting experiences during my stay in the U. S. A. was the investigation that I had the good fortune of carrying out among two Red Indian tribes of Colorado and New Mexico, on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D. C., the result of which was published in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1922 (pp. 20 and 71).

In the spring of 1921 it came to the knowledge of the Department of Anthropology of the Harvard University, that the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution were looking for a man to carry on investigation among the nomadic tribes of Colorado and New Mexico, and Professor Roland B. Dixon, Head of the Department of Anthropology, recommended my name for consideration. It was, however, felt that what with my colour and nationality (for according to regulations aliens are not eligible for services under the U. S. A. Government) the chances of my getting the job were not bright. Fortunately for me, the late Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, then chief of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, held that the question of nationality did not arise in the case of temporary appointments, and what counted more with him was ability rather than the colour of one's skin. I state this to allay a considerable amount of misconception existing in this country over this question, and I shall not be doing justice to my friends in the United States, if I forget to mention that so far at least as the educational institutions and a great majority of cultured Americans are concerned, colour is not the deciding factor in their estimation of a man's worth. I am aware that a good deal of prejudice exists below the Mason Dixon Line, but during my four years' stay in the United States and travels across it, I do not remember a single occasion when I had to suffer any disability for my complexion.

To continue my narrative however, I arrived at Washington early in July on one summer morning when the mercury registered 98 degrees in the shade and after a cold bath and hasty meal at Hotel Raleigh I proceeded to the Smithsonian Institution. I was very kindly received by Dr. Fewkes and was introduced to Doctors Swanton, Hardlicka, Michelson, Hewitt, Mooney and other distinguished anthropologists working there. Of these men, Dr. J. W. Fewkes was originally a Zoologist and was in charge of the marine laboratory of Harvard University for many years. He made notable contributions on the zoology of medusae, echinsdemata and vermes and was the first to take phonographic records of primitive tongues and was mainly responsible for unearthing the remarkable culture of the cliff dwellers of Mesa Verde. Of his colleagues Dr. John Swanton was at that time the editor of the *American Anthropologist* and a leading authority on the tribes of the N. W. coast of Canada and U. S. A. Dr. Hardlicka, who paid a visit to this country a few years ago, is, of course, well known as a physical anthropologist. Dr. Hewitt and the



Anthropological and Anatomical Museum, Harvard University

late Mr. Mooney both made extensive investigations on many important Red Indian tribes and Dr. Truman Michelson (son of the Nobel Laureate) is a Sanskrit scholar and a specialist in Algonquin language.

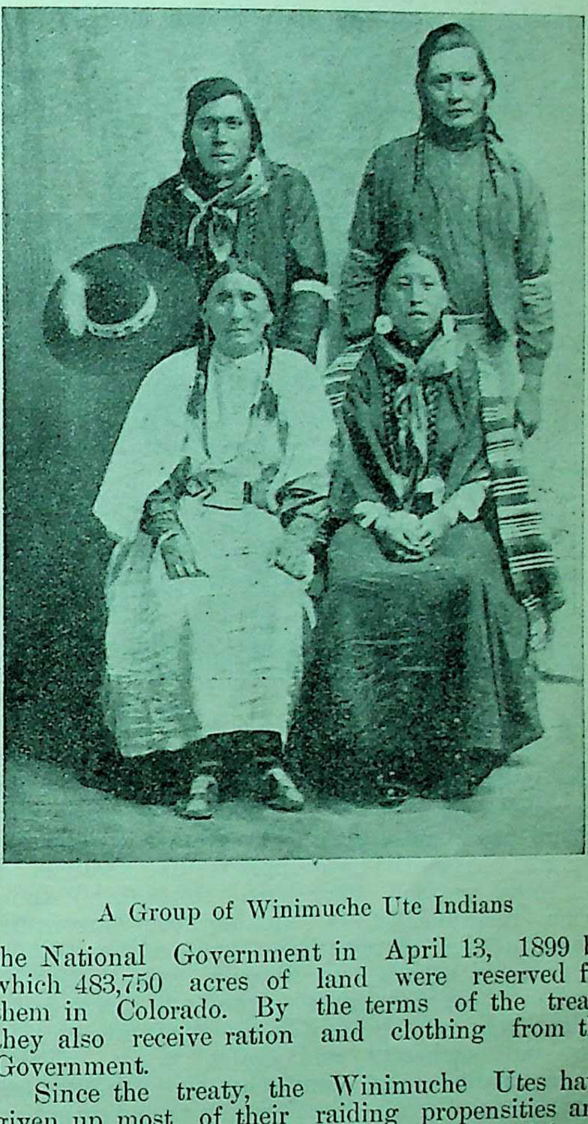
During the subsequent days that I stayed at Washington I became closely associated with them and one of the things that struck me most was the unpretentiousness of their learning and their kindly interest in others about to traverse the same field. This I felt specially of Dr. Fewkes who combined in a rare degree great scholarship with a warm heart, full of human kindness. I recall with pleasure the many hours that I spent with Dr. and Mrs. Fewkes and the hospitality that I enjoyed at their quiet suburban house at Washington.

The preparations of my journey having been completed I left Washington on the 9th of July for the South-West with two letters from the Secretary of the Department of Interior to the Superintendents of the Indian Reservations at Towoac (Colorado) and Shiprock (New Mexico) with instructions to render me all possible help in my investigations. A word may be said here about the travelling regulations of the U. S. A. Government officials. Officials on State duty are given free first class Pullman railway fares and irrespective of their rank and salary receive a halting allowance of 5 dollars a day for personal expenses. Expenses incurred in connection with official work are paid on production of authorized vouchers duly attested. Anyone wishing to spend more may do so from his own pocket, but the U. S. A. Government does not feel that it should be done at the expense of the public exchequer beyond the minimum rates fixed as adequate for all men and women serving under the Government.

There are two principal railway lines to the South-West, one passing through the States of Missouri and Kansas and the other *via* North through Chicago. Being shorter of the two it was decided that I should take the latter. The first part of my journey from Washington to Denver lay through the heart of the U. S. A. and though rather long was interesting. Up to Chicago the entire country is like one great industrial beehive but from Chicago westwards one passes through a never-ending field of wheat and corn (maize) which in autumn is a blaze of gold. The American Pullman cars with their libraries, shower baths, observation cars, etc. provide all the luxuries of travelling and make the trans-continental trip as free from tedium as possible. From Denver, however, I had to change into the small coaches of the Rio Grande Railway; but what we lacked in comfort was amply made up by the magnificent scenery of the Rocky Mountains. On both sides of the railway line, across the entire State of Colorado, towering mountains are visible and the train passes through canyons often as deep as 3000 ft. The most gorgeous of these is the Royal Gorge in the Grand Canyon of the Arkansas with its successive layers of multi-coloured rocks. On the rim of another—the Toltec Gorge of Los Pinos River may be seen the monument erected in memory of President Garfield when he was assassinated here in 1881. There are in addition several passes, some of which are over 10,000 ft. in altitude with lofty snow-covered peaks unbroken by vegetation, in the distance. The train is so scheduled that everything can be seen by day-light, and at all important sights it stops for a few minutes to enable the passengers to get good views.

I arrived at Mancos on July 14 at 12 noon. It is a small village at the foot of the mountains within a couple of hours' journey (by motor) from the Ute Reservation. There is a small hotel kept by Mrs. Wrightman where travellers can always count on a frugal but wholesome meal. It is at Wrightman's that I for the first time saw full-blooded Red Indians in the persons of two maids who waited at our table. Dr. Fewkes had given me a letter of introduction to Mr. Carr of the National Park (Mesa Verde) office, who kindly had my cheques cashed. After leaving Mances I reached Towoac the same evening at about 6 P. M. It is situated on the outskirts of the Ute mountains and has an excellent climate. The superintendent of the Reservation, Mr. MacNeilly had his office here and there is a school kept by the U. S. A. Government for the Ute boys and girls. The officers and other men employed in the Reservation, excepting married men who have separate bunglows, live in a mess in a well-furnished building provided by the Government. Persons visiting the Reservation on official duty only can board and lodge here at a moderate charge. I stayed at this place for about a fortnight during which I visited most of the important Ute camps in the mountains and was able to witness some of their important ceremonials including the Sun dance. The superintendent Mr. MacNeilly was very kind and rendered me all possible help in my investigations. I was lucky also in getting, through Mr. MacNeilly, the services of Mr. Frank Pyle as interpreter. Mr. Frank Pyle is a cowboy, and was born and brought up—'raised' to use the American expression—in this place. His perfect knowledge of the Ute language as well as his great familiarity with the people and the country were of utmost use to me in my work. Those who have any field experience among primitive tribes know how difficult it is to get their confidence, and unless their goodwill and co-operation are secured it is impossible to get authentic details of their institutions. The Red Indian tribes and specially the Utes are noted for their extreme reluctance to confide in strangers. I must admit, therefore, that a great deal of information that I was able to secure was due to the efforts of my interpreter Frank Pyle.

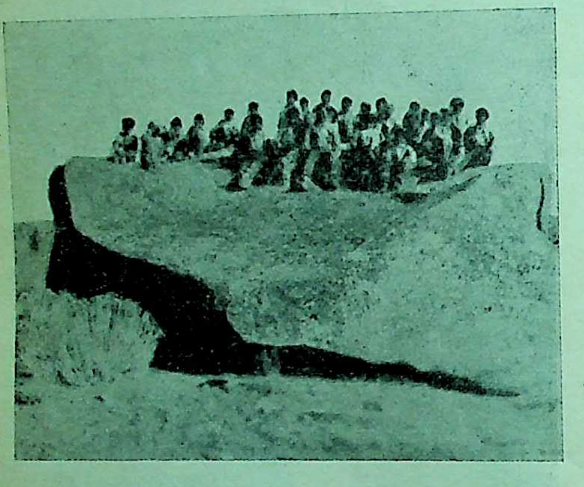
The Utes are an important branch of the Shoshonean tribes and at one time occupied the greater portions of Colorado and Utah to whom they gave its name, and also the upper drainage area of the San Juan river in New Mexico. Like all the other "Plains Indian" tribes they were extremely warlike and aggressive. Coming into the possession of horse early they swept a great portion of the south-western part of U. S. A. and either destroyed or drove up into the hills the more civilized and sedentary Pueblo Indians. They were ignorant of agriculture, nomadic in habits and lived on hunting. Unlike many other Red Indian tribes (*e.g.*, the Iroquois) they had no central tribal organization, but moved in small bands in ceaseless warfare with other tribes. Their whole life was focussed round war and warlike pursuits, and even after their association extending over half a century with Americans they have neither learnt agriculture nor given up their nomadic life. Until very lately they indulged in constant raids on their neighbours and such practices as "scalping." The Winimuche branch of the Utes, who lived in the Ute Reservation at Towoac, entered into a treaty with the National Government in April 13, 1899 by which 483,750 acres of land were reserved for them in Colorado. By the terms of the treaty they also receive ration and clothing from the Government.



A Group of Winimuche Ute Indians

Since the treaty, the Winimuche Utes have given up most of their raiding propensities and such pastimes as "scalping," and are living a more peaceful life. The dances and ceremonies which remind them of their erstwhile glory are all that are left, and though they indulge in these with great vigour and energy, their enforced idleness and the system of fortnightly doles are having an exceedingly bad effect on their physical welfare. Contact with civilization, likewise, has introduced tuberculosis, and as a result of all these causes rapid depopulation has taken place among them and but for the more enlightened policy now pursued by the U. S. A. Government the decline among the Utes as well as many other tribes would have been alarming.

The administration of Red Indians living in tribal territories is carried on by the Bureau of Indian Officers under a Chief Commissioner. Owing to abuses and in many instances harsh treatment, the National Government in response to public opinion (due in a great measure to the pressure put by American anthropologists), has appointed a board of ten honorary men to advise and co-operate with the Indian Bureau in its actual administration of the Red Indian tribes. Men of high position and character are alone nominated to this board so that they can be uninfluenced by extraneous considerations when impelled to criticism of administrative faults. The late President Elliot of Harvard was at one time a member of this Board. The institution of this Board has been a great boon to the Red Indians for not only all unscrupulous exploitations by interested persons have been stopped, but it had been instrumental in making the Government spend a sum of not less than 4 million dollars a year on schools, exclusively meant for Red Indian boys and girls within the reservations where they can be taught the elements of learning and such arts and crafts as are suited to their genius and environment. Unfortunately these Red Indians have not yet taken kindly to these institutions, though their usefulness is being increasingly understood by them.



A Party of Winimuche Utes

As a nomadic tribe the Winimuche Utes have no permanent habitation or villages. They move about from place to place in small bands and do not conceal their dissatisfaction that the area now reserved for them is not big enough for their movements! It is true that as a result of having lived in a more arid region and long contact with other Indian tribes they have imbibed several traits not found among typical Plains Indians. They have not yet been able to give up the restrained freedom of movements. The "tipi" or the conical tents of the Plains Indians they still retain but they are learning the use of brush and mat covered shelters, due undoubtedly to their association with the Athabascan tribes, *e. g.*, the Navaho. Neither do they depend entirely on bison which is not found in abundance in the South-West, but derive a great part of their food supply from the deer and small game. In their use of the horse however they are as typically a Plains Indian tribe as any other. Young and old, men and women, all take to horse as naturally as ducks take to water, and undoubtedly are among the first horse riding peoples to be found on the face of the earth. Bare back racings and daring exploits of horsemanship are indulged in as innocent pastimes by children. The horse has also facilitated their movements and solved the problem of transportation for them. With Frank Pyle as my interpreter and guide, I visited all the important camps of the Winimuche Utes in the mountains and interviewed a large number of elderly men and women regarding their social and religious institutions. The camps as a rule are situated at a considerable distance from one another, being pitched near springs or small streams. Riding in these mountains is not free from danger, but along the Ute 'trails' it is easier. Even so, as a result of riding through the greater part of the days, one's legs, specially of those who are not used to constant riding, are liable to get cramped. Pyle and I used to get up very early and visit the different Ute camps and return to Towac in the evening. Our luncheon basket was of course with us, for it was impossible to depend on Ute hospitality, specially as their food was wholly unsuitable to our consumption. Good spring water was procurable in many places in the mountains and, as the Utes' camps are only temporary, there was no chance of the water being contaminated. The Ute mountains have an average elevation of 5 to 6 thousand feet and are thickly covered with pine, birch, spruce and oak trees. Bear, wolf and deer are occasionally to be met with, but wild game cannot now be called plentiful. As the supply of food is not abundant, there is no large congregation of people at any particular place. During winter the "tipi" is used for living but in summer small "leanto" type of huts are made of twigs and leaves. The male members of the family, as "lords and masters" do not take part in the pitching of the tent or breaking up of the camp. It is the women's job to perform all these works in addition to their usual household drudgeries. On more than one occasion, I noticed that while the men were lying and smoking, the women were busy in pitching up the tents and arranging the camp. Hunting, raiding and indulging in semi-religious dances are their duties in which women are not permitted to take part. Unlike the Pueblo Indians, and other tribes of the South-West, the Winimuche Utes do not allow their women special rights and privileges.

The exact sequence of the arrival of the various nomadic tribes in the South-West is not known but from all evidence it seems pretty certain that the Navahos and Komanches were earlier. The Utes who occupied Utah and northern part of Colorado must have followed them in the San Juan valley. The traditions and legends of the latter while speaking faintly of their conflicts with the Mawkis (as the Pueblo are called) are full of stories of unceasing fights with the Navahos and the Komanches. Compared with the Navahos the Utes disclose at least hardly any effect of Pueblo culture in their life. The accounts that I was able to collect from the oldest living Utes amply corroborated the supposition and left no room for doubt that the Winimuche Utes were the last band of roaming nomads who came to the San Juan valley with woeful tales of depradations in their wake.

As natural among nomadic tribes the Utes did not have a strong central organization, but the seven Ute tribes of Utah at one time were united in a political confederacy. The Winimuche Utes of the Fort Lewis Reservation in Colorado, until the death of their last chief Ignacio, had also a sort of loose political organization, but at present they are scattered in small bands. They have no real chief nor a tribal controlling machinery but during dances and festivals they act together, and the older members command respect and authority. At the present time, through the forced abandonment of their raiding propensities, disorganization has set in their corporate life and the dances and festivals still practised are but the shadows of what they were in the days of their independence and glory. Fortunately many of the oldest members of the Winimuche Utes, who themselves took part in the tribal raids and festivities are still living and I was able to interview them and get fairly detailed account of their habits. They are known by the nicknames given by the American cowboys such as 'Red Jacket' and 'Yellow Jacket' and evinced considerable fancy for them. They told me with a great deal of pride of the raids of which they were parties and how they scalped the prisoners and bemoaned the lot of their descendants who are denied these manly pursuits and have to be content with innocent dances and festivals.

The Winimuche never possessed any highly organized social life even in the hey-day of their glory. Their life was made up of a period of comparative quietness in the winter when they were sheltered in Tipis (dewikan) in the mountains and on stored Bison meat (Gooche) killed in summer, and games such as deer (Deery) rabbits (Tabootch) etc. In the summer when the snows melted and the passes and roads were clear they came down to the plains and lived in "leans to" made of bush and wood called by them Ekuahkan. It is in these summer months that they raided their enemies like the Navahos and Komanches in bands and all their dances and festivities took place. The dances may be divided into two categories, namely (1) those which are connected with raids and war and (2) those which are purely social and religious.

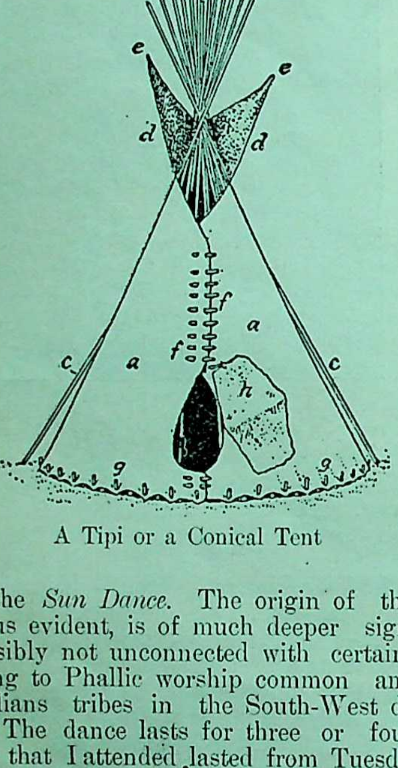
A Group of Utes

Of the war dances the best known is the Kameyaga. In this dance the Utes dressed gorgeously with footwear, brilliant head-dress, with feathers on the head and hanging to the waist called Kushivenop. Men danced in circles of six or eight round the prisoners (geewii) and women and children watched them. Arrows were shot in the ground before the commencement of the dance. The prisoners are killed after the dance and the scalp (Techevoov) is removed and washed and painted red and white. When they raided their enemies again the scalp is stuck on a stick and carried on horseback by the captor. My informant Red Jacket told me with pride how he once captured a Navaho woman in a raid, brought her to the settlement and killed and scalped her after the dance. The Kameyaga dance was danced in celebration of victory.

They have also a dance in mourning for the dead killed in war. It is known as the Sun dance (Taguntkhai). This dance is common among all typical Plains Indians but originally unknown to the Utes. It is supposed to have been introduced by the Sioux about thirty or forty years ago. All the elderly Utes I met, expressed their disapproval of this dance as not suited to their genius. As raids are no longer permitted this dance is practised among the

Winimuche as a mourning for the dead. It takes place in the middle of the summer. A corrall (enclosure) is erected with a centre pole with a fork at the top (Saware vitoch) made of cotton wood tree and only willow branches and leaves are used in making the corrall. No adequate reasons were forthcoming why only cotton wood and willow trees were used but my informant, Narumsukit (née Walter Lopez) a very intelligent old Ute, told me that there was no special meaning attached to it excepting that both these trees are juicy and keep fresh for considerable time.

The entrance of the corrall faces East, and the dancers must face East. It is for this reason called the *Sun Dance*. The origin of the dance, as is thus evident, is of much deeper significance and possibly not unconnected with certain rights pertaining to Phallic worship common among the Red Indians tribes in the South-West down to Mexico. The dance lasts for three or four days. The one that I attended lasted from Tuesday night 8 P. M. (Aug. 16) to 11 A. M. on Friday, the 19th. In this dance the dancers do not wear any clothes excepting a few feathers on the head and a plush or velvet apron at the waist, but paint their bodies with red and white sands. During the entire period of the dance the dancers could neither eat nor drink but they can smoke. Only very strong and hardy men take part in the dance. The dance usually starts in the morning and at noon the dancers are allowed a couple of hours' sleep, while the rest eat and drink. The dance continues throughout the night. The dancers however do not dance continuously in a body but while one or two are dancing the others sit on the stalls to rest. The dance is accompanied by an orchestra in which women take part. On the completion of the dance on the fourth day they have a big feast (Ta-Kvabani) in which every one takes part.



A Tipi or a Conical Tent

According to some of my informants the purpose of the dance was to revive those killed in the raids and not merely to mourn for them. Whatever that be, there is no doubt the dance is danced with the utmost solemnity and outsiders are not taken into confidence.

(2) Of the festive dances the *Bear Dance* is the most important. It is essentially a spring dance, and takes place in April or May when the grass is green and the trees are blossoming. In this dance the young men pick up their chosen girls. It is called the bear dance because according to tradition the medicine man Bowa married a she-bear and lived with her all the winter. In spring before she woke up he left her and introduced it among the Utes in imitation of the dance of the bears.

The dance lasts for four or five days within a specially built brush corrall. Inside the corrall just behind the entrance there are two poles attached to it, which are large pieces of cloth with drawings of bear on them. The orchestra is at the opposite end and consists of a big drum placed on a corrugated iron, pans and tomtoms. On each side there are wooden benches on which the dancers sit—the men on one side and the women on the other. The dance takes place in the centre and lasts for four or five days. It started ordinarily in the afternoon between 2 and 3 until sundown. On the last day, however, the dance continues throughout the night. It is a specially female dance and the squaws (women) select their partners by walking up to them and striking them with their shawls. Men cannot refuse and the partners thus chosen must dance; but if so desired there is no reason why the squaws should not choose different partners at each dance. The dance consists in men and women lining up in opposite rows each squaw facing her partner and coming forward two steps and then going backwards three steps. As the men come forward the squaws go backwards and *vice versa*, but they never touch one another. On the last day, however, there is a striking variation in the dance and instead of standing in opposite rows and coming forward and going backwards the squaws have their right arm round the shoulders of their partners and the men have their arms round their girls and pair off. This is called Momonkhai or squaws dance.

After the dance, deer or calves are killed and a big feast takes place. On each day in the morning during the continuation of the dance they have horse racings and at night after the dance both men and women indulge in gambling. Throughout the dance there is one man who acts as a sort of master of the ceremonies with a stick in hand, and moves round the corrall, and if a man falls behind the line he hits him with the stick. The corrall of the dance is called Quakshikit from Quakget (bear). As is obvious there is a considerable amount of licence after the dances, but usually with the chosen girls who become their wives later.

Among the Winimuche there is no special marriage ceremony. By marriage (Buiaw) the Utes simply understand taking a girl and living with her. Of course the consent of the girl is essential. What happens is that when a young man and girl like each other they simply go and live together as man and wife. The Utes are not matriarchal and usually the bride comes to live with her husband in his house but there is no custom forbidding the groom going to live in his father-in-law's house which not infrequently takes place. Unfaithfulness is not regarded as a serious offence either on the part of the man or the woman married or unmarried, and dissolution of marriage does not take place on that account. The husband and wife separate only when they cannot pull on well together and both enjoy equal privileges in this matter. After separation the children may go and live with either of the parents according to convenience and there is no hard and fast rule about it.

On the death of the husband the property goes to his widow and not to the children: the latter getting it on her death or in the absence of the mother. The wife's personal property is similarly inherited by the husband. Father and other relatives can only inherit property in the absence of the wife or children.

Among the Utes marriage is based on kinship. Blood relations up to the third generation on either side cannot marry. Marriages with brother's wife or wife's sister are usual and there is no custom forbidding marriage with one's mother-in-law, though such marriages are rare.

According to the Utes death is only a sort of interlude between this world and the next where the dead just wake up, as it were. There is no cremation. The dead is covered with his or her blankets and put under a rock. His or her horse is killed after driving it round him and the carcass with the saddle and trappings are placed close to the dead so that the latter may use it in the other world. No food or cooking utensils are placed with the dead as games are considered plentiful there and no difficulty in obtaining them. There is no punishment in the other world—all sufferings, privations, etc., end with death. After death everyone is equal and a life of ease and happiness awaits everybody.

According to the Winimuche, the wolf (Sniov) is the guardian spirit and they are all his children. The wolf consequently cannot be killed. On the other hand games such as deer are killed by them and left in the mountains for his devouring. The idea undoubtedly is totemistic, but is of the same kind as that of the North-western pacific tribes of U. S. A., where the totem is regarded as a guardian spirit with reverence and awe.

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# IN THE WAKE OF ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KOROS

## By JULIUS GERMANUS, Ph. D.

THE solitary tomb in the cemetery of Darjeeling buries a hero of learning under its glebes. Alexander Csoma de Körös, a Hungarian nobleman, more than hundred years ago left his native town in search of the lost tribes of the Magyars whom the onslaught of the Patzinakites has severed from the bulk of the people rushing on towards Europe in quest of a home. Centuries rolled on and the Magyars, mixing with Slavs and Germans, abandoned their ancestrel creed and became Europeanized, but still clung with an instinctive love to the smouldering memories of the past, to their cradleland in Asia, and dreamed of those brethren who had to return to the central Asiatic steppes. European culture and Christianity with all its ennobling influence and elevating spirit, could not extinguish the memory of the real home of the Magyars in their hearts, and legends and stories nurtured by the loving fancy of the people have drawn the imagination of Hungarian thinkers and dreamers with an irresistible force towards Asia. In the middle of the 13th century, a Hungarian monk called Julian started on this hazardous quest to find the lōst tribes of the Magyars in the heart of Asia, and his Latin report in the Vatican relates his wonderful wanderings from Constantinople to the Crimea and from there on the river Don where he at last met a woman with whom he could speak in Magyar. The bulk of the lost tribes were only some three days' journey from the spot, but the worthy monk who had stood the hardships of the long journey hesitated to continue it to the end and returned without achieving the real aim of his enterprise and never met the sought-for Magyars of the East. Then came the bloody waves of the Mongolian conquest from which Julian shrank back in awe and which stirred up the cauldron of Asia, burying some peoples, dislocating others, annihilating states and creating new ones, swallowing the last remnants of our Asiatic brethren. But their memory has lived on in fancy and in hopes and ever and anon drove Hungarian scholars to wander to the East and to trace their steps, petrified in the vestiges of dead and living languages.

Alexander Csoma too was attracted by the cherished memories of his brave ancestors. A Siculian, a supposed descendant of the Huns, he started on his way to reconquer by learning more sublime territories than his ancestor, ever did at the edge of their swords. Richly equipped with knowledge, possessed with a marvellous faculty for language and blessed by an almost superhuman fortitude of spirit, he walked from the Carpathians across East Europe, across Persia to Kashmir on to his goal to the Central Asiatic steppes with a devout hope to unravel the mysteries of the ages and in quest of the footprints of the Magyars in Asia. His life was a constant struggle with the wild forces of Nature and he overcame hardships rarely endured by man, and still his dream remained unrealized. Was it not his tragic fate that, sacrificing his dreams, his soul's desire to which he clung with all the fibres of his worldly existence, he achieved a yet greater task: he created the Tibetan Buddhistic studies which, from the seed he planted, has since grown into a spreading tree of rich foliage? A century has passed since he put up in the inhospitable region of Zanskar and began to compile his Tibetan dictionary, in a tiny room of a Buddhistic monastery, enveloped in sheep-skins and hardly able to turn the leaves with his half-frozen hands—and this century of ours is ever growing in the admiration of his pioneer work a *monumentum aëre perrennius*.

A century has passed and time has rolled on unnoticed over the ragged cliffs and glaciers of Zanskar, the roof of the world, till another Hungarian explorer, animated by a deep love towards the East and a reverential piety to the heroes of learning, undertook to trace the faltering steps of Alexander Csoma and to fix the stages of his self-sacrificing wanderings from Kashmir to Zanskar, to Pukhtal and to find some unknown data of his life still slumbering in the memory of some pious lama of Western Tibet.

Ervin Baktay's enjoyable book of travels *On the Roof of World** is more than a mere record of impressions and reminiscences. The author who has qualified himself through numberless years for Indian studies, is not an external observer of appearances and facts, but tries to imbibe the spirit which underlies them and descends into the depth of social phenomena in their real and symbolistic aspects. With philosophic trend of mind and with an easy and pictorial style he carries the reader along with him on the evergreen meadows and islands of Kashmir, on the fantastically dreary rocks and ravines of Ladak and opens before him vistas of the past and lets him peep into the warm and pious heart of the Moravian missionaries of Leh who, among a hardened race of men, radiate human love and true religious conviction.

Apart from the instructive description of the country and its inhabitants, social customs, like polyandry of the Buddhists in Western Tibet, the book enriches our knowledge about those monotonous days which Csoma spent in the rock-bound monasteries of Zangla and Pukhtal. The author's pilgrimage to these places which Csoma visited a century ago as the first European is described with a plasticity worthy of being rendered into English.

It was on the summit of a high, barren hill, across a brook that he first caught a glimpse of the monastery of Zangla. Its peak was still aglow with reddish glare of the sinking sun which darted its last rays through a cut of the opposite ridge as if to reveal to him the Hungarian pilgrim, the first Tibetan home of Alexander Csoma, surrounded by this mystical halo. In a few minutes the slowly rising shadows drowned the monastary into a flood of darkness and extinguished this glamour of salute. He stood at the brook and speechlessly, deeply moved, looked up to the cliff which silently sank into obscurity. There the Siculian scholar lived, these stones here still remember his footsteps. After hundred and six years another Hungarian wanderer was treading the rocky path at the foot of the hills.

After the fatiguing toils of a long day's march and a scanty meal he went to bed with a queer inexpressible feeling, as if a ghost had fluttered nearby his tent, and the ghost of a much suffering great man had come to meet with a dumb greeting the messenger of a nation struggling for life.

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* Ervin Baktay: On the Roof of the World. A Vilag Tetejen. Published by the Hungarian Geographical Society. 307 pages.

Baktay looked after those old men who still might remember some stories about Csoma or "Skander Beg" as he was called by his Tibetan contemporaries. He soon found an aged, broken man who was carried into his presence. It took some time till Tsan Raptan, the oldest man in the village could compute the years of his age according to the cyclical system of the Chinese. He might have been between seventy-five and eighty-five. At the author's question he slowly related what he had heard from his father and his grandfather who knew Csoma personally. It is evident that the memory of Csoma is still alive in Zangla. Tsan Raptan's father used to show him the room in which "the wise man of Rum" lived. The old man mentioned the names of Sangya Pun-Tsog, the teacher of Csoma and of Kunga Choslegs, the great Lotsawa who used to come and visit Csoma from Dzongkul and initiated him into the lore of Bod-Chos, Tibetan religion. He remembered that Csoma did not tolerate the open fire in his room which spread an unbearable smoke and prevented his reading. He also spoke of another European visitor who was at Zangla at the same time with Csoma, but this item must needs have arisen from some misunderstanding and no record confirms it.

The monastery which rises close to the top of the hill is several hundred years old. It is a two-storied typical Tibetan *gompa,* unspeakably solitary and dreary. As they ascended the rickety stairs, deep silence and desolation surrounded them. The monks have abandoned the building long ago—the poor village could not support them—only one lama lived in it as a guard, in the very cell of Csoma. Down in the village, in the castle of the Elder, some two more stayed who used to perform the religious rites in the abode of the titular Elder, still highly respected by his people. The lama conducted the visitors through deserted court-yards and corridors to the upper floor. Baktay and his companions reached an open balcony from the right flank of which a low door was leading into the room of Csoma. The visitors must deeply bow when entering the door which is hardly four feet high. The cell is nine feet by ten feet large. The ceiling can be reached by the uplifted hand. On the left wall there is a tiny window near to the floor. In the centre of the room a wooden column supports the thin rafters of the ceiling. The whole room is black as well as the walls, the beams shine with grease as if made of black ebony. The smoke and soot of centuries has impregnated them. The fire was usually laid in the floor and smoke could find vent only amid the beams of the ceiling or through the door. It is clear why the Hungarian scholar had to dispense with heating: one must be born in Tibet to be able to sit in such a sea of smoke.

The bed of the lama was stretched before the window and covered with a black yak-fur and woollen rugs. At its end and side, on a low Tibetan table, lay some books and writings. The room was probably furnished in the same style at the time of Csoma, but for the difference that "Skander Beg" had to share it with his lama teacher and the servant. There, before the tiny one square foot window, sat the Hungarian scholar shrouded in woollen rugs and sheep fur from morning till eve in the frost of the Tibetan winter. He drew out his hands from beneath the fur only when he had to turn a leaf or when he lifted his cup of salted tea to his lips. It was only when Baktay saw with his own eyes the frames of his life at Zangla and realized himself the moods of that strange, hopeless, inhospitable surrounding that he could understand the awe-inspiring fact of reality, the unparallelid force of Csoma's decision. In such a surrounding which would have driven anybody into despair, he collected and arranged 40,000 Tibetan words. In this catacomb he buried his dreams, his enthusiastic yearning after the search of the cradle of the Magyars—in order to answer the task of unearthing the knowledge of the Tibetan language. From this dark dreary nook sprang up and spread out the glorious laurel-tree of his world-fame.

Such a thrill rings through the book of Baktay. Ill with malarious fever, with scanty provisions and unsatisfactory accoutrement, but with an unconquerable will, nourished by his devotion to the memory of the great Siculo-Hungarian, he trod from Zangla on to Pukhtal monastery in order to glean some stray souvenirs of the past. But in vain! The lamas of Pukhtal did not even remember the name of Csoma. His fame has outgrown the narrow memories of the place where he suffered and worked and now spreads its splendour on the dismal huts of the monastery. Baktáy had two tablets cut, rough and rugged, and engraved with faltering letters an inscription commemorating the time which Csoma spent amid its bare inhospitable walls: a tribute of a solitary wanderer to the memory of a great hero of learning.

# ALICE RETURNS TO WONDERLAND

## By NRITYALAL MOOKERJI

### New Moralia Recension

> Find out the cause of this effect,
> Or rather say, the causes of this defect,
> For this effect defective comes by cause.
> —*Hamlet*

### Epilogue

"Do you know," said my friend Alik Pro-cash Gupta, rushing into my room with a book in his hand, "that Mr. Saklatwalla is a cousin of the late Lord Fisher, that naval genius who took the wind out of the sails of Mr. Winston Churchill?"

I confessed that even Alik might find it too difficult to prove it.

"Was not Fisher the author of the slogan 'Sack the lot,' was he not then a Sacklotwala? I wish I had his power. I would have sacked the lot."

Accustomed to the sudden rise and fall of Alik's temperature, I asked him, "Who has maddened madness this time?"

"No, no," said Alik, "this is a most serious matter. This morning a boy was reading from his book—

> 'We have five senses: Sight, HEART, smell, taste and touch.'

'Wicked urchin, what nonsense are you reading,' said I. 'Surely, this is not from your text-book.'

'Sir, yes, sir,' said he. 'It is down here at page 19 and cannot be wrong.' Observing my incredulity he made over the book to me.

To my horror I found the passage in the book. I knew what charming faith in the accuracy of the printed page our students have and thought how disastrous such knowledge must be. The boy went on heaping coals of fire on my head.

'The Mazla Huzoor has approved it, sir.'

'The Mazla Hoozoor'! said I, completely mystified. 'Sir, yes, sir, there is the Burra Huzoor, the All-Highest, the Mandarin. Then comes the Mazla, who approves books, and below him are Chhota Huzoors, who make visitations from time to time.'

On looking at the book, sure enough I found the imprimatur of the Huzoor, 'Approved by X. Y. Z. of Bengal, *Calcutta Gazette*, 11. 11. 26.'

I was turning the leaves and found funny errors on page after page, strewn thick as Vallambrosa's leaves.

Pages 20 and 21, for a taste—

> 'Karim, can you tell me the name of this road? Perhaps you DON'T...Is there any such bridge in our native village? Surely not. There is a POLE made of bamboo on the small river that ARE FLOWING round our village.'

"This man," said Alik, "is not clever enough to borrow things from English Readers and pass them off as the genuine stuff. He must needs put in his *merderies* and then we have the jackdaw sticking out of the peacock's feathers."

I told Alik that this was like the story of the Eastern magician and his servant who was too clever by half.

"What was that?" asked Alik.

"The servant stole his wand and summoned spirits from the vasty deep. He had not observed that his master used the left hand in doing so. The spirits, thus irregularly summoned, came and tore him to pieces."

"Far from punishing him, the spirits summoned by the author," observed Alik, "will scatter largesse to author and publisher. "Let us turn to page 16, 'Our Parents.' "

"Spare me this double-distilled ambrosia," said I.

"No. This is a jewel of a poem.

My father, my mother, I know
I cannot your kindness repay ;
But I hope, as I older grow,
I shall learn your command to obey.
You loved me before I could TELL
Who it was that so tenderly smiled,
But now that I know it so well,
I should be DUTIFUL CHILD.
I am sorry that ever I should,
Be naughty, and give you pain,
I hope I shall learn to be good,
And so never GRIN you again.

What a mischievous monkey, this moral urchin must have been—grinning at parents ! And this precious volume has run through three editions in two years."

I waited to hear no more but fled. The same night I must have had a dream or what was it, 'स्वप्नो नु माया नु मतिभ्रमो नु' (Dream or illusion or confusion of mind) ?

## PROLOGUE

### LIGHT IN DARKNESS

The afternoon was warm and the tinkling of the sheepbells and the buzzing of the bees made Alice feel drowsy. She had scarcely closed her eyes when she found herself in a huge ugly building. There was a buzz of voices in the street below and the tinkling of tram-car bells. Alice was hardly surprised to find that the White Rabbit was her Cicerone, this time in a green waistcoat.

In a comfortably furnished room a man was sitting before a roll-top desk and writing assiduously on a piece of foolscap.

"Who is this ?" asked Alice.

"Hush, not so loud. Though he cannot see us, we may not disturb his writing, on which the fate of the land of Moralia hangs. He is no other than the Dee Pee," said the White Rabbit.

"The Dee Pee ?"

"The Doctor of Poetry, as well as the Driver of Pedagogues."

"But to whom is he writing with so much attention, as if his very life depended upon it ?"

"To himself."

"To himself ? How silly !"

"Not at all my little miss. As a superior he is writing to his subordinate, and he happens to be both superior and subordinate."

"Curiouser and curiouser," chortled Alice. How can a man be his own superior as well as his own subordinate ? How can a man be his own grandfather ? There is a riddle like that."

"The Dee Pee is the Dummy Secretary to the Mandarin as well. Now the Dummy Secretary is the immediate superior of the Dee Pee. He is the post-office through whom that Demogorgon, the Mandarin, sends his messages to the Dee Pee. The Dummy Secretary takes the poor Dee Pee severely to task and the Dee Pee hits back smartly. His face is aglow with smiles just now. He has just thought of a smart retort to his own charges. 'Ain't I 'cute,' thinks he. He fights in bright fields and every D. O. catches some gleams of glory and gazette after gazette blesses his name and fame."

"The D. O.—the distinguished order ?" asked Alice, who had grown up since we saw her last in Wonderland.

"No,—the Dummy Orders. The Dee Pee is two things rolled into one, a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde business, in fact. But, unlike Mr. Hyde the only thing he murders is the King's English. No doubt, he is in his 'second person' now. Hope elevates and joy brightens his crest. He is now approving a book."

"Approving ?"

"Yes, proving that every boy and girl of Moralia must buy a copy of the book or woe unto their schools."

"What a naughty dummy secretary," said Alice. "But what can he do ?"

"He is no longer the Secretary. That functionary has vanished into thin air. We see before us the D. P., the driver of pedagogues. If he says to a school : 'I don't recognize it,' then everybody must pretend to see no school there. Every child must shudder thrice when he passes by it and give the blood-curdling yell of the Cherokee Indians or dance the Birbhum *Rai-Bishe* martial dance set to music by the D. P."

"But does not anyone back up the schools ?"

"No, all are mightily afraid of the horn of the Unicorn which backs up the Dee Pee more often than not. The lion, however, keeps the Unicorn on short commons and so tames the noble beast. Thus

> The lion and the unicorn
> Fighting for the gown ;
> The lion beat the unicorn
> All round the town.

But even, as it is, the unicorn is a fearful wildfowl."

"Poor half-starved thing," said Alice.

"Don't waste your pity," said the White Rabbit. "The unicorn has fearful presses to which he subjects the youth of the country. Very few can stand more than the first and second degrees of pressure. But the more venturesome among them pass through the third degree, sad wrecks of humanity with sunken eyes and drooping shoulders."

"But what does the long-suffering youth gain by it ?"

"A scroll of parchment, nothing else."

"And what may be the value of it ?" asked Alice, more in wonder than ever.

"That is not an easy nut to crack."

"However," added the Rabbit sententiously, "what song the sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. But three centuries ago the great Bard of Avon, who was a prophet, foresaw what would happen. *Hamlet* asks *Horatio*,

> 'Is not parchment made of sheep-skins ?'
> *Horatio*. 'Ay, my lord, of calf-skins, too.'
> *Hamlet*. 'They are sheep and calves which seek out assurance in that.'

"Those who hold the parchment-degrees and those who employ them alike know this bitter truth to their cost."

"Nay, in some cases the holder finds at long last that the Bard was a Seer when he wrote,

> Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment being scribbled o'er, should undo a man ?"

"How interesting ! Now I understand," said Alice, "what people mean when they say that Vates means both Prophet and Poet."

Alice with fearful glee now saw how books were approved by the D. P. In answer to his bell an orderly came and, when he pointed with his finger, put the Seal of Approval on the book, which happened to be a Reader published by the Make-Dummy Company.

"But he did not read a single line of the book," objected Alice.

"That is not necessary for approval. The E. B. C. has seen to it that the number of pages and the quality of printing and paper are all in accordance with Rule 42. Don't you remember how the King of Hearts tried to floor you with this very rule ? But nobody cares what the book contains—and the more the pranks of the Imp of the Perverse the better."

"What is the E. B. C. ?"

"Those whose books are approved call it the Ever Blessed Committee and those, not so fortunate, prefer to call it the Execrably Bad Committee. Look, the D. P. is on the horns of a dilemma."

The D. P. was muttering to himself in an undertone, important—unimportant—unimportant-important, as if he were trying which word sounded best.

The White Rabbit explained that in case of doubt he approves or disapproves a book by trying this white magic. The D. P. is a firm believer in 'take care of the sounds and the sense will take care of *them*selves,'—a converse of a favourite proverb of the Duchess in Wonderland.

In answer to a ring, a typist came in. To her the D. P. said, "Come, come, I am in the poetic vein just now. Let us answer Mr. Pinch and Company," and he began to whistle a tune.

"Who is Mr. Pinch ?" questioned Alice.

The White Rabbit informed her that he was a schoolmaster, a hungry, needy, hollow-eyed wretch, a living-dead man.* "Observe," said he, "the D.P. is really a kind man, a Dr. Jekyll even when he meets a deputation but now—"

The Doctor of Poetry was dictating—

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* *The Comedy of Errors.*

Starveling, if our bemused eyes
Wink at thy damned lot,
'T is because Retrenchment dries
The tongue which we've all got.
Grumblers lantern-jaw'd and proud,
Heaven awards the vengeance due,
Fat berths be on us bestowed,
Dirty cuts wait for you.

In the veranda a gruff voice was singing—

"He thought he saw a big doctor,
Descending from the bus,
He looked again and found it was
A hippopotamus.
If this should stay to dine, he said,
There won't be much for us."

"Who is making that infernal racket ?" asked the irate Dee Pee.

"One of your guards, Sir," said the typist.

"Let him," said the D.P., now thoroughly mollified. "He means no harm, poor man. Did he mean me ?" said he, turning to the typist.

"Oh, no sir," cooed she sweetly. "A D.P. must have the hide of a rhino and that no hippo has," she added in a low voice.

Alice wanted to hear no more and she came out followed by her guide.

"Where do these Dee Pees come from, and how are they selected ?" said she.

"I cannot answer that question very well, but one was appointed much on the principle by which the cowherds at Athelney discovered that their guest Alfred must be the king. He was fit for nothing else."

Alice now found herself in a large hall with costly appointments. On one side was a huge mirror which might have been used at one and the same time by more than a dozen persons as big as the Hippo Doctor.

Alice noticed some antique lettering below it :

**"The Mirror of Venus"**

"What can such a mirror be for ?" her query was no sooner formed in her mind than it was answered by her guide, who said : "Sometimes when the Mandarin comes, he likes to see himself as others see him. That great man plays the three acts of Raphael's life in a minute.

Act. I. He seeks himself.
Act. II. He finds himself (in the mirror).
Act. III. He surpasses himself when he strikes an attitude before the mirror.

He calls his dummy Secretaries together when he goes to the mirror. He singles out somebody for distinction. "Oh, Dee Pee dear," he says, "I didn't know we were so nice to look at. Surely we *are* beautiful."

"Your High Serenity," says the D.P., proud at being taken notice of, "there is no doubt of it. We are much nicer than Burne-Jones's picture there."*

Here Alice looked at a reproduction of that master and burst out into incontrollable laughter.

"Stop, stop, you are too young to do your first hysterics. At any moment the Mandarin may be announced," counselled her Mentor, but it was no use. So he took her away before Alice could see a tithe of the wonders there. But Alice picked up a pair of spectacles which was on a table with the direction 'WEAR ME.'

They passed by the emergency exit which bore the legend

When your Mentor says, obey,
Do not loiter, do not stay.
Wait not for 'nother tick,
Leg it, leg it, bally quick.

Her guide explained that the exit had to be used by unpleasant visitors.

Alice now found herself in a room where, the White Rabbit informed her, an examination was going on.

She was deeply interested and asked, "Who are they and what are they going to be examined in ?"

"Oh, school teachers. In cooking."

She found the teachers were all men. "I suppose" said she, "the D.P. is an admirer of Shaw and insists upon every man and boy learning cooking and sewing."

"Oh, no, they are learning to cook accounts, to fill in account forms and to account for the sum of 999 which must be spent by every school every month or it will get the sack from the sweet Doctor of Poetry."

"But if they have not such a sum to spend ?"

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* *The Mirror of Venus*: by Sir E. Burne-Jones.

"Not have such a sum to spend, my little miss! They must have, if they have learnt anything of cooking. A good cook can make ten dishes out of a nettle top."

The specs which she had put on now gave Alice a queer view of the room. One of the men was an improper and another a vulgar fraction. A third, whose monotonous voice droned, was a bluebottle. She hastily doffed the spectacles which had given her such a funny look.

Alice now found that she had become as large as life. She was afraid that the D. P. who had come to the room might notice her. O! how she longed for the emergency exit! But the D. P. bore down upon her like a heavy galleon upon a skiff.

"Who are you? We do not suffer little children here," thundered the driver of pedagogues.

In truth the D. P. was afraid of children, for he did not understand them.

"Please," said Alice, somewhat flustered, "I have seen so many wonders today, I cannot be sure who I am."

'Repeat, *Mary Had a Little Lamb,*' commanded the Doctor of Poetry.

Alice folded her hands and in a voice which sounded strange to her recited thus:

Mary had a little d—n,
Albeit with heart of snow;
And when she was all alone,
Out would the word go.
It came out in the school one day,
That was against the rule,
It made the children laugh and play
To her a d—n at school.

"What makes Mary love the word so?"
The little children cry,
'Oh Mary is a Modern Maid you know,
That's the reason why.'

"I am afraid it is not all right," said little Alice.

"All right! It is all wrong. And this in Moralia! What are things coming to? What will the All-High Serenity say? Don't you know that the word with a big D is *verboten** here," said the D. P., conveniently forgetting his poetical epistle to Mr. Pinch.

"What is 'verboten'?" asked poor Alice in dismay.

"Everything is *verboten* in this land of Moralia. That is the first word to be taught and the last to be forgotten. Guards—"

Alice was frightened. She knew not what the guards would do to her. The bluebottle, the improper and vulgar fractions, all craned their necks. Would a butterfly be broken on a wheel to please His Most Excellent Serenity? But luckily just then the examination bell rang and Alice woke up.

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* German for 'forbidden.'

# TAGORE AS A COMPOSER*

## By ARNOLD A. BAKE

It was a wise act on the part of the Committee of this festival to make folk-songs an item of the complete programme, because of two reasons:

In the first place on account of the general importance of folk-songs of which I need not stress at this moment the value for the spiritual life of the people, which makes it a phenomenon of the first magnitude in the existence of every country. The connection in which I mention folk-song in general today is its influence on art-music.

Fox Strangways in his *Music of Hindostan,* when writing about Raga (page 154) says that the Hindu accounts acknowledge four sources of Raga,—admittedly the backbone of Indian music, namely: first, local tribal songs; second, poetical creations; third, the devotional songs of the mystics; and fourth, the labours of the scientific musicians.

It is a pity that he does not state his sources, for that would have been of enormous interest, but we may safely accept that his sources were reliable, considering the standard of his book and seeing that his statements really cover the actual state of things.

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* Address delivered at the General Conference during the celebration of the Tagore Septuagenary, Calcutta 26-12-31.

From these four sources two belong practically to folk-music, namely, the tribal songs themselves and the devotional songs of the mystics, who in India most certainly belonged very much to the people and sang for the people.

That they contributed to the now classical Ragas, is corroborated by tradition and by the names of some of the Ragas.

Tribal melodies, however, are given the first place on the list, and that shows a deep insight. Indeed, from the Vedic times onwards we find popular melodies adopted and adapted for other purposes. A survey of the melodies used in the Sama-veda has proved beyond doubt, that war—and other songs have been drawn into this most holy circle. Nor is this process without a parallel in the general history of music. A most striking instance we find in the church-music of the middle ages, where the holy mass very often was composed of very popular, well-known, worldly songs. Another parallel, somewhat crude in form, however, we find in the present day practise of the Salvation Army to bring their message home to the common people by singing it to melodies known to everyone of their hearers.

So far for religious music ; but also in worldly music we find it. At least in Europe where it is easier to survey the phenomena of the past centuries up to the present, we find that, whenever art-music went through a crisis and was threatened by stagnation in its development, the composers found new inspiration and fresh life from the ever-living source of folk-music. Countless are the melodies, either pure folk-melodies or otherwise directly inspired by them, in the works of Beethoven, for instance, whose genius inaugurated a new era, at the time when music migrated from the small circles of connoisseurs at the courts and castles of princes and nobles to the larger concert halls, reaching the ever-widening circle of the general public.

As a matter of fact the despise or neglect of folk-music always is a sure sign of the decadence of art-music, a sign that the contact with its living base is lost.

This is the first reason why it was wise on the part of the commitee to include folk-songs in the programme. The second reason was, of course, that it is impossible to understand the figure of Rabindranath Tagore without the background of Bengali folk-music.

It is a mistake made regularly in Europe, but perhaps even sometimes in India, that one sees the personality of Tagore too much detached from his natural background, whereas his greatness is only enhanced by the fact that his genius has drawn its inspiration from the very roots of the life of the people of his own country. The outside influences have worked more or less like a fructifying rain.

It would be absurd to deny these outside influences, *viz.*, Western, or more especially English, on the musical creations of Rabindranath Tagore in his youth. No one, born as he was in a family so hospitable to all cultural currents could have escaped them. To quote the poet's own idea, if not his exact words : "Only the weak are afraid of borrowing, because they know that they will never be able to repay their debt in their own coin."

This was a thing for which the poet himself certainly needed not be afraid : he has repaid his debt, not once, but over and over again, and, what is most important : he has repaid it *in his own coin.*

Let us briefly consider the three currents visible in the poet's music. First, Western music, second, classsical Indian music, third, folk-music

Of these three the first mentioned is of least importance, notwithstanding the fact that one finds *that* stressed over and over again. In the first place, the songs in which distinct Western influences are apparent form a minute minority in the multitude of the poet's compositions. But there is a more important fact, yet diminishing the importance of such Western influence as there has been, namely, that harmony failed to impress the poet's creative genius. His genius is, and always has been, purely melodical, whereas harmony undoubtedly forms an *integral* part of modern Western music. It is characteristic that the only Western music that ever influenced the poet's creations was the old Irish and old Scotch folk-melodies, that had most certainly originated at a time when harmony had not yet started its conquering campaign in the domain of melody, at a time, consequently, when the basic affinity of Western and Indian music was not yet so obscured as it became afterwards. It always must be borne in mind that the accompaniment of the old folk-songs as we sing them to-day is invariably a new addition.

In modern Western music, however, harmony, even when not played, has become so indispensable, that it is supplied consciously or unconsciously by the mind of the player or the hearer.

Consequently we may safely say that an influence of modern Western melody without its harmony has lost three quarters of its importance and must be beaten easily by pure melody.

That is the reason why the second current, namely classical Indian music, although not entirely congenial to the poet's genius, had such an infinitely more lasting influence. The wealth of musical variation, the fascination of the mystery and charm of the Raga naturally captured the mind of the poet from his earliest childhood, and notwithstanding the fact that he has shaken off the shackles of the rigid laws, become unbearable and suffocating in the course of history, its essence was imbibed by the poet's creative mind.

The current, however, destined to absorb the two previously mentioned, was that of the folk-music of his own soil of Bengal, *Kirtan* and *Baul* or rather *Baul* and *Kirtan*. It is difficult to say when this influence first obtained its sway over the poet's mind, but it seems most probable that the conscious absorption must have begun during the time of the poet's sojourn in East Bengal as the manager of the family properties—the exceedingly important period of his life between his 25th and 40th year.

Here his genius found the most congenial atmosphere for its utterances, here he realized the basis on which he could establish his creations with their wonderful unity of words and melody—a perfect balance. Henceforward the spirit pervading his whole creative activity is that of his own soil of Bengal. As to the favourite form, the bearer of that spirit, he is indebted to the most holy of all classical Indian creations, the *Dhrupad*, with its recapitulation of the leading idea as expressed in the first lines—at the end of each strophe. He has, however, toned down the classical severity and has modified it by the simplicity inherent to folk-music, so typical of his creations.

This is one of his great contributions: the bringing of a wonderful, most balanced form within the understanding of all. Another contribution to Indian music as a whole is that he has re-awakened the sense of unity between words and music and the strict sense of proportion, both lost in the overwhelming passion for detail and flourish so characteristic of the later classical style. Never yet perhaps in Indian music the fact of a song being a finished thing in itself had been put forward so strongly and so consciously. The circumstance that melody and words are created together, springing from one creative mind, explains sufficiently this remarkable unity. The melody expresses the essence of the words. Changing it, or adding ornamentations and flourish means spoiling its purest sense. Later applied repetitions of words or sentences on the other hand, spoil the composition and thus blur the purity of meaning.

It is a hard thing here in India, where the individual singer is used to a great amount of freedom in executing a melody, to have to submit oneself to the genius of the composer and to accept the given form as final, but there is no other way. Only he, who by the closest and most lasting contact with the poet-composer, has established a kind of intuitive unity with the creative mind at work, can suggest changes without doing damage, and I think nobody will deny that such a unity must be an extremely rare phenomenon. Nobody but Dinendranath Tagore can claim that privilege.

The means by which this unity in the compositions is realized is extremely simple. Naturally a purely melodic music will reach its ideal by refinements in two directions, melody and rhythm. Rhythm has developed by its countless delicate variations, enhanced by cross-rhythm when a drum is played as an accompaniment. In the field of melody it is the wonderful structure of Ragas and Raginis a queer inexpressible feeling, as if a ghost had fluttered nearby his tent, and the ghost of a much suffering great man had come to meet with a dumb greeting the messenger of a nation struggling for life.

Baktay looked after those old men who still might remember some stories about Csoma or "Skander Beg" as he was called by his Tibetan contemporaries. He soon found an aged, broken man who was carried into his presence. It took some time till Tsan Raptan, the oldest man in the village could compute the years of his age according to the cyclical system of the Chinese. He might have been between seventy-five and eighty-five. At the author's question he slowly related what he had heard from his father and his grandfather who knew Csoma personally. It is evident that the memory of Csoma is still alive in Zangla. Tsan Raptan's father used to show him the room in which "the wise man of Rum" lived. The old man mentioned the names of Sangya Pun-Tsog, the teacher of Csoma and of Kunga Choslegs, the great Lotsawa who used to come and visit Csoma from Dzongkul and initiated him into the lore of Bod-Chos, Tibetan religion. He remembered that Csoma did not tolerate the open fire in his room which spread an unbearable smoke and prevented his reading. He also spoke of another European visitor who was at Zangla at the same time with Csoma, but this item must needs have arisen from some misunderstanding and no record confirms it.

The monastery which rises close to the top of the hill is several hundred years old. It is a two-storied typical Tibetan *gompa,* unspeakably solitary and dreary. As they ascended the rickety stairs, deep silence and desolation surrounded them. The monks have abandoned the building long ago—the poor village could not support them—only one lama lived in it as a guard, in the very cell of Csóma. Down in the village, in the castle of the Elder, some two more stayed who used to perform the religious rites in the abode of the titular Elder, still highly respected by his people. The lama conducted the visitors through deserted court-yards and corridors to the upper floor. Baktay and his companions reached an open balcony from the right flank of which a low door was leading into the room of Csoma. The visitors must deeply bow when entering the door which is hardly four feet high. The cell is nine feet by ten feet large. The ceiling can be reached by the uplifted hand. On the left wall there is a tiny window near to the floor. In the centre of the room a wooden column supports the thin rafters of the ceiling. The whole room is black as well as the walls, the beams shine with grease as if made of black ebony. The smoke and soot of centuries has impregnated them. The fire was usually laid in the floor and smoke could find vent only amid the beams of the ceiling or through the door. It is clear why the Hungarian scholar had to dispense with heating: one must be born in Tibet to be able to sit in such a sea of smoke.

The bed of the lama was stretched before the window and covered with a black yak-fur and woollen rugs. At its end and side, on a low Tibetan table, lay some books and writings. The room was probably furnished in the same style at the time of Csoma, but for the difference that "Skander Beg" had to share it with his lama teacher and the servant. There, before the tiny one square foot window, sat the Hungarian scholar shrouded in woollen rugs and sheep fur from morning till eve in the frost of the Tibetan winter. He drew out his hands from beneath the fur only when he had to turn a leaf or when he lifted his cup of salted tea to his lips. It was only when Baktay saw with his own eyes the frames of his life at Zangla and realized himself the moods of that strange, hopeless, inhospitable surrounding that he could understand the awe-inspiring fact of reality, the unparallelid force of Csoma's decision. In such a surrounding which would have driven anybody into despair, he collected and arranged 40,000 Tibetan words. In this catacomb he buried his dreams, his enthusiastic yearning after the search of the cradle of the Magyars—in order to answer the task of unearthing the knowledge of the Tibetan language. From this dark dreary nook sprang up and spread out the glorious laurel-tree of his world-fame.

Such a thrill rings through the book of Baktay. Ill with malarious fever, with scanty provisions and unsatisfactory accoutrement, but with an unconquerable will, nourished by his devotion to the memory of the great Siculo-Hungarian, he trod from Zangla on to Pukhtal monastery in order to glean some stray souvenirs of the past. But in vain! The lamas of Pukhtal did not even remember the name of Csoma. His fame has outgrown the narrow memories of the place where he suffered and worked and now spreads its splendour on the dismal huts of the monastery. Baktay had two tablets cut, rough and rugged, and engraved with faltering letters an inscription commemorating the time which Csoma spent amid its bare inhospitable walls: a tribute of a solitary wanderer to the memory of a great hero of learning.

# ALICE RETURNS TO WONDERLAND

By NRITYALAL MOOKERJI

## NEW MORALIA RECENSION

> Find out the cause of this effect,
> Or rather say, the causes of this defect,
> For this effect defective comes by cause.
> —*Hamlet*

## EPILOGUE

"Do you know," said my friend Alik Pro-cash Gupta, rushing into my room with a book in his hand, "that Mr. Saklatwalla is a cousin of the late Lord Fisher, that naval genius who took the wind out of the sails of Mr. Winston Churchill?"

I confessed that even Alik might find it too difficult to prove it.

"Was not Fisher the author of the slogan 'Sack the lot,' was he not then a Sacklotwala? I wish I had his power. I would have sacked the lot."

Accustomed to the sudden rise and fall of Alik's temperature, I asked him, "Who has maddened madness this time?"

"No, no," said Alik, "this is a most serious matter. This morning a boy was reading from his book—

> 'We have five senses: Sight, HEART, smell, taste and touch.'

'Wicked urchin, what nonsense are you reading,' said I. 'Surely, this is not from your text-book.'

'Sir, yes, sir,' said he. 'It is down here at page 19 and cannot be wrong.' Observing my incredulity he made over the book to me.

To my horror I found the passage in the book. I knew what charming faith in the accuracy of the printed page our students have and thought how disastrous such knowledge must be. The boy went on heaping coals of fire on my head.

'The Mazla Huzoor has approved it, sir.'

'The Mazla Hoozoor'! said I, completely mystified. 'Sir, yes, sir, there is the Burra Huzoor, the All-Highest, the Mandarin. Then comes the Mazla, who approves books, and below him are Chhota Huzoors, who make visitations from time to time.'

On looking at the book, sure enough I found the imprimatur of the Huzoor, 'Approved by X. Y. Z. of Bengal, *Calcutta Gazette*, 11. 11. 26.'

I was turning the leaves and found funny errors on page after page, strewn thick as Vallambrosa's leaves.

Pages 20 and 21, for a taste—

> 'Karim, can you tell me the name of this road? Perhaps you DON'T...Is there any such bridge in our native village? Surely not. There is a POLE made of bamboo on the small river that ARE FLOWING round our village.'

"This man," said Alik, "is not clever enough to borrow things from English Readers and pass them off as the genuine stuff. He must needs put in his *merderies* and then we have the jackdaw sticking out of the peacock's feathers."

I told Alik that this was like the story of the Eastern magician and his servant who was too clever by half.

"What was that?" asked Alik.

"The servant stole his wand and summoned spirits from the vasty deep. He had not observed that his master used the left hand in doing so. The spirits, thus irregularly summoned, came and tore him to pieces."

"Far from punishing him, the spirits summoned by the author," observed Alik, "will scatter largesse to author and publisher.

"Let us turn to page 16, 'Our Parents.' "

"Spare me this double-distilled ambrosia," said I.

"No. This is a jewel of a poem.

My father, my mother, I know
I cannot your kindness repay ;
But I hope, as I older grow,
I shall learn your command to obey.
You loved me before I could TELL
Who it was that so tenderly smiled,
But now that I know it so well,
I should be DUTIFUL CHILD,
I am sorry that ever I should,
Be naughty, and give you pain,
I hope I shall learn to be good,
And so never GRIN you again.

What a mischievous monkey, this moral urchin must have been—grinning at parents ! And this precious volume has run through three editions in two years."

I waited to hear no more but fled. The same night I must have had a dream or what was it, 'स्वप्नो नु माया नु मतिभ्रमो नु' (Dream or illusion or confusion of mind) ?

## PROLOGUE

### LIGHT IN DARKNESS

The afternoon was warm and the tinkling of the sheepbells and the buzzing of the bees made Alice feel drowsy. She had scarcely closed her eyes when she found herself in a huge ugly building. There was a buzz of voices in the street below and the tinkling of tram-car bells. Alice was hardly surprised to find that the White Rabbit was her Cicerone, this time in a green waistcoat.

In a comfortably furnished room a man was sitting before a roll-top desk and writing assiduously on a piece of foolscap.

"Who is this ?" asked Alice.

"Hush, not so loud. Though he cannot see us, we may not disturb his writing, on which the fate of the land of Moralia hangs. He is no other than the Dee Pee," said the White Rabbit.

"The Dee Pee ?"

"The Doctor of Poetry, as well as the Driver of Pedagogues."

"But to whom is he writing with so much attention, as if his very life depended upon it ?"

"To himself.".

"To himself ? How silly !"

"Not at all my little miss. As a superior he is writing to his subordinate, and he happens to be both superior and subordinate."

"Curiouser and curiouser," chortled Alice. How can a man be his own superior as well as his own subordinate ? How can a man be his own grandfather ? There is a riddle like that."

"The Dee Pee is the Dummy Secretary to the Mandarin as well. Now the Dummy Secretary is the immediate superior of the Dee Pee. He is the post-office through whom that Demogorgon, the Mandarin, sends his messages to the Dee Pee. The Dummy Secretary takes the poor Dee Pee severely to task and the Dee Pee hits back smartly. His face is aglow with smiles just now. He has just thought of a smart retort to his own charges. 'Ain't I 'cute,' thinks he. He fights in bright fields and every D. O. catches some gleams of glory and gazette after gazette blesses his name and fame."

"The D. O.—the distinguished order ?" asked Alice, who had grown up since we saw her last in Wonderland.

"No,—the Dummy Orders. The Dee Pee is two things rolled into one, a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde business, in fact. But, unlike Mr. Hyde the only thing he murders is the King's English. No doubt, he is in his 'second person' now. Hope elevates and joy brightens his crest. He is now approving a book."

"Approving ?"

"Yes, proving that every boy and girl of Moralia must buy a copy of the book or woe unto their schools."

"What a naughty dummy secretary," said Alice. "But what can he do ?"

"He is no longer the Secretary. That functionary has vanished into thin air. We see before us the D. P., the driver of pedagogues. If he says to a school : 'I don't recognize it,' then everybody must pretend to see no school there. Every child must shudder thrice when he passes by it and give the blood-curdling yell of the Cherokee Indians or dance the Birbhum *Rai-Bishe* martial dance set to music by the D. P."

"But does not anyone back up the schools ?"

"No, all are mightily afraid of the horn of the Unicorn which backs up the Dee Pee more often than not. The lion, however, keeps the Unicorn on short commons and so tames the noble beast. Thus

> The lion and the unicorn
> Fighting for the gown ;
> The lion beat the unicorn
> All round the town.

But even, as it is, the unicorn is a fearful wildfowl."

"Poor half-starved thing," said Alice.

"Don't waste your pity," said the White Rabbit. "The unicorn has fearful presses to which he subjects the youth of the country. Very few can stand more than the first and second degrees of pressure. But the more venturesome among them pass through the third degree, sad wrecks of humanity with sunken eyes and drooping shoulders."

"But what does the long-suffering youth gain by it ?"

"A scroll of parchment, nothing else."

"And what may be the value of it ?" asked Alice, more in wonder than ever.

"That is not an easy nut to crack."

"However," added the Rabbit sententiously, "what song the sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. But three centuries ago the great Bard of Avon, who was a prophet, foresaw what would happen. *Hamlet* asks *Horatio*,

> 'Is not parchment made of sheep-skins ?'
> *Horatio*. 'Ay, my lord, of calf-skins, too.'
> *Hamlet*. 'They are sheep and calves which seek out assurance in that.'

"Those who hold the parchment-degrees and those who employ them alike know this bitter truth to their cost."

"Nay, in some cases the holder finds at long last that the Bard was a Seer when he wrote,

> Is not this a lamentable thing, that of the skin of an innocent lamb should be made parchment? that parchment being scribbled o'er, should undo a man ?"

"How interesting ! Now I understand," said Alice, "what people mean when they say that Vates means both Prophet and Poet."

Alice with fearful glee now saw how books were approved by the D. P. In answer to his bell an orderly came and, when he pointed with his finger, put the Seal of Approval on the book, which happened to be a Reader published by the Make-Dummy Company.

"But he did not read a single line of the book," objected Alice.

"That is not necessary for approval. The E. B. C. has seen to it that the number of pages and the quality of printing and paper are all in accordance with Rule 42. Don't you remember how the King of Hearts tried to floor you with this very rule ? But nobody cares what the book contains—and the more the pranks of the. Imp of the Perverse the better."

"What is the E. B. C. ?"

"Those whose books are approved call it the Ever Blessed Committee and those, not so fortunate, prefer to call it the Execrably Bad Committee. Look, the D. P. is on the horns of a dilemma."

The D. P. was muttering to himself in an undertone, important—unimportant—unimportant-important, as if he were trying which word sounded best.

The White Rabbit explained that in case of doubt he approves or disapproves a book by trying this white magic. The D. P. is a firm believer in 'take care of the sounds and the sense will take care of *them*selves,'—a converse of a favourite proverb of the Duchess in Wonderland.

In answer to a ring, a typist came in. To her the D. P. said, "Come, come, I am in the poetic vein just now. Let us answer Mr. Pinch and Company," and he began to whistle a tune.

"Who is Mr. Pinch ?" questioned Alice.

The White Rabbit informed her that he was a schoolmaster, a hungry, needy, hollow-eyed wretch, a living-dead man.* "Observe," said he, "the D.P. is really a kind man, a Dr. Jekyll even when he meets a deputation, but now—"

The Doctor of Poetry was dictating—

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* *The Comedy of Errors.*

Starveling, if our bemused eyes
Wink at thy damned lot,
'T is because Retrenchment dries
The tongue which we've all got.
Grumblers lantern-jaw'd and proud,
Heaven awards the vengeance due,
Fat berths be on us bestowed,
Dirty cuts wait for you.

In the veranda a gruff voice was singing—

"He thought he saw a big doctor,
Descending from the bus,
He looked again and found it was
A hippopotamus.
If this should stay to dine, he said,
There won't be much for us."

"Who is making that infernal racket ?" asked the irate Dee Pee.

"One of your guards, Sir," said the typist.

"Let him," said the D.P., now thoroughly mollified. "He means no harm, poor man. Did he mean me ?" said he, turning to the typist.

"Oh, no sir," cooed she sweetly. "A D.P. must have the hide of a rhino and that no hippo has," she added in a low voice.

Alice wanted to hear no more and she came out followed by her guide.

"Where do these Dee Pees come from, and how are they selected ?" said she.

"I cannot answer that question very well, but one was appointed much on the principle by which the cowherds at Athelney discovered that their guest Alfred must be the king. He was fit for nothing else."

Alice now found herself in a large hall with costly appointments. On one side was a huge mirror which might have been used at one and the same time by more than a dozen persons as big as the Hippo Doctor.

Alice noticed some antique lettering below it :

**"The Mirror of Venus"**

"What can such a mirror be for ?" her query was no sooner formed in her mind than it was answered by her guide, who said : "Sometimes when the Mandarin comes, he likes to see himself as others see him. That great man plays the three acts of Raphael's life in a minute.

Act. I. He seeks himself.

Act. II. He finds himself (in the mirror).

Act. III. He surpasses himself when he strikes an attitude before the mirror.

He calls his dummy Secretaries together when he goes to the mirror. He singles out somebody for distinction. "Oh, Dee Pee dear," he says, "I didn't know we were so nice to look at. Surely we *are* beautiful."

"Your High Serenity," says the D.P., proud at being taken notice of, "there is no doubt of it. We are much nicer than Burne-Jones's picture there."*

Here Alice looked at a reproduction of that master and burst out into incontrollable laughter.

"Stop, stop, you are too young to do your first hysterics. At any moment the Mandarin may be announced," counselled her Mentor, but it was no use. So he took her away before Alice could see a tithe of the wonders there. But Alice picked up a pair of spectacles which was on a table with the direction 'WEAR ME.'

They passed by the emergency exit which bore the legend

When your Mentor says, obey,
Do not loiter, do not stay.
Wait not for 'nother tick,
Leg it, leg it, bally quick.

Her guide explained that the exit had to be used by unpleasant visitors.

Alice now found herself in a room where, the White Rabbit informed her, an examination was going on.

She was deeply interested and asked, "Who are they and what are they going to be examined in ?"

"Oh, school teachers. In cooking."

She found the teachers were all men. "I suppose" said she, "the D.P. is an admirer of Shaw and insists upon every man and boy learning cooking and sewing."

"Oh, no, they are learning to cook accounts, to fill in account forms and to account for the sum of 999 which must be spent by every school every month or it will get the sack from the sweet Doctor of Poetry."

"But if they have not such a sum to spend ?"

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* *The Mirror of Venus* : by Sir E. Burne-Jones.

"Not have such a sum to spend, my little miss! They must have, if they have learnt anything of cooking. A good cook can make ten dishes out of a nettle top."

The specs which she had put on now gave Alice a queer view of the room. One of the men was an improper and another a vulgar fraction. A third, whose monotonous voice droned, was a bluebottle. She hastily doffed the spectacles which had given her such a funny look.

Alice now found that she had become as large as life. She was afraid that the D. P. who had come to the room might notice her. O! how she longed for the emergency exit! But the D. P. bore down upon her like a heavy galleon upon a skiff.

"Who are you? We do not suffer little children here," thundered the driver of pedagogues.

In truth the D. P. was afraid of children, for he did not understand them.

"Please," said Alice, somewhat flustered, "I have seen so many wonders today, I cannot be sure who I am."

'Repeat, *Mary Had a Little Lamb*,' commanded the Doctor of Poetry.

Alice folded her hands and in a voice which sounded strange to her recited thus:

Mary had a little d—n,
Albeit with heart of snow;
And when she was all alone,
Out would the word go.
It came out in the school one day,
That was against the rule,
It made the children laugh and play
To her a d—n at school.

"What makes Mary love the word so?"
The little children cry,
'Oh Mary is a Modern Maid you know,
That's the reason why.'

"I am afraid it is not all right," said little Alice.

"All right! It is all wrong. And this in Moralia! What are things coming to? What will the All-High Serenity say? Don't you know that the word with a big D is *verboten** here," said the D. P., conveniently forgetting his poetical epistle to Mr. Pinch.

"What is 'verboten'?" asked poor Alice in dismay.

"Everything is *verboten* in this land of Moralia. That is the first word to be taught and the last to be forgotten. Guards—"

Alice was frightened. She knew not what the guards would do to her. The bluebottle, the improper and vulgar fractions, all craned their necks. Would a butterfly be broken on a wheel to please His Most Excellent Serenity? But luckily just then the examination bell rang and Alice woke up.

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* German for 'forbidden.'

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# TAGORE AS A COMPOSER*

## BY ARNOLD A. BAKE

IT was a wise act on the part of the Committee of this festival to make folk-songs an item of the complete programme, because of two reasons:

In the first place on account of the general importance of folk-songs of which I need not stress at this moment the value for the spiritual life of the people, which makes it a phenomenon of the first magnitude in the existence of every country. The connection in which I mention folk-song in general today is its influence on art-music.

Fox Strangways in his *Music of Hindostan*, when writing about Raga (page 154) says that the Hindu accounts acknowledge four sources of Raga,—admittedly the backbone of Indian music, namely: first, local tribal songs; second, poetical creations; third, the devotional songs of the mystics; and fourth, the labours of the scientific musicians.

It is a pity that he does not state his sources, for that would have been of enormous interest, but we may safely accept that his sources were reliable, considering the standard of his book and seeing that his statements really cover the actual state of things.

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* Address delivered at the General Conference during the celebration of the Tagore Septuagenary, Calcutta 26-12-31.

From these four sources two belong practically to folk-music, namely, the tribal songs themselves and the devotional songs of the mystics, who in India most certainly belonged very much to the people and sang for the people.

That they contributed to the now classical Ragas, is corroborated by tradition and by the names of some of the Ragas.

Tribal melodies, however, are given the first place on the list, and that shows a deep insight. Indeed, from the Vedic times onwards we find popular melodies adopted and adapted for other purposes. A survey of the melodies used in the Sama-veda has proved beyond doubt, that war—and other songs have been drawn into this most holy circle. Nor is this process without a parallel in the general history of music. A most striking instance we find in the church-music of the middle ages, where the holy mass very often was composed of very popular, well-known, worldly songs. Another parallel, somewhat crude in form, however, we find in the present day practise of the Salvation Army to bring their message home to the common people by singing it to melodies known to everyone of their hearers.

So far for religious music ; but also in worldly music we find it. At least in Europe where it is easier to survey the phenomena of the past centuries up to the present, we find that, whenever art-music went through a crisis and was threatened by stagnation in its development, the composers found new inspiration and fresh life from the ever-living source of folk-music. Countless are the melodies, either pure folk-melodies or otherwise directly inspired by them, in the works of Beethoven, for instance, whose genius inaugurated a new era, at the time when music migrated from the small circles of connoisseurs at the courts and castles of princes and nobles to the larger concert halls, reaching the ever-widening circle of the general public.

As a matter of fact the despise or neglect of folk-music always is a sure sign of the decadence of art-music, a sign that the contact with its living base is lost.

This is the first reason why it was wise on the part of the commitee to include folk-songs in the programme. The second reason was, of course, that it is impossible to understand the figure of Rabindranath Tagore without the background of Bengali folk-music.

It is a mistake made regularly in Europe, but perhaps even sometimes in India, that one sees the personality of Tagore too much detached from his natural background, whereas his greatness is only enhanced by the fact that his genius has drawn its inspiration from the very roots of the life of the people of his own country. The outside influences have worked more or less like a fructifying rain.

It would be absurd to deny these outside influences, *viz.*, Western, or more especially English, on the musical creations of Rabindranath Tagore in his youth. No one, born as he was in a family so hospitable to all cultural currents could have escaped them. To quote the poet's own idea, if not his exact words : "Only the weak are afraid of borrowing, because they know that they will never be able to repay their debt in their own coin."

This was a thing for which the poet himself certainly needed not be afraid : he has repaid his debt, not once, but over and over again, and, what is most important : he has repaid it *in his own coin.*

Let us briefly consider the three currents visible in the poet's music. First, Western music, second, classsical Indian music, third, folk-music

Of these three the first mentioned is of least importance, notwithstanding the fact that one finds *that* stressed over and over again. In the first place, the songs in which distinct Western influences are apparent form a minute minority in the multitude of the poet's compositions. But there is a more important fact, yet diminishing the importance of such Western influence as there has been, namely, that harmony failed to impress the poet's creative genius. His genius is, and always has been, purely melodical, whereas harmony undoubtedly forms an *integral* part of modern Western music. It is characteristic that the only Western music that ever influenced the poet's creations was the old Irish and old Scotch folk-melodies, that had most certainly originated at a time when harmony had not yet started its conquering campaign in the domain of melody, at a time, consequently, when the basic affinity of Western and Indian music was not yet so obscured as it became afterwards. It always must be borne in mind that the accompaniment of the old folk-songs as we sing them to-day is invariably a new addition.

In modern Western music, however, harmony, even when not played, has become so indispensable, that it is supplied consciously or unconsciously by the mind of the player or the hearer.

Consequently we may safely say that an influence of modern Western melody without its harmony has lost three quarters of its importance and must be beaten easily by pure melody.

That is the reason why the second current, namely classical Indian music, although not entirely congenial to the poet's genius, had such an infinitely more lasting influence. The wealth of musical variation, the fascination of the mystery and charm of the Raga naturally captured the mind of the poet from his earliest childhood, and notwithstanding the fact that he has shaken off the shackles of the rigid laws, become unbearable and suffocating in the course of history, its essence was imbibed by the poet's creative mind.

The current, however, destined to absorb the two previously mentioned, was that of the folk-music of his own soil of Bengal, *Kirtan* and *Baul* or rather *Baul* and *Kirtan*. It is difficult to say when this influence first obtained its sway over the poet's mind, but it seems most probable that the conscious absorption must have begun during the time of the poet's sojourn in East Bengal as the manager of the family properties—the exceedingly important period of his life between his 25th and 40th year.

Here his genius found the most congenial atmosphere for its utterances, here he realized the basis on which he could establish his creations with their wonderful unity of words and melody—a perfect balance. Henceforward the spirit pervading his whole creative activity is that of his own soil of Bengal. As to the favourite form, the bearer of that spirit, he is indebted to the most holy of all classical Indian creations, the *Dhrupad*, with its recapitulation of the leading idea as expressed in the first lines—at the end of each strophe. He has, however, toned down the classical severity and has modified it by the spirit of simplicity inherent to folk-music, so typical of his creations.

This is one of his great contributions: the bringing of a wonderful, most balanced form within the understanding of all. Another contribution to Indian music as a whole is that he has re-awakened the sense of unity between words and music and the strict sense of proportion, both lost in the overwhelming passion for detail and flourish so characteristic of the later classical style. Never yet perhaps in Indian music the fact of a song being a finished thing in itself had been put forward so strongly and so consciously. The circumstance that melody and words are created together, springing from one creative mind, explains sufficiently this remarkable unity. The melody expresses the essence of the words. Changing it, or adding ornamentations and flourish means spoiling its purest sense. Later applied repetitions of words or sentences on the other hand, spoil the composition and thus blur the purity of meaning.

It is a hard thing here in India, where the individual singer is used to a great amount of freedom in executing a melody, to have to submit oneself to the genius of the composer and to accept the given form as final, but there is no other way. Only he, who by the closest and most lasting contact with the poet-composer, has established a kind of intuitive unity with the creative mind at work, can suggest changes without doing damage, and I think nobody will deny that such a unity must be an extremely rare phenomenon. Nobody but Dinendranath Tagore can claim that privilege.

The means by which this unity in the compositions is realized is extremely simple. Naturally a purely melodic music will reach its ideal by refinements in two directions, melody and rhythm. Rhythm has developed by its countless delicate variations, enhanced by cross-rhythm when a drum is played as an accompaniment. In the field of melody it is the wonderful structure of Ragas and Raginis number and size of the bolls per plant, and the fibre length, must form subjects of scientific study.

### INCREASED YIELD

Since the establishment of the Fine Yarn Centre by the A. I. S. A. which has led to a thorough organization of the production and sales of fine cloth, there has been an enormous increase in the production of fine yarn (above 35's). From the latest report (1929-30) of the Andhra Branch of the A. I. S. A., it would be found that, compared to the figures of the previous year, there has been an increase of nearly 1½ times in the case of Pattusali yarn. Figures for the present year, obtained by the writer from personal enquiries at the Chicacole office, show a still greater increase. During the year 1930 October to 1931 September, the production of Pattusali yarn (over 35's) amounted to 5,092 lbs. valued at about Rs. 30,500 as compared to the previous year's production of 2,378 lbs. valued at Rs. 18,000. Phenomenal as has been the increase in the output of fine yarn, it is doubtful whether this increase has led to a corresponding increase in the acreage under the hill cotton cultivation. The growing use of inferior varieties of medium staple cotton by these fine yarn spinners, as also the practice of using the *kapas* from the third crop of hill cotton and the practical non-existence of yarn above 70's—all these appear to indicate that the acreage has not kept pace with the output of yarn. (A scarcity has actually been felt during 1929.)

The growing popularity of fine khadi and the efforts of the A. I. S. A. to reduce the prices will undoubtedly lead to further heavy output of fine yarn. Unless there is an immediate increase in the acreage, there would certainly be a scarcity of this cotton; this would result in increased prices and in the consequent use of inferior varieties of cotton by the spinners. The quality of the yarn would suffer. Higher twists cannot be produced and there will be a lowering of count, evenness, and tensility of the yarns.

### SELECTION

Increased acreage, although it would result in increased output of raw cotton, would certainly not in itself ensure the maintenance of the standard of the cotton. Here, science and research must come to our rescue. Botanical work, as already indicated, must be undertaken. The plant must be studied with reference to characters, such as, (1) branching habit, (2) root system, (3) hairiness of the leaf, (4) length of vegetative period prior to flowering, (5) colour of flower, (6) shape size and number of bolls, (7) ginning percentage, and (8) length and fineness of lint. Material from selfed seed must be obtained and selection work undertaken on this. Fields tests should be made on small plots of four or five cents. A ginning percentage of forty-five and a lint length of one inch should be strictly adhered to as the minimum for selection work. Selected plants should be selfed and protected in the field from being cross-fertilized. The *kapas* from these must be examined and the selected seed must be grown again. Thus, desirable lines could be isolated and seed from these distributed to the hill folk. In this manner, within a space of five years, the variety could be greatly improved.

### BREEDING WORK

The hill cotton has been grown since hundreds of years from seed obtained from the previous crop. In the areas, where this variety of cotton is grown, other varieties do not appear to be cultivated. Therefore, there is every likelihood that a pure variety has been evolved by this time. But, as the agricultural practice has hardly varied through all these centuries, and as the crop has been cultivated under identical conditions year in and year out, a "weakening" resulting from persistent in-breeding is most likely to occur. In such cases, as every student of genetics knows, careful crossing with related variety, would restore the original vigour of the crop. This might be found necessary with the hill cotton. Work, such as this, must be undertaken by trained workers only.

### ACCLIMATIZATION OF HILL COTTON

The question of the acclimatization of hill cotton to the plains also requires investigation. The hill cotton has found a natural home in the Agency tracts. If it is transferred to the plains, either it refuses to grow, or having grown refuses to set seed, or having set seed, the seed would not germinate. To get over this obstinate "non-co-operation" on the part of this plant, *i. e.*, to acclimatize it to the plains, we must first make a study of the physiological conditions under which it grows in the hills. Then, we must try to reproduce those conditions in the plains, and then gradually coax the plant to take to these new surroundings. This process of naturalization would, no doubt, take a number of years ; but it would certainly repay the trouble. The intelligent ryot of the plains would find it to his advantage to grow this variety and get enhanced prices for his crop.

### SHORT STAPLES

What is the position with regard to short staple cottons ? The Vizagapatam district produces a fairly good crop of this grade of cotton. The "Anakapalli" cotton has the shortest staple, measuring 3/8 inch ; with a ginning percentage of about 20 p. c. the "Gajapatinagaram" kind, with staple of 5/8 inch and a ginning percentage of about 25 per cent the "Gunupur" kind, with staple of 3/8 to 5/8 inch and a ginning percentage of over 25 per cent ; and the "Tuni Red" with a staple of 6/8 inch and a ginning percentage of about 25 per cent. In every case these kinds of cottons consist probably of many distinct types. The "Tuni Red" belongs to cottons known to the trade as "Coconadas." This also is a mixture containing many types of what is locally known as "Gollaprolu" (G. obtusifolium ) and "Yerrapatti" (G. indicum yerrapatti ;) both of them having staples of 6/8 to 7/8 inch. Both these varieties are valuable and are much prized, inasmuch as the white Gollaprolu is used for spinning up to 40's, and the Red cotton capable of giving beautiful red yarn up to 20's. Both of these give ginning percentages of 30. They fetch good prices at the local markets, the white selling at Rs. 17 per 260 lbs. of *kapas*, the red getting a premium of Rs. 3 over this. Unfortunately, in some tracts, the cultivators follow the objectionable practice of growing the white and red varieties together, which means lower prices for them. No work has been done on these "Coconadas," even though the Cotton Committee recommended that work be undertaken on these.

The case of the short-stapled varieties of lower grades is worse still. These cheaper grades form the raw material for the Rs. 22,000 worth of coarse yarn of 8's to 10's spun by the 3,700 spinners of this area for the A. I. S. A. alone. These fetch an average price of Rs. 12 for 260 lbs. of *kapas*. They have a ginning percentage of only 20. As coarse khadi alone can form the clothing of the millions of the poor of this country, and provide them with work, immediate attention must be paid to the improvement of the short-stapled varieties.

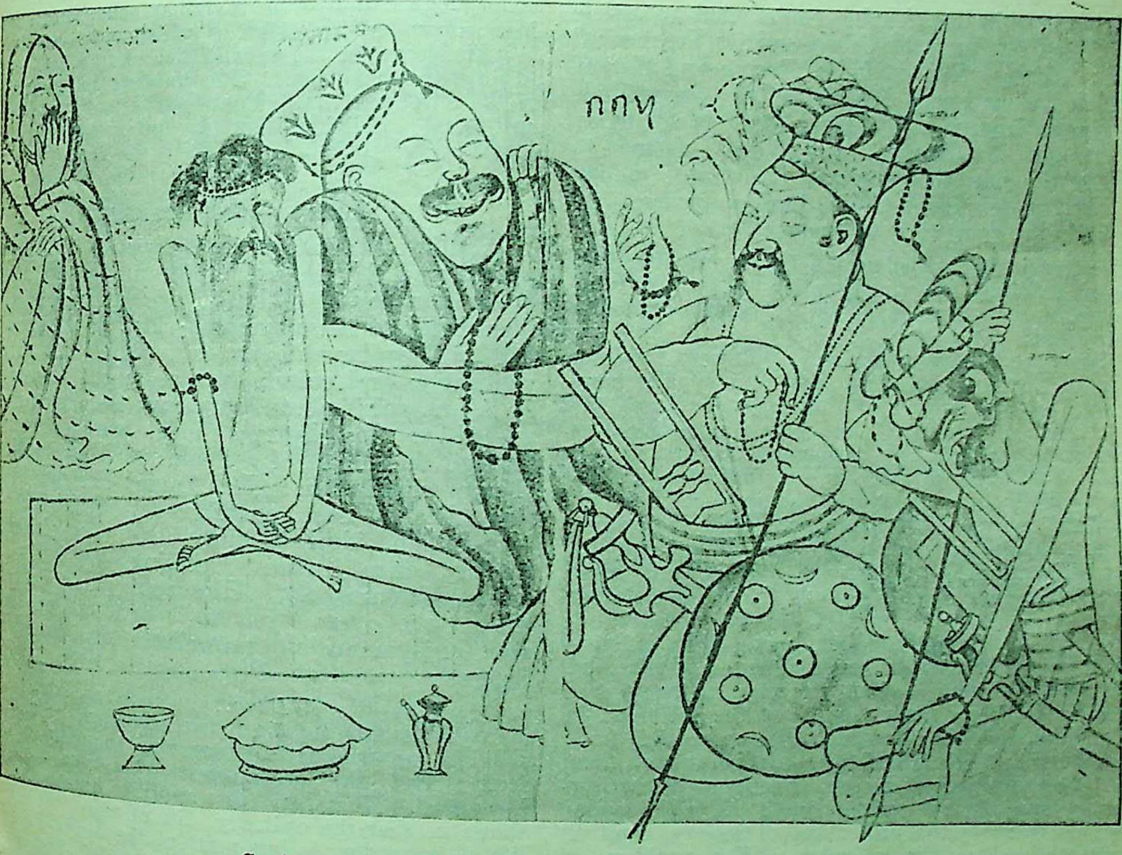
### BOTANICAL SURVEY

It is most desirable that an immediate botanical survey of cotton growing tracts of this district should be made in view of the mixture of the different varieties occurring in the crop. As a preliminary measure, seed selection in bulk, with a view to improving the ginning percentage, should be started. Pure lines should be isolated and grown in best fields. A high ginning percentage and a heavy yield should be characters on which selection must be made.

The evolving of new strains by means of crossing would necessitate a long period of experimentation and might not produce tangible results in the end. Selection appears to be the ideal method of improving these lower grades. Without appearing to be unduly alarmistic, unless work on the lines indicated above is undertaken, there is every danger of the medium and long staple cottons ousting the short staples from these tracts. Even though these cheaper varieties are not capable of being spun into coarse yarn in the mills, they are mixed with the superior kinds of cottons and are then spun into yarn. A large export, therefore, exists in these short staples, which is a loss to the khadi industry. Every effort must be made by the khadi industry to retain these in the villages in which they are grown and to supply the spinners with these cottons. An improvement in the yield, coupled with an increased ginning percentage, would cheapen this variety without any loss to the ryot

Any lowering in the prices of this variety would, lead to a cheapening of the price of coarse khadi.

The programme of work, sketched above, depend for its successful and economical working upon the intellectuals of the present generation. The glory of the khadi movement is that it is carried on by persons who have consecrated themselves to national service. Any nation can be proud of them. Scientific work, like the one outlined above, should have its own attractions and it should not be difficult to find young men and young women fresh from the universities and scientific laboratories, to undertake these problems of research. Their main inspiration should be an unshakable belief in the efficacy of khadi as a national insurance against unemployment, and in the belief that they are contributing their best, under the guidance of Gandhiji, to the renascence of their country.



**Caricature of Indian Sadhus by Indian Artists**

'People who live by religion' form a large element of The Indian population. They include all sorts of *Sannyasins* and *Fakirs*. These mendicants were a good subject for satire, and there are drawings in Lahore Museum, which show how artists made fun of these doubtful saints. The above picture is reproduced through the courtesy of the Curator, Lahore Museum. (See article on another page.)

# INDIAN PERIODICALS

### New View of Crime

"A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye," was the ancient mode of conferring punishment on offenders. In the course of time, this mode has given way to one which obtains even to-day. Now the people have begun to question the utility of the present system, and set to think whether reformatory measures as will eradicate evil tendencies of our fellowmen, may not be adopted. Lt.-Col. F. A. Barker, I.M.S., though an official, is a critic of the present prison sytem and a thoughtful writer in this line. He has contributed an article on "The New View of Crime and its Treatment" to *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*, in which he has traced the history of our attitude to crimes from the good old days up till today and sought to suggest ways and means to translate the new thoughts and ideas into reality. Let us quote Lieut.-Col. Barker where he expounds the new view of crime :

> The transitional period which I have just described leads on naturally to a consideration of the new view of crime, and the essense of this is a radical change in our ideas.
>
> Science and ethics combine to-day to condemn retribution as both immoral and unjust. The more we know of the sources of human conduct and the reasons for its vagaries the more impossible does it become to maintain this antiquated doctrine.
>
> The same is true of the idea of *vindicating justice*. There is really no such thing as abstract "Justice," for modern science is teaching us that justice can only be measured in relation to responsibility and that responsibility is itself only relative. We are all, more or less, whatever heredity and environment have made us.
>
> Therefore, to judge conduct apart from a consideration of such forces as environment and heredity, is in a very real sense *unjust*. In some instances true justice would place society, and not the offender, in dock, for denying him decent conditions of life.
>
> Retributive and vindictive punishments, then, should find no place in our treatment of the law-breaker ; our future penal methods will confine themselves to : (1) the protection of society, and (2) the restoration of the offender. "The problem of crime is to bring the individual into harmony with the code of the community." (Godwin.)
>
> To do this it is necessary to ascertain the causes or tendencies which have led them astray in that *particular community*. The causes vary in different communities ; in some it may be excessive accumulation of wealth ; in others widespread poverty ; in others unequal distribution of wealth. Yet again, differences in religious beliefs may lead to crime. The cause may be found in social economics or in heredity or environment. The last two are about as important as any, and both necessitate the assistance of trained medical experts, both for diagnosis and treatment. Let me give you an instance :
>
> Jukes family. In 150 years 5 degenerate sisters produced 2,094 descendants. Of these half were feeble-minded or worse and the other half became socially inadequate. In one line of conduct alone, of the 541 women, 277 became prostitutes.
>
> What are the tests for a criminal ? The clue is not to be found in physical stigmata (as propounded by Lombroso) but in the mental abnormality, or in the collapse of moral resistance under excessive strain or sudden temptation or in a similar collapse of unselfish instincts under the attack of selfish ones.
>
> "The secret of the cure of the criminal has nothing to do with punishment. The solution of the problem of the anti-social individual—that is, of the curable anti-social individual—is a problem of psychology."—(Godwin.)

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### Effort and Enjoyment

"India is a land of metaphysics." This idea was abroad till the end of the nineteenth century. With the spread of knowledge about Indian art, literature and languages, this idea no longer holds good. They have begun to realize that Indian civilization and culture was as much materialistic as it was spiritualistic, though the end always tended to the latter. This has been possible through the efforts of a noble band of interpreters of our civilization. Dr. Annie Besant, one of this band, has contributed an article on "the Indian ideal of duty" to *The Hindustan Review*, once more bringing to view the salient features of Hinduism. Let us hear what she has got to say about effort and enjoyment as prescribed in the Hindu Sastras :

> After the idea of *Dharma* comes the idea that all mankind is divided into two enormous groups ; one walking on the path of pursuit, the path of going forth ; and the other those that turn their faces homeward. How does this apply to human life ? It shows us that the ordinary life of man, the common life of every day, is but part of the divinely ordained evolution by which the progress of humanity is governed ; and on the path of going forth are laid down the rightful objects of all human effort. First comes the *Dharma*, the duty that guides and limits ; and then *Artha*—possessions in the widest sense, all that the world has to give and all that man is a to possess.
>
> Man, according to Hindu Dharma, is not to be an ascetic while he is treading the forthgoing path. He is told, on the contrary, that the enjoyment of possessions, the gathering of wealth, progress in wo

matters, all belong rightfully and usefully to the path of pursuit. Those who know the Hindu Dharma will realize that this is so, and that in modern India much confusion has arisen, with the result that this teaching is for the most part forgotten. Modern India has talked too much of the path of return, quite forgetting that that is the path for the few, while the path of forthgoing is the path for the many. They forget that Manu laid down for his children the pursuit of possessions and the enjoyment of pleasure. *Artha* and *Kama* are the objects of the path of pursuit, limited and guided by *Dharma*.

How much more wise was the ancient Law-giver than are many of our modern teachers, those who would have every man an ascetic, those who declare that renunciation is the only rightful path of human life? Manu the Law-giver is the wisest of the Divine rulers of man, and Manu realized that for national prosperity, effort and enjoyment were needed; that it was right that those who were evolving should evolve their faculties by effort and by enjoyment, and so possessions and pleasure were made part of the path of forthgoing. And the great masses of the people were pointed to that, as the path by which progress was to be made. Only when a man has trodden that path, only when he has developed high intelligence, only when he has developed unselfishness and the pure love of God, then is he ready to turn his face homeward and tread the path of renunciation. Then it is that *Bhakti*, the love of God, takes the place of *Kama*—the love of the objects of desire. Then it is that the *Siddhis* and the powers that they give take the place of the worldly possessions, which are used only for the benefit of man and not for the gain of the possessor. Then it is that, instead of the outward law of *Dharma* imposing duty from without, there comes the freedom of the Self made manifest, who needs no law from without, because he realizes his divinity, and forsaking all *Dharma*, he becomes one with the Supreme Being and Divine Will is his. Such is the course of human life according to Manu, balanced, rational and useful for all. No asceticism, premature and therefore useless, but the full development of faculties; only when these have been developed may come the turning home, the treading of the path to liberation. Step by step, in orderly and progressive fashion, Manu bids man tread the path of human life.

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### Hinduism and the Communal Problem

*Prabuddha Bharata* publishes articles from the pen of its redoubtable editor, which throw immense light on various problems of the day. Hindus and Moslems of India, through the machinations of interested parties, are being torn asunder for the last few decades. This dissension is delaying the birth of a new India—a democracy in the East proving a panacea for very many ills that disturb the peace of the world. The editor of the paper emphasizes the catholicity of Hinduism, and says:

> The communal problem will find easy solution, we think, in the broad catholicity which is an inherent characteristic of Hinduism and the Hindu society. Of all the religions in the world it can be said only of Hinduism that it has not been guilty of persecuting other faiths. It has carried the banner of peace outside the boundaries of India, it has extended warm hospitality to the victims of religious bigotry in other countries, but it has itself persecuted none. In religious matter it has shown remarkable tolerance and liberalism. Though in course of time society in India became rigid and fell a prey to hide-bound conventions, still religion was free.
>
> This process, if allowed to go on, will bring about the end of all communal problems. What we expect is due to the influence of catholicity in Hinduism all faiths in India will shake off bigotry and fanaticism, all religionists will live in peace and goodwill and people in general will be benefited by the truths found in all religions. The Hindus will profit by good things existing in Islam, as the Mahomedans will appreciate the good points in Christianity. Each religion will retain its individuality, but there will be collective influence upon the whole population. Hinduism realized in ancient days the unity in variety in religion, it will serve as an agent to co-ordinate the variety into one collective whole in national life also.
>
> The future of India will not be a rule of the Hindus, or the Mahomedans or the Christians. If the national bark can be properly steered, it will be like the rule of a patriarch in a joint family system, in which the interests of all the members not only do not suffer, but are so carefully looked after that the question of the clash of interests does not arise at all.
>
> If this can be realized in India, it will be a good day for the whole of the world and humanity. For at present the world civilization is under the grip of a death struggle,—mutual fights and distrusts having robbed mankind of all its peace and the various nations undergoing a delirium of co-operative suicide. In the conflicting and destructive forces that have been let loose in the world, we are witnessing at present the battle of another Kurukshetra, which, when ended, found the mutual destruction almost complete. We believe that the impending crisis may be averted only by India.

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### Mr. Chintamani as an Editor

In *The New Thought* we welcome a new venture in the line of journalism. In a recent issue appeared an interesting estimate of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as an editor. Mr. D. B. Dhanapala, the writer of the paper, says in part:

> Mr. Chintamani and Mrs. Besant can be said to be the most scrupulous of editors in India. But Mrs. Besant was never the editor of a newspaper—hers was always a 'views-paper'. Mr. Chintamani came to journalism as a profession and has after long years made it into a kind of religion. In the temple of daily journalism, he is the high-priest.
>
> That is why one never finds what are called 'scoops' and 'stunt' in the *Leader*. That Lord Northclffie mania for something new, something fresh, something exciting, something startling with the birth of each blue day has never touched the chief of the *Leader*. He never gives 'stories' flavoured with spice and served hot to please the palate. He gives information—sane and sober and true.
>
> He gives the public not what it wants, but what is good for it; not what it seeks to know, but what it ought to know; not what is exciting, but what is important.

He never starts with the loudest 'bang', the hottest news,—with shrieking headlines. His paper, like most papers of the old days, starts with 'situations vacant'. Then come the weather reports. And it is in the *santum santorium*, next to the editorial page, one finds the most important news of the day.

The *Leader* might not be up-to-date. In fact it is often absurdly out-of-date. It might have little sense of proportion. I might go further and say it rarely has any sense of proportion. For, you find in it hardly anything worth mentioning that appeals to that large class known as the general reader who is not only interested in politics but also in art, literature, public men, sports, amusements, science insurance, horticulture, photography., etc., etc. With a callous contempt for such interests, the *Leader* gives its readers all politics. And a paper, all politics, like Jack with all work and no play, makes a dull journal.

But *The Leader* is always accurate. One can always depend on what it says. It is journalism sane and sober and true.

Those snappy, razor-edge paragraphs of the modern newspaper are unknown to Mr. Chintamani. Those light notes on tremendous trifles of daily life are strangers to him. Those bull's-eyes captions and crisp gossipy columns are as rare to the *Leader* as are icicles in the Sahara.

Mr. Chintamani has made his journalism, Indian, and not a cheap, tinsel imitation of the West. It is only a great journalist who can do that.

His is the genius that can make a paper great and respected and important and abominably dull.

Mr. Chintamani writes in a pompous Johnsonian style with a wealth of long words and forgotton facts. His memory is a veritable teasure-trove of facts. We all have memories but most of us use ours to forget things with. But on all occasions, under all circumstances, Mr. Chintamani's memory forgets nothing.

His editorials are more like blue-books than hurriedly written leaders. Like steam-rollers, they move slowly but surely to crush out the offending object. And woe to the thing that is to be cursed !

Mostly, he lives in the past. It is not the past of the sentimentalist who weeps for the joys that will be no more. It is the past of the optimist who looks forward to the future. His is not the past of fairy princesses and guardian angles or the heroic doings of kings and queens. His past is that of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Pherozesh Metha, Surendranath Banerji, Gokhale and the other giants. He never forgets what they said on all topics ; how they might have acted ; how they might have grappled with like problems ; how they might not have acted at all !

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## Women in the Future Constitution of India

Quite in keeping with the mother-instinct, *Stri Dharma*, the official organ of the Women's Indian Association, holds aloft the banner of Indian nationalism before the world, without making the least distinction between the sexes, colours or creeds. What the women of India have got to say on the subject of the future constitution of the land while people from home and abroad are making at least a show of constitution-making, has been put in a concrete form in the joint declaration on women's franchise, published in the *Stri Dharma*. It partially runs thus :

The signatories to this declaration, however, feel that in spite of the unanimous opinion of the main women's organizations in India, their views have not received the consideration that was and is their due and lest the weighty demands of the thinking womanhood of India be lightly set aside, we wish once more on behalf of the organizations which we have the honour to represent to inform the Governments of Britain and India, as well as the general public, that we firmly adhere to our opinions as already expressed in our joint memorandum. Any constitution for India in the matter of franchise which does not provide for adult suffrage and no special expedients and which does not recognize the fundamental rights of citizenship in India, as interpreted by us in the aforesaid memorandum, will meet with our unqualified disapproval.

We are aware that certain expedients have been suggested, *e. g.* :—

(*a*) Property qualification for franchise on the basis of wifehood or widowhood, if the woman does not hold property in her own right.

(*b*) Literacy qualification for franchise.

(*c*) Nominations for Legislatures.

(*d*) Reservation of seats or co-option in Legislature.

All such expedients are, in our opinion, wholly undesirable for the following reasons :—

(1) We look upon any qualifications for the vote based on property as undemocratic and, as such, wholly against the spirit of the age. At the same time an expedient of the nature is quite contrary to the interests of the humble, poor, who constitute India's main population.

(2) Owing to the almost incredible illiteracy prevalent amongst the women of India any such qualification stands clearly self-condemned.

(3) We look upon nominations and reservations of seats or co-option in any sphere of activity as a pernicious and humiliating system which must run counter to all real progress. However impartially carried out, it must by its very nature, engender an inferiority complex amongst those for whom it caters—a contingency to be avoided at all costs. It may even tend to create a spirit of communalism amongst women which we, at any rate, are determined shall not be the case. We realize to the full and with immeasurable sorrow to what an extent this canker amongst men has retarded and is retarding the progress of our beloved land.

We submit, therefore, that adult franchise, immediately applied, without special expedients constitute the only way by which the men and women of India can possibly come into their own. We do not think that there will be insurmountable difficulties in achieving these objects forthwith, if sufficient efforts are made.

Even if our brothers are in favour of separate electorates meanwhile, we wish to make it quite clear that women do not stand by them in this demand. For ourselves, we have made up our minds that, even if a few or no women at all are returned for the present to the Legislatures by the open door of competition, we shall not attach any importance thereto—for we are certain that our cause is righteous and that in the end it will prevail.

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## Physical Education in Schools

Mr. A. J. Danielson read a paper on "A Health Programme for Schools" before the Mid-India Christian Council, which has appeared in *The National Christian Council Review*. Mr. Danielson's suggestions on the subject of imparting physical instruction in schools deserve mention. He says in this connection :

Physical activities for primary schools, especially the first and second grades, should consist chiefly of informal and imitative activities. Story plays, in which familiar activities in the home, in work, in animal life, etc., are dramatized ; elementary games and imitative marching appeal greatly to children, and are more suitable and beneficial to the child than formal drill and other activities. The child lives in a world of imagination and imitation. and physical activities should, therefore, appeal to the dramatic instinct, which is so strong in children of primary school age.

In the third and fourth primary grades a few formal activities may be introduced, such as marching and calisthenics, but under no circumstances should these prevent the students from participating daily in informal activities.

There should be at least one forty-minute period daily for physical activities in primary schools. and also a five-minute relief period at mid-morning and mid-afternoon, to provide relief from the cramping effect of sedentary school work. Children are naturally active, and it is quite often a genuine hardship for them to sit quietly for long stretches of time.

In middle and high schools there should be one period daily in the time-table for physical activities. and more, if possible. Three times a week this period should be used for physical instruction, including such activities as marching, calisthenics (that is, dumb bells Indian clubs, wands, lazium, bothati), self-testing activities, athletics and elementary games. Half of each of these periods should be used for marching and calisthenics, and the remainder for self-testing activities. athletics and elementary games. No period should be used entirely for formal activities, for one of the values of physical activities is relaxation from the concentration of the class-room. The remaining periods during the week should be used for major games and athletics. Such a programme should be progressive from middle to high school, and should be suited to the mental and physiological ages of the students. Schools unfortunate enough to lack fields for major games, should use these periods for activities which can be performed in a small space, such as minor games, athletics, self-testing activities.

Not only is an adequate programme of physical activities necessary in our schools, but there is also an urgent need for theory courses in health education. Much of the suffering and unhappiness of humanity is due to ignorance, and yet there is available a large amount of information which deals with the causes and prevention of deseases and abnormalities. Such men as Jenner, Sir Ronald Ross, Pasteur, Lord Lister, and a host of other scientists and public servants, have discovered facts about hygiene and desease control which are known and put into practice by the comparatively few trained people, but which are hardly guessed at by the great mass of humanity. The school is the logical place in which to disseminate health knowledge and inculcate health habits, for the child acquires them while he is plastic and receptive and carries them over into adult life. A progressive scheme of health education in the school will do much in reducing ignorance, superstition, poor health and early death. Such training is especially necessary for this country, for statistics for India show that the death-rate is very high as compared with Western countries. According to Dr. Ghosh, in 1927 the death rate per thousand in England and Wales was 12·3 ; in the United States it was 11·4 ; while in India it was 24·89—or twice as high as in those other countries. The expectation of life in India, as compared with Western countries, is also low, being about 25 years, while in Europe and America it is between 44 and 56. The high death-rate and low expectation of life in this country are due chiefly to preventable causes, such as poverty, customs and lack of education. the last being perhaps the chief cause.

The individual requires knowledge regarding three fields of health : mental health. physical health and group health. These can be taught in a health education course which includes personal and group hygiene, elementary physiology, sex hygiene and first aid. The laws of the mind with regard to health should be known to every individual, for this knowledge means much to our happiness and efficiency. A health philosophy of life is one of man's greatest assets. With that he can face the various situations and problems of life in a normal way.

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## Salesmanship

It is almost a truism that industrial progress of a country depends very much on insurance. India, an industrially backward country, can ill-afford to ignore this fact, without bringing ruin on her. It is a good sign of the times that the thinking section of the people have been at insurance business for some time past and are carrying on propaganda amongst their countrymen emphasizing its utility. The Indian Insurance Institute of Calcutta have, besides propaganda work, organized a series of lectures on many useful aspects of insurance by the available insurance experts of the locality. We make no apology for taking the following excerpts from one of these lecturs, "salesmanship" by Mr. A. C. Sen of the Empire of India, published in *Insurance World* :

Enthusiasm, in my opinion, is the most essential quality for success in salesmanship. It is almost magnetic, and the salesman with inspiring enthusiasm about him hardly fails to rouse interest and sympathy for him.

The greatest obstacle to success in the line is despair. A person who is easily disconcerted or liable to fits of depression or nervousness has hardly any chance of continued success in this walk of life.

Good and pleasant manners, ready eagerness for service to the friends and acquaintances go a good deal to acquire popularity among clients and to secure a regular flow of business.

It is generally found that a good many of the qualifications needed for success in any line of business, such as good manners, presentable appearance, willingness to serve, keen interest in the work, common sense, determination, punctuality, honesty of purpose, stout optimism, courage, cool self-confidence, desire for advancement and self-improvement are as well required of a successful insurance agent.

In these days of keen competition, elaborate organization and scientific methods, the achievement of success of an insurance agent does not rest entirely on his own merits only, much depends on the company he represents, its system, efficiency and organizing capacity. The management must have a broad vision, the capacity to inspire implicit confidence and zeal in their field workers to show appreciation of their activities, keep them up-to-date and impart in them specialized knowledge. All their reasonable grievances and drawbacks should be removed and their hands strengthened by improved modes of insurance necessitated by the change of mentality of the insurance public.

To keep the agents in trim and up-to-date, the office has got to work up the zeal of its field workers by issuing circular letters and reminders to them from time to time as well as on special occasions, to which all responsible agents give some response.

Distribution of nicely got up and concisely written folders or leaflets by post or otherwise is found to be an effective method of advertisement as also for preparation of ground for field-worker and more so when accompanied with a personal letter, followed by pleasing reminders.

Here are a few lines on the future prospects of Indian insurance :

> Life insurance in India has passed the stage of adolescence only. If millions have profited by insurance there are many more millions to come in year after year. The Indian life offices are doing solid business now and stand in much higher regard before the public than previously and the prejudices and ignorance of the people about the utility of insurance and the advantage of joining Indian companies are fast disappearing. The field is practically unlimited and open to thousands of unemployed young men.

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### Swadeshi in Canada

Preaching and practising Swadeshi may be regarded as an unwelcome thing verging on a crime in the unfortunate land of ours, but it is not so in other lands not even in the land of our rulers, the Britishers. Various kinds of propaganda are done in great Britain by way of pen and pencil in order to bring home to the British public the necessity of using goods manufactured in their own country by their own men from the material produced also in their own soil as far as possible. Canada, a dominion and member of the British Commonwealth, has progressed very far in this line with tangible results. We are grateful to Mr. M. R. Narayana, B. A. for his illuminating article on "Swadeshi in Canada : an Object Lesson" published in *The Mysore Economic Journal* from which the following is taken.

> Canada is a newly established country with a population of 8,788,483 spread over an area of water and land combined 3,684,315 square miles. The Canadian production was greater in 1928 than in any other year owing to the active industrial conditions. The increase was something like 14 per cent more than in the previous years. The production included agriculture, manufacture, and industries such as mining fisheries and forestry. Agriculture alone represented 36.4 per cent of the net output and manufacture was 34.9 per cent, mining 6.3 per cent, forestry 8.0 per cent, fisheries 2 per cent. The gross value of the production was 4,387,313,364 dollars while the net value was 2,220,792,025 dollars.
>
> The statistics of imports and exports for the years 1914—30 show that there has been a steady decrease in the import of goods consumed in Canada from outside...This has been achieved by the spreading of the idea of "Swadeshi." The people saw that money went out of the country on account of imports of things that could be had in the country itself, if efforts were made in the right direction. Canada is a virgin country and is chiefly an agricultural one. Statistics show that nearly more than 381 million acres are physically suitable for agriculture. To improve home industries various associations were started. The axiom that an industry can thrive only to the measure to which it can market its products was seized upon by the people and they began to form group with the idea of stimulating home market for home-made goods. Of course there was keen competition between home-made products and the foreign-made ones but the people of these associations made an appeal to the people to patronize Canadian products based on quality and price. Their contention was that the Canadian product was in no way inferior to that of any other country. They are endeavouring to raise the standard of excellence and want to see it recognized by the whole world.
>
> These associations not only established branches, but spread this idea through various other channels. Above all other things this movement has gained strength, bocause the Government is a National Government which not only allows the spread of this idea but also takes steps to see, as far as possible, that this principle is given effect to. Within a period of four months, 122 papers had published 245 articles and many editorials on this subject and thus made known this idea to the people. Mr. H. S. Stevenson of Victoria wrote a play called "Keep the home fire burning." This play was enacted and at the same time broadcasted. In young men's clubs and associations volumes about Canadian industries were shown and selected speakers enlarged on the value of buying national goods. Annual exhibitions were held to advertise to the people the products grown in Canada and the progress made during the year. In the annual Victoria Exhibition thousands of leaflets were distributed appealing to people to help home industries. The Prime Minister and other big officials of the State co-operated with the Association's work.

The reader will also find how very keen interest the women of Canada are taking in these Swadeshi activities :

> The activities of the Association did not stop with this. In Canada there are about 151 women's associations. This idea was made known among them also. They were not slow to catch the spirit of the idea and they have a great measure of the success of this idea to their credit. To encourage ladies, the women's association held an easy competition and awarded prizes for the best essays written on "Why I buy Canadian products." The prizes were distributed by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor Hon. J. Fordham Johnson.

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### Industrial Progress in Russia

Dr. Jagadisan M. Kumarappa has given an estimate of the industrial progress in Russia under the Soviet regime in an informative article under the caption 'The Menace of Russia," which has appeared in *The Indian Review.* What the learned doctor says about Russia's economic achievements in the last few years deserves mention :

As regards economic achievement it must be said to the credit of Russia that while all other countries are suffering from declining export prices and reduced export markets, Russia is the only country which stands out as an exception to the general rule. The foreign trade of twenty-five countries representing 80 per cent of the total world trade, declined about 20 per cent from 1929 to 1930. Russia alone showed an increase in the value both of imports and exports in 1930, the increase in imports amounting to 28 per cent and that in exports to 25 per cent. Russia's excessive productive capacity is now threatening Europe. In reply to the dumping charges, Moscow maintains that although her export volume increased 25 per cent in the last year, the money received for the exports decreased 24 per cent as compared with the previous year, on account of the collapse of world commodity prices following the Wall Street crash of 1929. Further, she holds that the so-called dumping is not carried out to menace the trade and industries of other countries but to meet payments for goods she imports. Russia's plan calls for a definite yearly importation of machinery and heavy finished materials and these have to be paid for. She is therefore prepared to sell her products for the best prices obtainable, no matter how low. Whether the charge of dumping,—that is selling below real cost,—can be levelled against such a sales policy is in the realm of academic discussion, because the Russian economic system can hardly be judged by the standards of the rest of the world. No doubt, judged by outside standards, Russia is dumping some of her products on the world market and making a profit on others. Hence she is considered as a menace to Western civilization. The capitalistic world has already begun to feel the effects of the Five-Year Plan, but the world is watching with much interest the experiment of establishing a real Soviet State.

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### Reparations, or Revenge ?

Major D. Graham Pole is a critic of the Versailles Treaty and everything that followed in its wake. "Woe to the Vanquished" was the ancient dictum. But the Versailles treaty has been fruitful of all evils, and is bringing about ruin on the victors. Major Pole says in part in the same review :

> The world is at last waking up to the fact that the policy of reparations—of *revenge*—is an evil that has come home to roost ; and that the attempt to make Germany pay means that we are all going bankrupt with her. As a leading firm of London stockbrokers wrote in its Circular, dated 31st December 1931 :
>
> One thing seems clear, namely, that international action of a remedial character must be taken at once if the crisis is not speedily to develop into a German collapse which will threaten calamity for the whole world.
>
> In the very magnitude of the danger which is now generally admitted, lies the best hope that politicians will at last realize the necessity of subordinating political prejudices to financial exigencies.
>
> It has taken the world *fourteen* years to learn the wastefulness, the futility, of the policy of reparations. During these same fourteen years, science has been making the most wonderful progress. Invention after invention has multiplied the producing capacities of industry. So much so that, if we were not living in a mad world, we might have solved the problem of poverty altogether ! But instead of turning our energies to the problem of distributing the great riches which science has created, we have had to devote all our energies to *money*, to the struggle against bankruptcy—against artificial bankruptcy.

Let us see how Germany, the great sufferer in the world war, and the greater sufferer by the Treaty, has progressed in the meantime:

> I was never more struck by the tragic waste of the ways we live in than when I read not long ago in the *Monthly Summary of the Internationat Labour Organisation* some figures regarding increased output as a result of science in industry, or rationalization as it is called. The *Summary* comments :
>
> With regard to the influence of rationalisation in general, it is noted that in Germany from 1925 to 1928 output rose by from 16 to 100 per cent in various industries, while in Austria from 1924 to 1927 there was an increase of from 27 to 78 per cent.
>
> In the United States, during a period of six years the average output per worker in the four main branches of national activity......rose by 27 per cent. In Great Britain the increase in production in a group of ten industries from 1924 to 1929-30 was 11 per cent.
>
> What do these figures reveal ? Germany and Austria, defeated, *bankrupt* nations, increasing production at that rate ! And all their wealth wasted, all their riches taken from them, in this futile policy of Reparations.

* * *

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## British Imperialism—its Character and Methods

A recent number of *Le Crapouillot*, a French magazine dealing with topical subjects in a popular manner, was suppressed by the French Government for containing virulent attacks on Great Britain and British policy. *The Living Age* has reproduced one of the most sensational of these articles, dealing with the underworld of British diplomacy. Most of the details given in this article read like episodes taken from a political romance, and Continental writers are apt to give more credit for diabolical, Machiavellian cunning to British diplomats than they actually deserve. But the charges contain a suostratum of truth. Take, for example, the following passage giving an exposition of the methods and character of British imperialism :

> All religions must be intolerant because their *raison d'etre* consists in imposing on others the truth that they believe they possess. This is true of English imperialism, which is a social, economic, and financial religion, and which cannot admit the co-existence of other imperialisms. The Anglo-Saxon cult of the ego is inevitably translated into the axiom 'myself first, and after me, whatever may be left'—that is to say, whatever may be left in the way of gold, petroleum, rubber, cotton, corned beef, tea, opium, banking commissions, seagoing freight.
>
> If we drew a map showing the events that have upset the world since the war, we should be indicating the sore spots of the world, the perpetually dangerous zones. It is a bizarre fact that in each of these zones British interests are at stake, whether it is a question of defending an acquired position or attaining a new one. Often we see English secret agents appearing on the scene but disappearing immediately.
>
> The first disturbance zone is Soviet Russia. It is not astonishing that England, whose Empire is attacked from one end of the world to the other, should defend herself on the excellent principle of attacking the enemy on his own ground. It can be emphatically stated that since 1917 there has not been a single anti-Bolshevist conspiracy that England has not provided with both money and leaders.
>
> The second disturbance zone is French mandated territory and protectorates, such as, Syria and Morocco. French newspapers have worn themselves out discussing Colonel Lawrence, an English agent who is not one of our friends, but whose real importance is somewhat exaggerated. We have heard much less discussion of the rôle played by the English consul, Smart, in the Druse revolts when thousands of French were massacred, and of Mr. Gordon Canning, a Secret Service officer, in the Rif War, when tens of thousands of French were killed. It seems that Mr. Gordon Canning met his comrade, Lawrence, in the Rif, which these gentlemen were providing with money and munitions. Our neighbours and 'allies' are not interested solely in maintaining order in French possessions. Indeed, we note with regret that Herr Hitler's staff contains an important member of the British Intelligence Service, a man whom our courts found guilty of espionage under particularly infamous conditions.
>
> The third disturbance zone is every point where English and American interests come into friction. Volumes would be needed to describe the gigantic brawls in the course of which millions of men fire on each other, suffer pangs of hunger as a result of dumping and boycotts, and dance like puppets on strings pulled by Wall Street and Throgmorton Street. His Imperial Highness, the Prince of Wales, went to South America on a commercial mission. He came back to England empty-handed. But wait—no sooner had he returned than an epidemic of revolutions broke out in the South American republics, four of them in six months, each one directed against a government friendly to the United States. Then three counter revolutions occurred. The Monroe Doctrine emerged from the battle with only a few feathers lost. As a continuation of the tragi-comedy, the Chilean fleet finally issued a little pronunciamento dear to the heart of the British Chargé d'Affaires. Will the English or the Yankee have the upper hand ? Certainly there are enough reasons for the South Americans to kill each other, and, by way of interlude, there is always something happening in Venezuela and Mexico, those happy countries where petroleum spouts in geysers. For the fact is that two imperialisms cannot exist at the same time on the face of the earth.

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## Finding Out the Exact Shape of the Earth

An International expedition has sailed in February last for the West Indies with the object of finding out the exact shape of the earth. *Discovery* has a note on this expedition:

> In the waters about the West Indian islands, with the assistance of the submarine S-48 lent by the United States Navy, an expedition is to make a concentrated study of geological conditions. It is being sponsored by Princeton University and has the support of the Royal Society of Great Britain. Other scientific bodies in England and America are also co-operating, including the National Research Council

the United States Hydrographic Office, the Naval Observatory and the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

"The West Indian region is an ideal place in which to attack some of the major geological problems," writes Professor Richard Field, director of the expedition. "We wish to know not only what has gone on in the past in the Bahama region, but also what is going on there now. If we can discover the causes for the uplift of these islands and their maintenance, as well as the mile-deep depressions which exist between them (as exemplified by the great Bartlett trough south of Cuba, and the Nares deep north of Porto Rico) we would unquestionably learn something further regarding the origin and periodicity of the earthquakes in this region, and possibly also in the south-easterly islands of the archipelago.

"Due to permission given by the British Government and to the co-opèration of the United States Navy, this expedition will be able to determine the exact topography of the floor of the ocean throughout the field of operation. The recent perfection by the United States Navy of the means of making directional echo soundings permits us for the first time accurately to determine the inequalities of the bottom of the ocean. The use of a submarine will make it possible to experiment with the delicate Meinesz clock in a relatively steady environment from 60 to 80 feet below the surface of the sea."

The clock, known as the three pendulum apparatus, has been invented by Dr. F. A. Vening Meinesz, a member of the Geodetic Commission of Holland. It has a special arrangement of pendulums swinging simultaneously in such a manner that when one pendulum of a pair is retarded by external forces the other is accelerated by an equal amount ; in effect, therefore, the combined oscillations of these two pendulums is a record of an undisturbed theoretical pendulum. The rates of the swing of the pendulums, which are of primary importance in ascertaining gravity, will be determined by chronometers on board the submarine and at the stations to be established on the islands. These in turn will be regulated by wireless time signals sent from the Naval Observatory in Washington.

To supplement the work done on the submarine over the water areas, an observer of the American Geodetic Survey will also make gravity observations during the winter on 15 or 20 islands in the Bahama group. "These observations," Dr. Field explained, "furnish an indirect method of finding the difference in weight between imaginary segments of the earth's crust, which extends to a depth of approximately 60 miles below sea level. Except where ocean bottoms are very much broken, the values of gravity are practically normal. Where the ground is broken, outstanding irregularities are found in the values of gravity.

"If these irregularities are discovered in the Bahama regions they will indicate either that there is an excess or deficiency of mass in the segments of the crust under the islands, or that the rocks beneath the crust are abnormal in density. If volcanic rocks of greater density than normal surface rocks are close to the surface under the Bahamas, the values of gravity should be in excess. If on the other hand, these islands are not volcanic in character, gravity values should be normal or nearly so."

The submarine S-48 will be accompanied by the mine-sweeper *Chewink*, and the expedition will also make use of a third vessel owned and navigated by Hugh Matheson, of Miami, Florida. The advisory staff includes Professor E. B. Bailey, of the University of Glasgow, Professor Owen Thomas Jones of Cambridge, and Mr. Maurice Black, who contributed an article to *Discovery* in March. 1930, on the results of a preliminary survey of the Bahamas.

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## Latin and Anglo-Saxon Imperialism Compared

Anglo-Saxon historians have fastened a permanent stigma on the methods of the Spanish rulers of South America. But a recent writer shows in *The Dublin Review* that the Spanish conquerors of America were far more humane than the Anglo-Saxons :

> According to our English and American authorities, the Spanish conquest of the Americans was one long story of blood and plunder. Mr. Cunninghame-Graham *(A Vanished Arcadia,* p. XI) remarks: "It is an article of Anglo-Saxon faith that all the Spanish colonies were maladministered, and all the Spanish conquerors blood-thirsty butchers, whose sole delight was blood."
>
> And yet, what are the facts? The records of English, Dutch and other European nations in dealing with peoples of "inferior civilization" are for centuries a page of unrelieved blackness. The French record was somewhat better, but they did little for the actual welfare and improvement of their subjects. What is said of the Spaniards applies roughly to the Portuguese, but they were far behind the Spaniards in culture and missionary enterprise. The English settlers in North America massacred or drove away the Indians, whom they called "red devils." North of the Rio Grande, the aboriginal inhabitants are either extinct or a depressed remnant. South—under the care of Spanish and Portuguese—the Indian races flourished and multiplied.
>
> That there should have been massacres and spoliations is not surprising, and in themselves they should not be brought against the pioneers as unpardonable sins. But against the Nordic settlers may be brought the charge that they never treated the Indians as if they were anything but beasts, that they never made any attempt to protect or educate them. The motto was to kill or expel, and has been practised down to the memory of living men.
>
> The Spanish record is the exact opposite. Undoubtedly the Conquistadors were ruthless. The story has been told again and again. But these cruelties—the worst of which was forced labour in the mines—were the work of free lances. As soon as the authority of the King of Spain was established, laws and institutions were devised for the benefit of the community, and especially of the Indians. Very soon an Empire was established which endured for three centuries and still remains, with its Latin character indelibly impressed upon two Continents, with no change except that of political Government. For length of years and permanence of influence the Roman Empire affords the only parallel.
>
> The laws drawn up for the protection of the Indians were innumerable. To kill an Indian was murder, and they were exempt from the Inquisition. Much legislation was directed against forced labour and serfage. Many decrees were issued by the King for their protection. But the leading Spaniards themselves were very humane, according to the standards

of those times. Of Juan Garay we are told: "No charge of cruelty either to the Indians, his own soldiers, or even to his competitors for power has ever been advanced against him. His shrewd Biscayan common sense kept his mind always fixed upon the great achievement of his life, the refounding and resettlement of the great port that Pedro de Mendoza had abandoned, driven out by famine and disease." (Cunninghame-Graham : *The Conquest of the River Plate*, p. 278). He, the real founder of Buenos Aires, and Hernandarias Saavedra, his successor, who encouraged the Jesuits to teach industries to the natives and settle the virgin tracts, are names unknown to English readers, but they have brought honour to Spain.

The first University, founded in Lima in 1563, was followed by many others, and Lima ever since has been a centre of culture. The clergy encouraged education in every possible way, and a heritage of literary refinement has been handed down, resulting in the charming Spanish-American literature. Yet this is the kind of information retailed to us by American historians: "The only schools were priests' seminaries in which little except theology was taught and the level of intellectual culture among Creoles sank very low." The effect of this picture is somewhat weakened when the writer remarks, almost on the next page: "Poetry and belles-lettres were cultivated with some success by native authors." The country referred to is Ecuador, one of the most literary regions of South America, and at that time it was rearing Olmedo, possibly the greatest of all Spanish poets in the New World.

The charges of apathy, mental inertness, and the like are absurd; the Spaniards were practically the only colonists who did anything to encourage learning.

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### Beer and the Depression in Germany

*The International Student* has an interesting article on the progress of the temperance movement in Germany :

> Germany does not find that the production or consumption of beer help to solve any unemployment problem. On the contrary, we believe that the amount spent for intoxicating drinks can be used in a much better way to help the 4,300,000 unemployed in our country.
>
> The business depression which is world-wide has aided the movement for total abstinence in Germany where the harm done in the past to constructive business through the diversion of large sums for beer is now being more vividly realized than ever before. The German people, and especially the youth of Germany, are coming to see that no sound foundation for the economic life of a nation is possible when the breweries are the only industries making profits.
>
> A new movement against alcohol has arisen recently in Germany. At public meetings in various cities, hundreds of people are signing pledges which read, "I pledge, for the sake of my beloved German people for whom alcohol has become such a great menace, to abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks." This pledge places the question of abstinence on social and economic grounds rather than on purely individual ones. Where these pledges are being proposed, it is made clear that throughout the whole history of Germany, intoxicating liquor has been a handicap to its progress, while the expenditures for beer and other intoxicating drinks today constitute a drain upon the purses of an impoverished people.
>
> The youth of Germany, which plays a large part in public activities, is beginning to realize that the abstinence movement is an important factor in the restoration of the father-land to its proper position in the economic life of the world. In this way total absistence and German patriotism are becoming united. Such personal decisions help to create strong characters, victors over their own passions, leading a simple and pure life. It is from such characters that we expect a new future of Germany.

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### Japan's Religious Need

The military adventures of Japan in China and Manchuria leads *The Christian Register* to dwell on the decline of the religious spirit in Japan :

> Eyes turn to Japan, since her military power has been playing invader in China, to learn many things about her present spirit. Her religious background, in particular, is of absorbing concern ; and we are fortunate to have an excellent analysis by a Japanese, Prof. Riichiro Hoashi of Waseda University, in the current *Journal of Religion*. The article was written, of course, before the attack against her neighbour began.
>
> Japan's increasing prosperity, says Professor Hoashi, has lured the people into hedonism. Pleasures of the senses, from the cheap movies to loosened sex morals and the "charm of crude humanity" in the new literature, are widespread. To these are joined the belief that social reconstruction in the manner of Stalin should displace all mysticism. Authority has broken down, students strike against their schools and riot against the political and economic customs of their country, indicating to the writer that "there is something wrong in our entire social order."
>
> Contempt is poured on all of the positive religions. In fact, religion of the ordinary kind, whether Christian or Buddhist, is stagnant, because it has lost its hold on reasoning minds, and again because it has been drab, that is, void of sanctified beauty, and has lacked social ideals. All the Christianity they have over there they got from us, and most of it is of Calvin, whose God had no interest in human affairs, but desired his own glorification. According to this responsible teacher, God thus conceived is treated in Japan as a despot ; they have dethroned him with scorn, because he had no power to grapple with problems of social adjustment and personal freedom.
>
> Professor Hoashi does not believe that a religion of Japanese nationalism would do any good or last long, but would degenerate into the superstition of ancestor worship in a day which requires, in religion as in culture, the encompassing fellowship of the whole world.
>
> Religion, says this spiritually sympathetic scholar, has declined among his countrymen, and what of it? "It must liquidate antiquated elements within itself", he says, "such as the omnipotence of God. the Christ myth in Christianity, or the pantheistic Nirvana of impersonalism and the negativistic Buddhism. It must cast off the impediments laid upon it by the traditions, in order to meet the demand of a new age."

All of this sounds familiar, for what else are we saying to and of ourselves ? A new religion in Japan "must emphasize the supreme value of individual personality—personality set over against property, things, institutions, customs, traditions, and concepts." Whatever its name, Christian, Buddhist, and the rest, "religion should transcend worshipping its founder as an absolute pattern of life or an infallible authority for faith." Absolute authority "belongs to the feudal age and the caste system." In sum, adequate religion "must deal with problems from the universal point of view." Another infallible sign that all the world becomes conscious of its single being and destiny.

—

### Lenin and Japan

The *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin tells an interesting story how Lenin's help was sought by the Japanese military authorities to stir up trouble within Russia during the Russo-Japanese war.

It was in August 1904, during the battle of Liaoyang. The Japanese had not reckoned on meeting with such energetic resistance from the Russians and certainly had not expected to find so many troops concentrated near Liaoyang. The Single-track Siberian railway, which was the only connection between European Russia and Manchuria, would soon be blocked and made useless, so the Japanese calculated. But they were mistaken, for to prevent the regular transport of troops to the front from being delayed by the return of rolling stock, the Russians burned their railways cars instead of sending them back. The outcome of the battle of Liaoyang was thus quite uncertain.

Colonel Motojiro Akashi, who later became a general and governor of Formosa, was sent to Finland with instructions to stir up anti-Russian discontent and thus cripple Russia by strikes and disturbances. He was also given money to advance his cause.

A Finnish comrade arranged the first meeting between Lenin and Colonel Akashi. Lenin was living in a two-storey, wooden house near the Russian frontier, and Colonel Akashi sent his card in to Lenin by a woman who opened the door. Lenin received him immediately. His head was shaved smooth and he had a tough little beard.

'Your name is familiar to me,' he said as he rose. 'Please sit down. The affair is now ready to be started. But how ?' he asked, looking the Colonel in the eye.

'How is your movement going ?' asked the Colonel.

'Well', Lenin took a shabby package of cigarettes out of his pocket and offered one to the Colonel. Colonel Akashi took a cigarette and then offered Lenin one of his. Lenin looked at the cigaratte and shook his head. 'No. thank you. They're too good for me.' Then he began to talk quietly and slowly: 'It is only natural that Japan is trying to get our help. I have thought over your offer, which reached me through the Finnish comrades, in every light. I have no reason to refuse, but I do not know what standpoint our party will take. You understand it means high treason.'

'High treason ?' Colonel Akashi met Lenin's eye. 'But isn't it your intention to overthrow the Russian Empire ?'

'No, not the Russian Empire. Only the Tsar and the bourgeoisie'.

'I shan't need to discuss that with you,' continued the Colonel. 'But wouldn't it be an advantage to the Russian people if your revolutionary plans were executed with the help of my country ?'

Lenin nodded agreement. 'But I must consult with other members of the party. Moreover, what is the attitude of the other parties you have approached ?'

'A movement is under way and I have already placed orders for supplies and ammunition.'

'That pleases me,' said Lenin, and silence fell for a few seconds.

'Do you know Sen Katayama ?' asked Lenin. (Sen Katayama is to-day the leader of the Japanese Communists, and lives in Moscow, as he is banned from his native country.)

'Yes, he is one of our Socialists, who are working against the war with your country.'

'It is said that he will attend the Congress of the Second International at Amsterdam. Yesterday he talked with Plekhanov.'

'I think that is extraordinary.

"It is not extraordinary, Colonel. The imperialists fight each other, but we hold out our hands to one another."

Colonel Akashi felt that this remark was directed against him and his profession, but he answered gently, 'Mr. Katayama is his own representative. He speaks for no one else. You will notice that if you follow the developments in Manchuria, Mr. Lenin.' He smiled and Lenin smiled back.

'I don't know much about your country', Lenin confessed. 'But don't you think, Colonel, that our movement is quite right ?'

'I believe that you are completely in the right. If I were a Russian I should certainly join your movement.'

Lenin laughed out loud. 'Unfortunately, I cannot reply that if I were a Japanese I should be an officer like you.'

Colonel Akashi had the feeling that he must make some retort. 'That is due to the difference in race and history', he said.

'We will not dispute.' And Lenin held up his big hand.

But Akashi continued : 'A few years ago I talked to Sun Yat-sen. He explained to me the significance of the Chinese principle that one should not violate one's own spiritual law. The people of the East are more moral in their social attitude than the people of the West. I believe that a principle like yours could be born only of a nation whose history was an uninterrupted chain of oppressions.'

'Please persuade your party to accept our offer. I am authorized to give you whatever sum you demand.'

'Good, Colonel.'

—

### Journalistic Honour

The *G. K's Weekly* has a vigorous article on "the decay of honour" by G. K. Chesterton himself. The principal theme of the article is divorce, but, incidentally, G. K. deals with the standard of honour among journalists:

> We know, of course, that journalism of this sort is more innocently indifferent to the same thing on the intellectual plane ; to what is called consistency in mental things, as it is called fidelity in moral things. One of the really queer qualities of the Press leaders

is their fresh, innocent and quite honest pride in parading the fickleness of their own opinions and the failure of their own experiments. On Monday they shout aloud that they have spotted a winner: on Tuesday they shout quite as loudly that they have backed a loser. They are quite open about it: and never seem to think it might damage their prestige as tipsters. They will shout one day that Jones alone can save the world, and the next day that Jones is the biggest fool in the world; and never seem to suspect that anybody might say, 'Well, if Jones is a fool, you must have been a fool to think him wise.' This has always marked the Yellow or Progressive Press. It was so with Lord Northcliffe, perhaps the most utterly unintelligent man who ever affected our politics; certainly much less intelligent than Lord Beaverbrook. Northcliffe yelled for the appointment of Kitchener, knowing nothing about Kitchener beyond the notions of a suburban schoolgirl; then yelled for the removal of Kitchener, knowing quite as little about the new problem of trench warfare. Then he set up Lloyd George; then he howled down Lloyd George; and never seemed to think that the sane man's comment would be 'This seems to be a rather weak-minded person.' But even Lord Beaverbrook, though clever, is in this matter equally true to type. He has already begun furiously to abuse the Prime Minister; adding, with astonishing naivete, 'whom I helped to make Prime Minister.' It does not seem to strike him that anybody may answer, 'Thanks, I will remember it, when next you offer me any advice."

—

## Divorce in Japan

*The Japan Magazine* gives the statistics of divorce in Japan:

Statistics of marriage and divorce in Japan are of some interest, as compared with similar statistics in other countries. It seems that in Japan wedlock is most easily broken between one and two years after marriage. The number of divorces in 1930 reached 51,222, or about 10.3 per cent of the marriages recorded for the same period. Rupture of marital relations is most common between the ages of 25 and 29; and then between 30 and 34, and least common between 20 and 24. The most frequent occasion of divorce is found in the islands of Okinawa prefacture, and the fewest divorce in Ibaraki prefacture. What is most interesting to foreigners is that of the total of 51,222 divorces recorded for the year 1930 only 439 couples were separated by legal procedure, the rest of the vast total annulling their relations simply by mutual consent, or desertion. In 44,239 cases wives left their husbands, while in 5,564 instances it was the husband who forsook the wife. It is remarkable that in 1,419 cases the couple, although separated, continued to remain under the same roof; that is, in the same family. The general inference from the statistics is that divorce is on the decrease in Japan; for if we go back to 1897 the annual total of divorces was over 100,000. The decline may in some measure be accounted for by the habit of not registering marriages; more couples are living together than are shown in the official records; and it is but reasonable to suppose that separation is most frequent among these entering into casual marital relations.

—

## Houses of the Future

*Scientific American* gives a description of what the houses of the future will be like:

"Let us consider the home of 1950. It will be entirely different, both externally and internally, from our present-day home, just as the house of 19 was a vast improvement over that of the preceding generation. Other materials will be used: in place of wood, the framework will be of steel, which will do away with the architects' present problem of constructing substantial walls to support the floors and roof. Now the number and size of the windows must be carefully taken into consideration, for the window casings must be adequately reinforced. The future home will have no such problem: the architect will be able to give his imagination free rein in deciding just how much glass he wishes to use, both for decorative and utilitarian purposes."

Although glass will be used freely, there will be no windows as we know them. There will be no need for open apertures for light or ventilation—the application of the ultra-violet rays will cover these requirements. The materials used for finishing the structure will be made of specially prepared concrete or absorbent plaster, which will facilitate the heating and cooling of the interior of the house, without regard to the outdoor temperature. Double halls will be erected with a dead space between them, containing a good insulating material to conserve heat and deaden noises. Thus, what has been termed the "curse of city life," disturbing sounds, will be almost entirely done away with, giving nerve relief.

The elimination of windows, Dr. Rentschler feels, will be a very important factor in lowering our heat bills and in aiding our general health. Our present window panes have three times as much heat conduction as wall space of the same size, so that a great part of our heat goes through the pane itself. The glass used for our future homes will be specially treated to prevent this enormous waste.

Air will, of course, be artificially purified. It will not come from windows that open into the germ-laden, dust-bearing city atmosphere; it will be forced through pipes and chemically treated to remove dust and germs; it will be filtered and subjected to ultra-violet rays, and automatic ventilators will admit this purified air to our living rooms and offices. The ultra-violet will destroy any germs which may remain, and provide it with health-giving properties.

Every room will be supplied with the proper amount of ultra-violet essential for good health. Colds and other infectious and contagious diseases will be reduced to a minimum. Our rooms will not be too hot and humid in the summer; too cold and dry in the winter. We will be able to adjust the temperature and humidity at will. Do you wish to transport yourself, in your imagination, from the wintry North to the balmy South? The turn of a switch regulating the wall ventilators will provide the desired temperature. You may, at will, experience the sunny climate of California or the cold chill of the snow-capped mountains of the arctic regions—while you sit comfortably at your ease in your living room.

—

## Germany to Be the Standard of Disarmament

A writer urges in *Unity* that the German level of armaments should be made universal :

> Make the disarmament of Germany the standard. It is proposed that all the nations shall disarm down to the level of Germany. This will be the basis for discussion. the goal for action...Arguments for the proposal ;
>
> 1. Germany's disarmament has been regarded as nearly perfect. It was done by friends of the League of Nations, and with its approval.
>
> 2. It was done within three months after the signing of the Treaty. Hence, there need be little delay. Experts in disarmament have been in training, and therefore stand ready to do an effective operation in disarmament surgery.
>
> 3. Such disarmament of the nations is not only consistent with "national safety" but will increase such safety. Equality is the one element that creates the proper mentality to secure safety. If the nations were equalized down to Germany's level, the prospects for world peace would be bright.
>
> 4. If this is not done, Germany (including Austria and others) will strive to arm up to the level of the armed powers. Neither the Treaty nor moral law would seem to deny them this right. This would be a world-calamity.
>
> 5. Who has a better proposal for the Disarmament Conference ? Thus far, comparatively little progress has been made in securing disarmament. Substantial progress cannot be expected, unless there is set up the standard of disarmament of the defeated Powers.
>
> Only one thing would be better, and that is Total General Disarmament—which same could be done within a year, if the nations meant business—a year of *action*, with a moratorium on *words*.

—

## Language That Hides Thoughts

*The Catholic World* has a very interesting note on the vagueness of diplomatic and political diction, which recalls to it Talleyrand's dictum that language was meant to hide thought :

> Next, take international affairs. I read in the papers lately the following cryptic paragraph appropos of the return to Rome of Signor Grandi who came, talked with President Hoover, and went home happy. I call it cryptic because it conceals the truth behind a thick cloud of words. I know what the individual words mean ; they are all good English words. But I challenge any reader to say what lies hidden behind the words. Read them slowly and see if you know what the writer means. Mark you, what he means, not what he says.
>
> Signor Grandi is speaking to the reporters : "I am extremely satisfied," he says, "and I return to Italy with firmer confidence that the main international problems which await solution will be satisfactorily settled." There, I submit, is a formula that would tickle old Talleyrand, who declared that language was invented to conceal thought. It says nothing and says it sweetly and beautifully. The reporter has something to bring back to the editor and the editor has something to hand on to the public. It fills an allotted space, but of course it means nothing. Analyze it a little : "main international problems." What are they ? Which of them did he discuss ? What did he say about them ? What did Mr. Hoover say about them ? Did the Signor and the President agree ? How far ? Did they disagree ? On what matters ? If Grandi had told the reporters, "I said to Mr. Hoover 'It's a fine day' and Mr. Hoover said to me 'Yes, it's a fine day," we should know something of what passed between them. As it is, we know nothing. Since Grandi meant to tell us nothing, why didn't he say "I have nothing to tell." Why ? Because it's against the first rule of the game. Talleyrand does not permit a plain statement. The old fox taught his disciples : "Never say you have nothing to say. Say nothing but make it sound like something. This is diplomacy."
>
> But perhaps we picked out one especially meaningless sentence from the Grandi interview. Very well, try the next one. Again the words are Signor Grandi's : "I have been able to ascertain that the view-points of England and the United States are very similar ; thus there are three great Powers that can always be relied upon to work for peace and amity between nations."
>
> Now here, I grant you, we have a somewhat different sample of diplomatic language. Still the general vagueness remains : "the view-points of England and the United States." View-points on what ? On war debts ? Did Mr. Hoover tell Signor Grandi that we and England are agreed on war debts ? And if we are agreed, what is the agreement ? That they should be paid ? That they need not be paid ? That Germany must pay England, France and Italy, but that England, France and Italy need not pay us ? I would give fourteen cents (about half my liquid assets) to know if Mr. Hoover said that, as spokesman for the American people.
>
> But Signor Grandi didn't say it ! Well then what did he say ? He said that "there are three great powers that can always be relied upon to work for peace and amity." Here is the little something different. And here, it seems to me, Grandi would not get 100 per cent in an examination by Talleyrand. "Three great Powers" ? Which are they ? England, the United States and Italy ? And can France not be relied upon ? The inference is possible, in fact inevitable. Either that or France is not a "great Power." Was Signor Grandi taking a little back-handed swipe at France ? And did he and Mr. Hoover agree that Italy is *for* amity and France is *not* for amity ? We should like to know that. France would like to know that. When Premier Laval of France called on Mr. Hoover, did Mr. Hoover tell him that Italy could be relied on, France could not ?
>
> But nonsense, why keep asking questions the answers to which neither Laval nor Grandi will divulge ? As for Mr. Hoover divulging, did he ever yet divulge anything ?
>
> Now just by way of a sample, here is my idea of a statement that really states. The interview from now on is wholly imaginary. *The Reporters* : Signor Grandi, will you tell us what you discussed with the President ?" *Signor Grandi* : "We discussed war debts." *Reporters* : "What is Italy's war debt to the United Seates ? *Grandi* : "2 billion, 150 million dollars, to which, if you add 624 millions of interest already paid by the United States on what it borrowed to loan to Italy, you have the total, as of this date, of 2 billion 774 million dollars." *Reporters* : "That's quite a big gob of money, Signor." *Grandi* : "Yes, that's a good deal of money." *Reporters* : "And what did Mr. Hoover say about the 2 billion, 774 million ?" *Grandi* : "He said he would persuade your Congress to cancel it.' *Reporters* : "Did he by any chance, suggest that Italy should ease up on battleships and

other armaments and pay us what she saves on that?" *Grandi*: "I hardly remember if that came into the conversation. But if it did, it was quickly dropped." *Reporters*: "So Signor, you go home happy knowing that Uncle Sam will pay the 2 billion, 774 million?" *Grandi*: "Yes, that's it precisely."

Such, I say, is my idea of an honest interview. But when shall we have such interviews? Don't ask foolish questions. And besides, don't be impertinent. In a government of the people by the people and for the people, the part of the people is not to ask questions but to pay.

Yet I am ass enough to think and to say that I see no monstrous incongruity in the suggestion that when MacDonald of England, Laval of France and Grandi of Italy talked with the President, an official stenographer should have taken down the conversation, that it should have been read verbatim in the Senate and the House, and printed in the *Congresional Record*. All the old line diplomats will say "what a crazy idea! Telling the truth to the people!"

—

### Wars of the Future

Late in 1931, the Inter-Parliamentary Union organized an inquiry in Europe on "what would be the character of a new war." The result of this inquiry, by leading scientists, investigators and military strategists, has been embodied in a recently published book. A summary of these conclusions has been given by *The New Republic*, which shows that, according to the experts themselves, there is no hope for defence against the existing engines of war:

> The aeroplane, formerly a useful auxiliary to land and sea operations, is now "a hundred times more destructive than in 1918," according to the military authorities. To its vastly greater speed, cruising range and lifting power, is added the advantage of radio control. Pilotless aeroplanes will be, in effect, nothing but air-torpedoes. The Maxim silencer offers concealment; bombing by means of precision instruments avoids waste. In the meantime, the three types of bombs which may be discharged have also been thoroughly perfected: the incendiary bomb, weighing only a kilogram, capable of piercing steel, and developing a heat of 3,000° Fahrenheit; the explosive bomb, also greatly reduced in weight with respect to its destructive power; and most marvellously developed of all, the poison-gas bomb.
>
> At the direction of war departments throughout the world, animals with respiratory systems similar to that of *homeo sapiens*, goats, rabbits, dogs and guinea pigs, have been slaughtered in laboratories by the thousands so that a gas might be discovered which was cheap, odourless, invisible and also capable of penetrating any mask. In developing "Lewisite" particularly, as well as a great variety of other new gases, the more civilized nations of the world have kept abreast of each other in approaching this ideal. Therefore, the war departments of the Great Powers which are now holding conversations upon disarmament have each mapped out the other's capitals and industrial regions for purposes of attack.
>
> Let us visualize, for a moment, the surprise air attack as the military experts plan it. Instead of an entrenched army, a crowded metropolis would be the objective, with its skyscrapers, its canyon-like streets and subways, no longer protected by such oceans or mountains as once set barriers in the path of invasion. Its tall buildings would offer excellent targets for explosive and incendiary bombs which could easily be administered by a fleet of a hundred aeroplanes. The loosened and burning debris would topple into the streets, which would soon be choked with jammed automobiles, with terrified mobs, with the bodies of the multilated and dying. The subways, the subterranean passages under buildings, would offer no safety to the frenzied masses who would die like rats, as a "wave" of gas followed the bombardment and the fire. On the outskirts of the city, as well as in its heart, the monotonous and systematic destruction of factories, oil-tanks, power stations, water reservoirs and food stores would continue until nothing was left. Nothing save, perhaps, a few bank vaults.
>
> But could not the invading air squadron be warded off by powerful defensive strokes? The anti-aircraft gun, to be sure, has been greatly improved; yet experts consider it of only the slightest value. Again, a fleet of defending aeroplanes could take the air at the signal of alarm. But this, too, would offer, so far as we know, but little protection. The records of air attacks by the Allies in 1917-1918 upon the German base of Mannheim-Ludwigshafen, show that out of fifty-four raids in which whole squadrons of German planes took the defence, only seven forced engagements resulted, and only eight attacking planes were shot down. Only once was the enemy prevented from bombing the town. More recent maneouvers over London at night, by 250 aeroplanes, have revealed that the searchlights are all but useless. The air is still an "ocean."
>
> The gas attack—can any protection be devised against this? It has been proposed that millions of gas masks be distributed in the large cities; that the civilians be trained to obey signals of alarm and proceed to places of safety where purified air may be breathed. But the masks are costly, deteriorate quickly, must be of different construction for each of the gases employed. Finally, they would be of no avail against certain known gases, which even in minute quantities have a deadly effect. What would be needed would be diving suits. But even if the total population on the "home front" were given diving suits, how could they withstand the effects of some forty tons of "Diphenyl-cyanarsine," said to be enough to devastate all of London?

# GLEANINGS

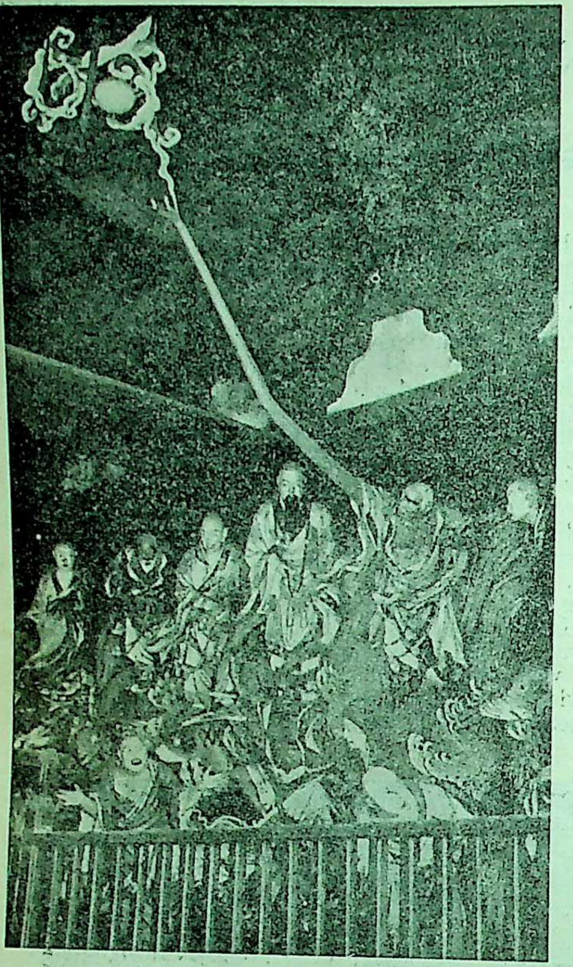
## The Five Hundred Lo-Han

Most people have heard of the Eighteen Lo-han, or Saints, of Chinese Buddhism, but it is probably a matter of less common knowledge that their number is sometimes increased to five hundred, when their images are given a special building, called the Lo-han Tang in many Buddhist temples in various parts of the country. We presume that there is a recognized and authentic list of these five hundred legendary or semi-legendary figures, even as there is of the usual eighteen, but we have been unable to locate it. It is said that certain foreigners who have visited China in the past are included in their number, one of these being the famous traveller Marco Polo. We can well believe this, for it must tax to the utmost the ingenuity of the makers of these five hundred images to find models for so varied an assortment of human types. Officials, priests, religious ascetics, warriors, criminals, mendicants—all are represented in their ranks.

Besides occurring as idols in temples, the Five Hundred Lo-han sometimes form a subject for the Chinese artist's brush, and we see them in pictures and scrolls thoroughly enjoying themselves amid delightful surroundings. The Lo-han, or *Arhats*, as they are often called, belong to the Hinayana school of Buddhism, and are supposed to have entered a state of secure self-complacency. As Reichelt says in his "Truth and Traditions in Chinese Buddhism": "They themselves were redeemed and renewed; not, however, for an active life of loving and merciful service, but for a life of pleasant contentment in undisturbed rest and well-being. It has therefore become a term of reviling among China's monks to say, 'He is a Lo-han.' It means he is a person who does not trouble himself over the needs of others."

In many temples or monasteries the figures of the Five Hundred Lo-han are of life size and are extremely well done, showing a wealth of detail in the modelling, while considerable sums are lavished on decorating them with gold leaf and magnificent

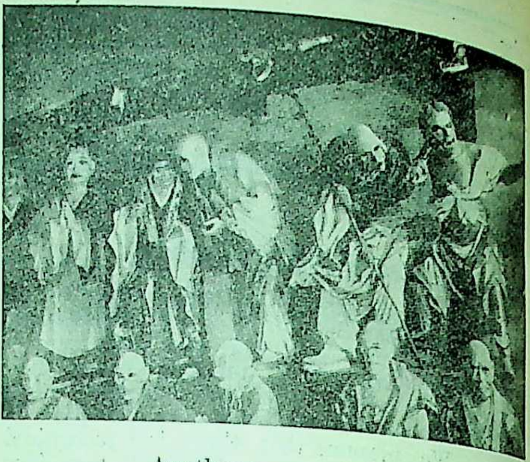
A Group of Lo-han Statues



The Five Hundred Lo-hans of Lo-han Tang
The elongated hand of one of the Lo-hans
is a peculiar feature

Some more Lo-hans

colours. The "Hall of Saints" is an important part of any temple or monastery, forming, as it invariably does, a great attraction to visitors.



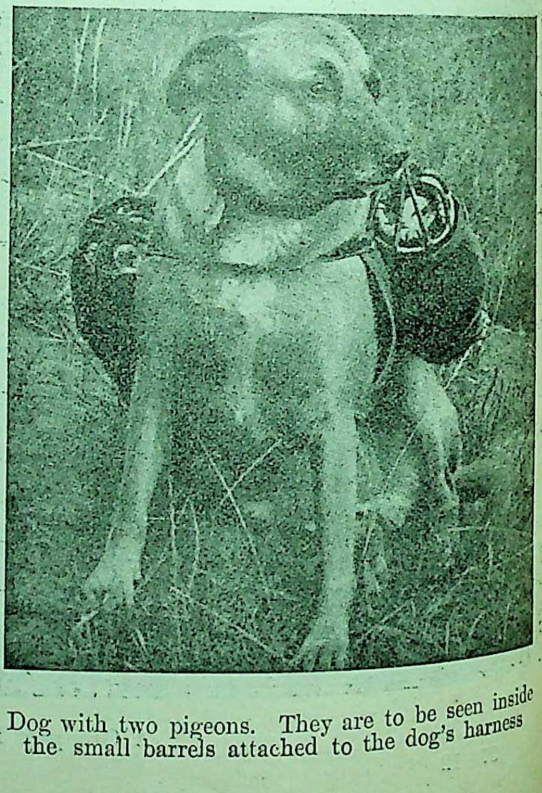
Another group of Lo-hans

The accompanying illustrations are from photographs taken by a young Chinese artist, named Ling Hsin Hsioh, in the Yuan T'ang Ssu, a large temple in the city of Yun-nan Fu, Yunnan Province, West China, where the figures of the Five Hundred Lo-han are amongst the finest to be seen in this country.

Indian artists also depicted, sometimes with a touch of irony, the religious devotees who had an easy time of it living on the bounty of the people, and pretending to be doing something supremely good. One of these pictures is reproduced on another page.

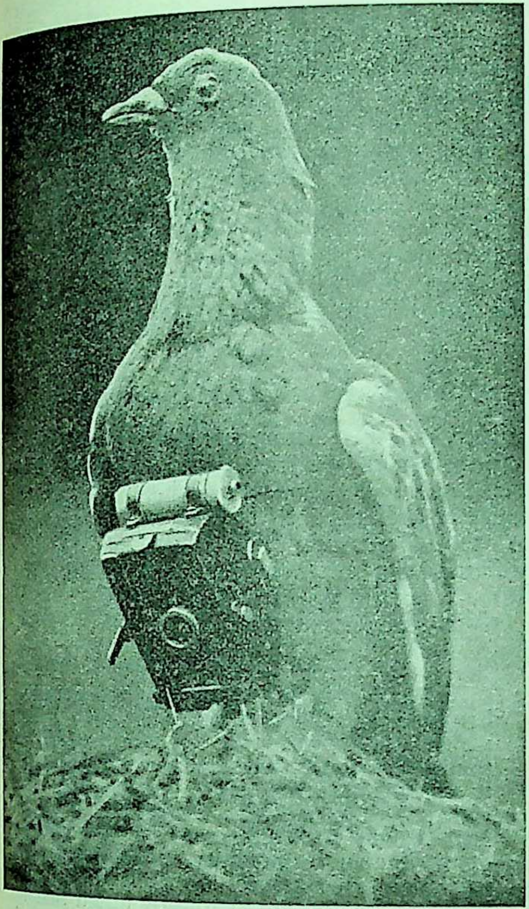
(*The China Journal*)

## Carrier Pigeons



Dog with two pigeons. They are to be seen inside the small barrels attached to the dog's harness

The use of carrier pigeons in war is both old and widespread. An important development in carrier pigeon training bas been the perfecting of a small, light camera which can be carried by the bird, and which automatically makes exposures at predetermined intervals. Dogs are used to carry these pigeons to the place from which they are to be released.

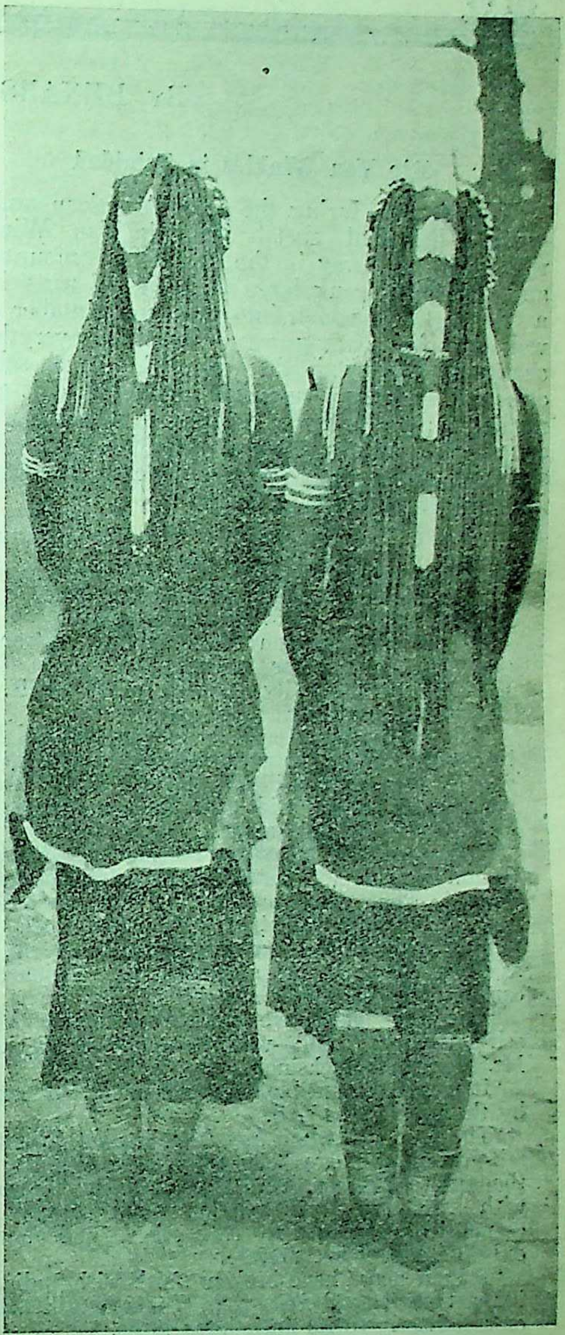


A carrier pigeon with a small camera fastened to its breast.

* * *

## Two Beauty Queens of the Island of Andara

The native women of the island of Andara do their hair in a peculiar way and wear a whole set of anklets.



Two Beauty Queens of Andara

# INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

## Rip Van Winkles in Trinidad

Washington Irving, the great American author, wrote a beautiful sketch of Rip Van Winkle, who wandered away in the Kaatskill mountains and stealthily drank large quantities of wine from a flagon till he fell into profound slumber and woke up after twenty years to find everything changed. We read the story in our school days and now we have been reminded of it after reading an account of a meeting of a literary and debating club in Couva, Trinidad. Here is a summary of the proceedings of the club reproduced from the *Guardian* of Trinidad :

> Couva.
>
> Members of the Couva Literary and Debating Club at a Round Table Conference decided that India is not yet ripe for self-government.
>
> The Hon'ble Sarran Teelucksingh, Patron of the Club, and other prominent members of the East Indian community, listened to the debate.
>
> Mr. T. E. Martin was Chairman.
>
> "The fact that India had been civilized long before the West, argued by the other side, is a greater reason why India should not have self-government today," said Mr. L. R. Lalsingh, who championed Britain's cause.
>
> "You were told that there are men like Mahatma Gandhi capable of watching over India's affairs," he said, "but you were not told that most of the leaders' views are diametrically opposite to each other.
>
> "Law and religion must go hand in hand, and as long there is no agreement in religion there can be no agreement in law."
>
> "Has the affirmative really considered what is self-government and what it stands for ?" asked Mr. Horace Teelucksingh.
>
> "It means responsible government, a government by the people," he said.
>
> "The people to whom my friends want to entrust self-government are 351 millions of souls with thousands of creeds, with 222 different languages, with diversity of religion and nearly all diametrically opposed to each other, and of which only 8 per cent are literate.
>
> "Britain may have broken faith with India, but it must be remembered that India is still holding on steadfastly to its antiquated ideas.
>
> "Britain will be like the father who gives his son, not yet grown up, a razor, if India be given self-government.
>
> "When British authority weakens in India the law of the jungle will take its place.
>
> "Civil war, bloodshed, carnage, and chaos will begin, and that will be the beginning and the end of self-government in India."

Evidently the race of Rip Van Winkles is not yet extinct and a number of them are still to be found in South America. The fact that Messrs. Lal singh and Teeluck Singh betrayed such amusing ignorance of the situation in India and took such a wrong view of it, shows clearly the evil effects of Anglo-Indian propaganda against us in America. It is high time that we organized an information bureau in India to keep our colonial friends in touch with the actual state of affairs in the motherland.

## Precarious Position of Indians Overseas

Mr. C. F. Andrews who has visited many parts of South Africa, where Indians reside, as well as those sections which lie on the east coast of Africa, has issued a lengthy statement to the Press describing the tale of disabilities suffered by our compatriots abroad. We give below a summary of his statement.

Mr. Andrews writes :

### LAND TENURE BILL

In South Africa the burning question of the day has been the Land Tenure Bill of the Transvaal which threatened once more a modified form of segregation under the new name of 'defined areas' in contradistinction from the last Bill which was called the 'Asiatic Class Areas Bill.' Though this Land Tenure Bill affects only the Transvaal portion of the Indian community, the Indians in Natal who form five-sixths of the whole Indian population in South Africa, are naturally afraid that if such a measure of segregation becomes law in the Transvaal, it is bound, sooner or later, to spread to Natal.

Whether the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference at Cape Town has been finally able to avert this disaster I am not able to say for certain at the time of writing ; for I have not yet been able to see the Agreement which was made between the two Governments, and I am also unware of the details concerning other matters, agreed upon verbally, which were not embodied in the Agreement itself. I hope however that this Land Tenure Bill may once again be postponed and put on the shelf, pending further inquiries into the whole question of Indian land holding in the Transvaal and the manner of their acquisition.

### ORDINANCES IN PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

In the past few weeks there have been various Ordinances, either proposed or passed into law which have very seriously injured the Indian interests both in Portuguese East Africa and in Tanganyika. It is not unlikely that if these disabilities were to remain, Kenya and Uganda would also be soon affected.

When I passed through Laurenco Marques and Beira I found the Indian traders and merchants very seriously disturbed by a proposal, which may very soon be passed into law, that wherever assistants were engaged in any trade or business in future, 75 per cent of these must be Portuguese subjects. Such a law would undoubtedly reduce the Indian population by at least half in Portuguese East Africa.

### 'Transvaal Influences'

When I inquired into the origin of this proposal I was told two things; firstly, that economic depression has very badly affected Portuguese East Africa and there are many unemployed Portuguese, and therefore it is thought desirable to give preference in employment to the Portuguese. Secondly, I was told on good authority that in Laurenco Marques the Transvaal spirit of discrimination against the Indians has, in recent years, become more and more marked. It was suggested to me that this new proposal emanated from Transvaal influences. It is quite deplorable that in a part of the world where Indians have been received hitherto on equal terms and with the utmost courtesy, there should creep in this Transvaal spirit which threatens to pervade the whole coast—Kenya, Tanganyika, Natal and Portuguese East Africa.

## Ordinances in Tanganyika

In Tanganyika, two new Ordinances have been already passed which are bound to have a most harmful effect upon the Indian community. In this territory nearly 90 per cent of the Indian immigrants belong to the Gujarati community, and practically the whole trade of Tanganyika is in their hands. Thus, these two Ordinances are likely to injure most of all those who have come to Tanganyika from Gujrat.

### Non-Native Poll Tax

The first of these is the 'Non-Native Poll Tax' which would undoubtedly injure those who are engaged in trade in Tanganyika, and are particularly the poorer members of the community. Although this tax is called a 'Poll Tax', it is really a sort of 'Income Tax' under which people are liable to pay anything from £2 to £200 per annum. Moreover, it is levied in a most arbitrary fashion, and the incidence of it does not fall equitably on the tax-payers. Individuals and corporations having income over £2,000 per annum are let off lighty and these mostly happen to be European officials and European firms. The Indians base their objection to this tax, apart from the inequality of its incidence and apart from the fact that at the present time of all-round economic depression it represents the last straw that would break the camel's back, on the ground that the Government could have and ought to have effected further economies in administrative expenditure.

### Trade Licensing Amendment Ordinance

The second Ordinance will probably, in the long run, do the most serious injury of all. It is called the 'Trade Licensing Amendment Ordinance.' It aims at giving a single trade license (*i. e.* a monopoly) to one person or company, enabling this person or company to have a monopoly of purchasing, in certain specified areas, native produce such as rice, maize, groundnuts, cotton, etc. The reason which the Government puts forward for creating these monopolies is that the Native is inclined merely to barter his produce with the Indian shop-keepers in return for cloth. He has, therefore, no cash wherewith to pay his 'hut tax' to the Government. The Government also allege that the native produce bought by the Indian shop-keepers is not properly graded for export and that the export trade of Tanganyika seriously suffers in consequence.

The Indians argue that a very large proportion of Natives are still at a stage of barter rather than of cash payments, and that it would be a serious injury to the Natives to cut out all barter at this early stage. Furthermore, monopolies will inevitably create low prices and the native growers would not get a full market value for their produce. As regards proper grading of the produce intended for export overseas the remedy is in the hands of the Administration. All produce could be graded at the ports of Tanganyika at a small cost prior to shipment to foreign countries. This has been done already in other countries (including Kenya) and could easily be also done in Tanganyika, It does not also necessarily follow that a single buyer operating over a monopolized area would pay more attention to the grading of produce than would a number of free traders.

### Dangers of Monopoly System

I regret to say that despite all protests and entreaties by the Indian community in Tanganyika, both the aforesaid Ordinances have been passed into law and are now in operation. When we remember that nearly 90 per cent of the trade of that territory is in Indian hands it will easily be seen how dangerous both these Ordinances are to Indian prosperity.

### In Kenya

In Mombasa I found that the different commissions of inquiry had left all kinds of unsolved problems behind them, and that the Indian community was in great uncertainty in regard to its own future. At one time, it seemed almost certain that a common electoral roll would be instituted in Kenya in accordance with the recommendations of more than one Royal Commission. But, as I have pointed out in my previous article, the permanent officials at the Colonial Office have so far yielded again and again to the veiled and open threats made from time to time by the European settlers in Kenya, and no definite action has so far been taken in this connection. The Indian community has been confused and even divided by the different political questions which have arisen in the train of these Royal Commistions, and, in addition to this, there have been personal rivalries which have considerably added to the confusion.

As I have often said, all other problems in Kenya oscillate round the central problem of franchise, and India should do everything in her power to prevail upon the Colonial Office in London to implement a common electoral roll in that territory at an early date. Granted a common franchise, all other political problems facing the community would permit of an eventual solution.

Mr. Andrews has ended his statement with these words :

### PRECARIOUS POSITION OF INDIANS

One thing in this connection has made me extremely anxious and is noteworthy in India. Although I have been a keen student of East African Indian questions, all this new legislation was entirely unknown to me. It is quite possible that I should have heard nothing about it if I had not happened to visit these parts on my way back to South Africa. I found also that the members of the South African Indian Delegation had received very little knowledge and information about these Ordinances. This shows how very precarious the position of Indians Overseas has become. There is no directly responsible Indian Agent, such as an Indian Consul, at Laurenco Marques ; there is also no Indian Trade Commissioner at Mombasa or Dares-es-Salaam, who could immediately cable to India itself the news of all repressive legislation adversely affecting nearly the whole of the Indian population in those territories. I am afraid that if these Ordinances become permanent, the Indian population in East Africa, south of Kenya, may be reduced by at least 50 per cent in the course of another five years, for they would find it utterly impossible to carry on a profitable trade in the face of such disabilities.

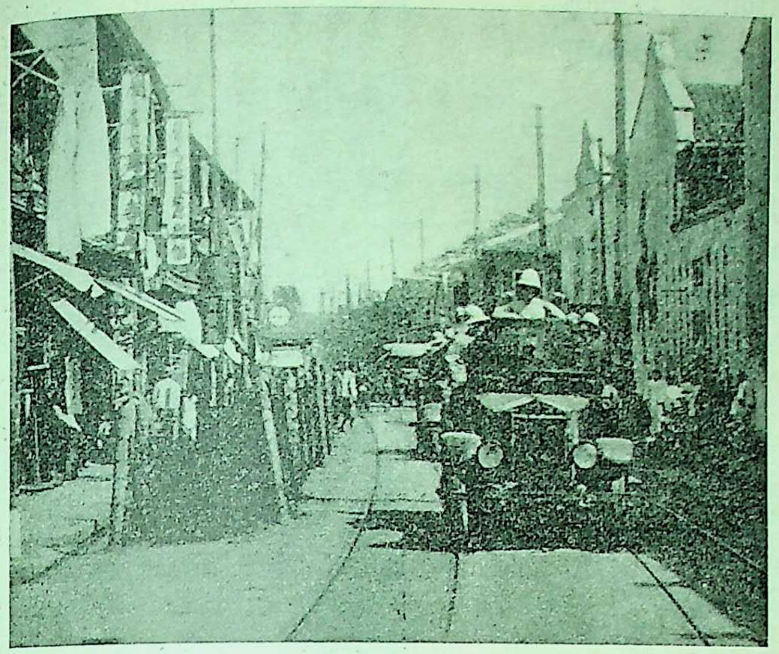
We agree with Mr. Andrews so far as the question of having Indian agents or Indian consuls in the different territories are concerned, but we would request him to enlighten us on a few questions. He refers to the ignorance in India about these problems. Is it not principally due to the negligence of the Indian communities settled abroad ? What efforts have they made to keep us regularly informed here about the state of affairs in their parts ? Has our people in any of these colonies ever made any serious attempt to keep us posted with up-to-date information ? The Indian community at Dar-es-Salaam in Tanganyika wastes thousands of shillings per month in litigation, but has it ever thought of opening an information bureau in Bombay ? No doubt, our people in South and East Africa have sent one or two deputations to India, and these have done some publicity work in a haphazard manner. After addressing a few meetings in big cities, interviewing some influential leaders who are too busy with home affairs in India to give much time to their problems in the colonies, and after meeting the Viceroy these deputations have returned to their respective colonies without establishing any real living connection between India and her sons abroad. The first thing that we have to teach our people overseas is a lesson in self-reliance. Let them organize their resources without expecting any help from India in her present condition. Let them join together to open a sort of colonial bureau in Bombay and keep some colonial Indians in charge of it. Is that impossible ? Mr. Andrews says that the Indian population will be reduced by at least fifty per cent in the course of another five years if the repressive ordinances become permanent. Can there be greater danger than this ? How are our people in Africa going to face it? To wait for the appointment of Indian agents, consuls and trade commissioners for the redress of their grievances will be a suicidal policy. The public opinion in India will, no doubt, exert considerable influence ultimately in settling these matters satisfactorily, but to organize this public opinion is a tremendous task, which cannot be accomplished by the spasmodic efforts of a few overworked well-wishers of Indians abroad.

## ERRATA

Page 322, Col. 2, line 7,
*Read* Sudhendu Kumar Das, M.A., PH. D.
*instead of*
Saroj Kumar Das

Page 385, heading
*Read* U. C. Chopra *instead of* N. C. Chopra

# THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR



Japanese armoured cars in Shanghai

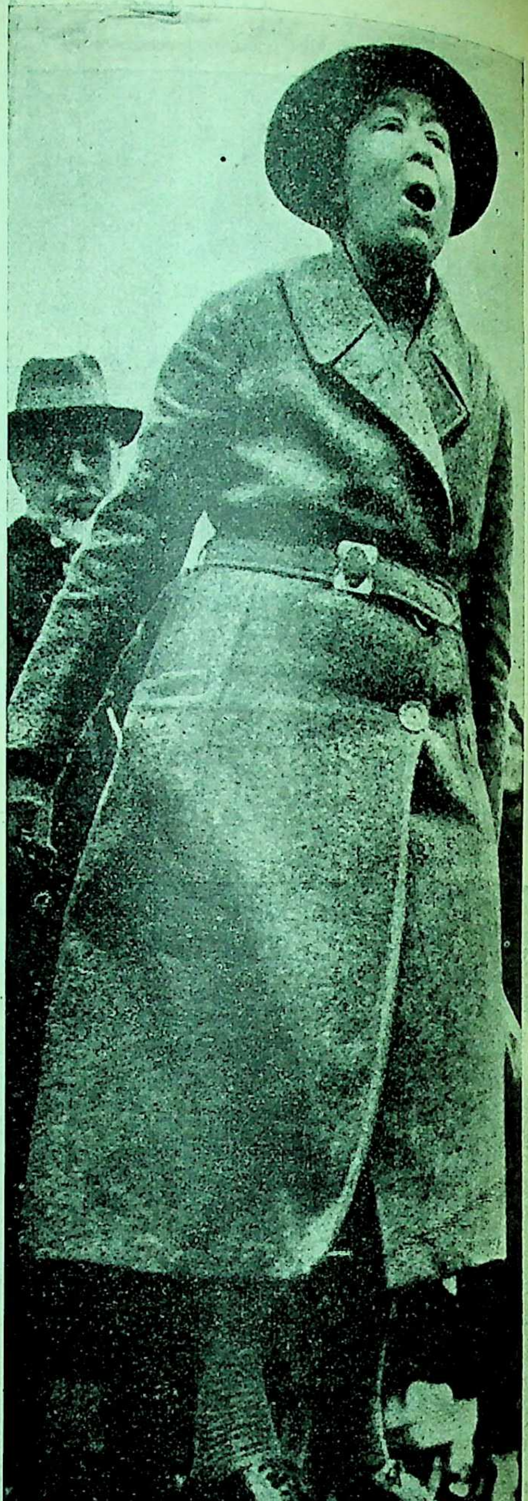
Chinese girls at a mass meeting in Shanghai, where they urged their leaders to fight the Japanese in Manchuria

*Right*

THE EMINENT BRITISH FEMINIST,
MISS E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

is protesting at a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square against "Britain's policy of regression in India"

*(See Notes)*



General Honjo, the Commandea-in-Chief of the Japanese forces with the Japanese Minister of War

# NOTES

## *Goethe Centenary*

Goethe died a hundred years ago on the 22nd March. His centenary is being celebrated in Germany on a grand scale. Many other nations also have expressed their appreciation of the great German poet. In Bengal the Bangiya Goethe Smriti Parishad (the Bengali Goethe Memorial Society) has issued a manifesto to the people over the signatures of some hundred and fifty men and women of Calcutta and different districts, headed by its president, Rabindranath Tagore. The following cable of the Parishad has been sent by him to the President of the German Republic :

> "Reichspraesident Von Hindenburg, Berlin. Bengalische Goethefeier Gesselschaft feirt den hundersten Todestag Goethes und erlaubt sich das Deutsche Volk zu begruessen. Rabindranath Tagore, Praesident."

The cable means :

> "Bengali Goethe Memorial Society celebrates the hundredth death anniversary of Goethe and offers greetings to the German people."

The celebration took the form of a small gathering in the committee room of the Albert Hall, Calcutta.

According to Prof. Edward Dowden, in Chambers' Encyclopaedia, Goethe's influence has affected every civilized people, and seems still on the increase.

> "His teaching has been styled the creed of culture ; it is rather the creed of self-development with a view to usefulness—usefulness to be effected by activity within wise limits."

Goethe's greatest work, *Faust*, occupied him much during the closing years of his life. By August 1831, when he was past eighty, it was at length complete.

> "The hero Faust," says Dowden, "leaving behind his first unhappy passion, advances through all forms of culture—statecraft, science, art, war—to the final and simple wisdom of disinterested service rendered to his fellow-men. Such a spirit cannot fall into the power of Mephistopheles, the demon of negation. His soul is received into Paradise and is purified by love."

Just like his hero Faust, Goethe advanced during his long life through all forms of culture. "Oeser," he wrote, "taught me that the ideal of beauty is simplicity and repose." He made a study of alchemy and was a deeply-interested student of Gothic architecture. He also earnestly devoted himself to chemistry, anatomy, literature, antiquities, and law, which last was his proper study and in which took his doctor's degree. Though admitted an advocate, he "had no heart in his profession. His creative genius was fully roused, and when he read Shakespeare he felt himself moved to something like rivalry." He gave himself to the study of physiognomy for some time. The most powerful of influences on Goethe's mind derived from books was that of the works of Spinoza, whose *Ethics* sustained and calmed Goethe's spirit in the midst of its various agitations and helped to give a unity to his life.

When at Weimar, he was made a member of the privy council. He performed all his public duties with masterly intelligence and a rare thoroughness.

> "He superintended mines, saw to public roads and buildings, regulated finance, conducted military and university affairs, elevated the theatrical performances, in every direction making the influence of his mind felt."

During his residence at Weimar Goethe's mind felt attracted to the definite and the real, to the study of geology and mineralogy, botany, and comparative anatomy.

> "His discovery of the intermaxillary bone in man (1784), and his theory of later date that all the parts of a plant are variations of a type which is most clearly seen in the leaf, show how his observing powers were aided by his imagination, and place him among the scientific forerunners of those great thinkers who have set forth the doctrine of evolution."

He attempted seriously to draw but only with moderate success. He took interest in university reform at Jena.

All through his life science and art continued to interest Goethe profoundly. A universal electicism is the characteristic of his mind in its latest development. He published two volumes on light and colour.

> "His remarkable essay on the metamorphosis of of plants was given to the printer in 1790, and when at Venice in May he suddenly struck out his much-discussed theory of the vertebral structure of skulls."

According to Professor J. G. Robertson, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica,

> "His scientific studies and discoveries awaken only an historical interest. We marvel at the obstinacy with which he, with inadequate mathematical knowledge, opposed the Newtonian theory of light and colour; and at his championship of 'Neptunism,' the theory of aqueous origin, as opposed to 'Vulcanism,' that of igneous origin of the earth's crust. Of far-reaching importance was, on the other hand, his foreshadowing of the Darwinian theory in his works on the metamorphosis of plants and on animal morphology……Modern, too, was the outlook of the ageing poet on the changing social conditions of the age, wonderfully sympathetic his attitude towards modern industry, which steam was just beginning to establish on a new basis, and towards modern democracy."

Goethe's military experience was sufficient for purposes of "culture" and the insight into every phase of human activity necessary for an author of his wide literary range.

> "In 1792 Goethe accompanied the duke [of Weimar] on the disastrous campaign against the French; he heard the cannonade of Valmy, and went under fire in order to study his own sensations. Next year he was present at the siege of Mainz, and watched the French garrison march out. He has recorded his experiences and observations in an admirable narrative."

Goethe was above all a poet, dramatist, novelist and philosopher. The crowning achievement of his literary life was the completion of *Faust,* which has been well called the "divine comedy" of the 18th century humanism. It forms a worthy close to the literary life of Germany's greatest man of letters.

> "He was the last of those universal minds which have been able to compass all domains of human activity and knowledge; for he stood on the brink of an era of rapidly expanding knowledge which has made for ever impossible the universality of interest and sympathy which distinguished him."

According to competent authorities, it is as a lyric poet that Goethe's supremacy is least likely to be challenged. He has given his nation its greatest songs. His novel of *Wilhelm Meister* was begun in 1777. It was designed to show how the vague strivings of youth may be ennobled by their transition into definite and useful activity. The later books of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* are written on a diminished scale as compared with the earlier. "It may be said more than any other work of Goethe to exhibit his criticism on life." *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre,* a continuation of the *Lehrjahre,* was published in 1821. It included many short tales that hang loosely together. "Here Goethe sets forth an ideal of education, and inculcates the duty of reverence, helpful human toil and brotherhood." The book was recast and was finished in this second form in February 1829.

> "In 1808-9 was written the novel, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (Elective Affinities). It contrasts characters of self-control with characters of impulse, is disinterestedly just to both, insists on the duty of renunciation, and shows the tragic consequences of infidelity of heart in married life."

In our days the question might be asked whether Goethe was a Nationalist or an Internationalist, a patriot or a "humanist." Professor Dowden says that Goethe "has been blamed for lack of patriotism; but in a thoughtful kind of patriotism, he was not deficient, his age and habits of mind forbade patriotism of a passionate, demonstrative nature."

## *Rabindranath Tagore on Goethe*

In the March number of *India and the World,* its editor Professor Kalidas Nag has published what Rabindranath Tagore told him in relation to Goethe in the course of an interview. The Poet said :

> "I love Goethe and I have already sent my homage of love to the World Goethe Honouring Committee. . . .People do not know that years ago, during my early youthful ventures in journalism, I published an appreciative article on Goethe in Bengali. . . . . I once took seriously to the study of the German poets in the original and some of the lyrics of Goethe and Heine were my real favourites. Many of my friends will be surprised to know that I could, and actually did, sing once the famous *Adelaide* of Goethe accompained on the piano by my niece, Indira : and in those days, classical German music, Beethoven, Schubert, etc., were not unfamiliar to the musical devotees of our family. . . . Later on in my mature literary criticisms, I have appreciated and adjudged Goethe as one of the greatest creative critics of literature. That is how he could discover the deathless charm of *Sakuntala*, the dramatic masterpiece of our Kalidasa."

### *Goethe and India*

Goethe's verses on Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, translated as follows, are well known :

> "Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
> And the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charm'd,
> enraptured, feasted, fed ?
> Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself
> In one sole name combine ?
> I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all
> at once is said."

Goethe expressed his admiration in these lines immediately on reading a translation of the Sanskrit drama. Later in life, when he was past eighty, on receiving from the French scholar de Chézy the first edition of the original with a French translation, the great German poet thanked him in an enthusiastic letter which sounds like an enlarged paraphrase of that epigram, writes Professor Heinrich Meyer-Benfey in his contribution to *The Golden Book of Tagore* on Goethe and India. The Professor gives the following English translation of the relevant portion of Goethe's letter :

> "When I first became acquainted with this unfathomable work, it aroused such enthusiasm in me, it attracted me so that I could not forbear studying it. I even felt impelled to the impossible task of acquiring it for the German stage. Through these endeavours, fruitless though they were, I became so intimately familiar with this most precious work, it has marked such an epoch in my life, it has become so entirely my own that I have not once looked either at the English or at the German text these thirty years. It is only now that I realize the overwhelming impression that work has made on me at an earlier age. Here the poet appears in his highest function as the representative of the most natural state, of the most refined form of life, of the purest moral striving, of the worthiest majesty and the most solemn contemplation of God ; at the same time he is lord and master of his creation to so great an extent that he may venture vulgar and ludicrous contrasts which yet must be regarded as necessary links of the whole organization. ...I will break off and only repeat the statement : that your *Sakuntala* must be reckoned among the most beautiful of the stars which make my nights more splendid than my day."

Prof. Meyer-Benfey tells us in his Golden Book of Tagore article that Goethe was delighted by the harmonious beauty and lyrical intensity of the Indian masterpieces of epics and *kavya*, but he did not care for *Hitopadesa* and philosophy, nor was he interested in Indian mythology and sculpture. But in his youth, from travellers' accounts, he gathered the story of Rama and other epic tales, and, being a story-teller from his childhood, he regaled his youthful public by telling them the story of Hanuman, the master-monkey ( he found the name spelt Hannemann in German ! ). Through translations he was acquainted with the *Megha-duta*, welcoming it as "a great treasure," was deeply impressed by the *Gita-govinda*, and expressed his appreciation of some fragments of the *Mahabharata* (the story of Nala) and the *Ramayana*.

Professor Meyer-Benfey tells of two Indian ballads by Goethe. The first, published in 1797, was named *The God and the Bayadere*.

> "Goethe gave the story as he found it in his source, the account of an old traveller (Sonnerat ?), and I do not know its origin. Vishnu in one of his avatars meets a bayadere (*deva-dasi*, nautch-girl), enters her house and is well received. In the morning she finds him dead at her side, and she is so filled with his love that she feels herself his wife and throws herself on the funeral pile to die after him. Then the God arises from the flame and takes her with him into his heaven. Goethe unvoluntarily gives the story a slight Christian note ("God rejoices over penitent sinners"), but his principal aim is to demonstrate the deep human meaning of the Indian tale : the apotheosis of faithfulness unto death in a woman from whom it is neither demanded nor expected."

Goethe's "second and sublimest Indian ballad *The Pariah*" was published in 1824. "Just before *The Pariah* had been introduced to the French and the German stages."

> "The poem illustrates the truth that before God no human distinction of rank and worth can stand, that all states, all classes of society are alike near his heart and have the same claim on his mercy. The principal poem is encompassed by two prayers which refer to the former ballad. The bayaderes having got their divine representative, the pariyah claims the same favour for himself, and it is granted him by the miraculous event that forms the subject of the "legend." This Goethe has taken from the same traveller, but here we can trace it back to the *Mahabharata*."

We are not told what the legend is.

## *Is it Parole?*

From almost the beginning the present Civil Disobedience movement news have been published in the papers of certain civil disobedience prisoners, including some well-known leaders, being released and conditions being imposed on them that they must report themselves twice or once daily or weekly to the police, that they must not take any part in the movement, and the like. It has also been reported in the newspapers very frequently that the persons released not having observed the conditions imposed on them, they were tried and awarded heavier sentences than what they had originally been serving.

Now, the questions which arise are: when these persons were released, were they told before their release that their release was conditional, were the conditions communicated to them, did they agree to observe those conditions, and were they then released? In not a single instance has it been reported that any imprisoned leader or any *satyagrahi* of the rank and file was released after his acceptance of conditions like those described above. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that the conditions were imposed on them after their release.

Such being the case, it is a gross misuse of the word *parole* to describe the release of these prisoners as release on parole. It is much to be regretted that even Indian-owned and Indian-edited papers have been repeatedly making a wrong use of the word. English being to all of us a foreign tongue, we would not certainly have attached any importance to the matter if it had been merely a case of an incorrect use of an English word. But it is not a mere verbal inaccuracy. The use of the word *parole* implies that the persons released have been guilty of breaking their word of honour to observe certain conditions. As they have not obviously been guilty of such dishonourable conduct, it is very unjust to them even to unintentionally imply that they have been so guilty.

We hope to be excused for quoting here the dictionary meaning of the word parole.

> "Word of promise; word of honor; plighted faith; esp., *Mil.*, promise of a prisoner of war upon his faith and honor to fulfil stated conditions as not to bear arms against his captors, to return to custody, or the like, in consideration of special privileges, usually release from captivity; also, the condition of being upon parole."—*Webster.*

## *Reminiscent of "Cat and Mouse Act"*

In the current *Chaitra* number of the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* (published on the 13th March last), we have pointed out that the so-called "release on parole" of many civil disobedience prisoners is reminiscent of the British "Cat and Mouse Act." As the reader is aware, to play cat and mouse with a person is to pretend constantly to let him go while he is in one's power, but not actually to do so. The British "Cat and Mouse Act" was so named from this meaning of the phrase "to play cat and mouse." Brewer writes:

> During the Suffragete disturbances in England an Act was passed with the object of rendering nugatory the tactics of imprisoned suffragetes who went on "hungerstrike" with the intention of reducing themselves to such a state of ill-health that the authorities would be bound to release them or let them die. Under this Act such "hunger-strikers" could be set at liberty, but were liable to re-arrest as soon as they were sufficiently recovered to undergo the remainder of their sentence. The Act was not particularly successful.

The Indian civil disobedience prisoners who are released on so-called parole are set at liberty, not because of hungerstrike, but for other reasons which we cannot exactly guess. But the result of their release generally is that they break the conditions imposed on them presumably against their will, and consequently they are punished more severely than they were for their original technical offence.

## *Ranchi Indian Mental Hospital*

It is stated in the annual report on the working of the Ranchi Indian Mental Hospital for the year 1930 that the ratio per cent of cases "cured" to the total admissions was 23.49 among men and 22.22 among women.

As regards treatment of mental condition the following are worthy of note :

> (i) *Hydrotherapy (prolonged bath).*—During the year under report 69 cases were given this treatment as against 43 in the previous year. The average number of hours of immersion per patient was 146. The result of the treatment was most encouraging.
>
> (ii) *Dietetic.*—Special attention is paid to the proper dieting of patients of this hospital, as a well-balanced nourishing diet largely helps the recovery rate.
>
> *Artificial feeding.*—Cases refusing food were spoon-fed by nurses and attendants, recourse to artificial feeding being resorted to in the few special cases exhibiting active refusal to food.
>
> We have many stuporous cases of various degrees which often require artificial feeding by tube either per nose, mouth or rectum, and I should like to mention one case of benign stupor that was kept alive for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years by nasal feeding twice daily.
>
> (iii) *Occupational therapy.*—This therapy is the sheet-anchor of our treatment in this hospital, and has been carried out as vigorously as before. Patients of both sexes are suitably employed chiefly in gardening, weaving, cane and bamboo work, smithy, carpentry, tailoring, cobbling, mending clothes, mattress and pillow-making, lace-making, knitting, embroidery work, domestic and office work, etc., etc. The patients' labour is fully utilized towards supplying the needs of the hospital. Jharans, dusooti cloth, bandage cloth, *asans* and many other useful articles required for the hospital are manufactured in the occupational therapy classes.
>
> The vegetable garden of this hospital is entirely run by the patients' labour and the hospital is entirely self-supporting as regards its vegetable and fruit supply.

The greatest stress is rightly laid on *occupational therapy.*

> (vi) *Physiotherapy.*—Strictest attention is paid in this hospital to correct all physical defects before an attempt is made to explore the psychological defects. Tonsils, nasal sinuses, adenoids, eyes, ears, etc., are contributory causes to mental derangement when they are defective. Therefore on admission of a patient all physical avenues which are believed to contribute smaller or larger share in the causation of mental diseases are thoroughly explored.
>
> *Teeth.*—(*a*) The services of a wholetime dentist on the staff are desirable but funds have not been forthcoming.

Drugs are also used with varying results. There are sports and amusements. Musical and other entertainments are provided. There are feasts, picnics and drives. There is a patients' library, which keeps books, periodicals and newspapers.

## *Prof. Meghnad Saha on How to Combat Floods*

In his article on the subject in our last February number, Professor Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., has made certain suggestions as to how catastrophic floods in Bengal may be combated. These deserve serious consideration on the part of the Government and the public. In order that his suggestions may receive the attention of as large a number of persons as possible, we have sent copies of the February number to the Editors of the Indian dailies and weeklies of Bengal conducted in Bengali and in English, with a letter to them requesting that they may be good enough to invite their readers' attention to the subject. When catastrophic floods occur and devastate large areas, it is both natural and humane to try to alleviate the distress caused thereby. But it is also necessary to try to find out and adopt means whereby a more permanent remedy may be applied. That is the laudable object with which Professor Meghnad Saha has written his article. He is qualified to write on this subject, not merely by virtue of his scientific eminence, but also because he has studied the subject as a native of the flooded regions and as the principal co-worker of Sir P. C. Ray in the relief measures adopted on the last occasion but one when North Bengal was devastated by floods.

## *Hindu Widow's Inheritance*

It is not true that all Hindu widows are helpless or oppressed, nor is it true that none are. Discussions as to whether they are miserable or not, or what proportion of them may be so, ought not to be allowed to obscure the principle that a state of dependence is not conducive to the growth of human personality and the greatest usefulness of any person or class. Therefore, whether Hindu widows are oppressed or not, they are entitled to be made self-reliant. Even those who, like us, are not lawyers, know from the works of Rammohun Roy that many of the old Hindu lawgivers were more just to women, whether widows or not, as regards inheritance than what at present goes under the name of Hindu law is. Why not at least restore these ancient rights to Hindu women? On the merits of the details of Rai Saheb Har Bilas Sarda's Bill relating to their rights we are unable to pronounce any opinion. But we think the Assembly was not justified in rejecting Mr. Sarda's motion to refer it to a select committee. When Mr. Amarnath Dutt opposed the Bill on the ground of his faith in the wisdom of the Rishis of old, he mistook the present custom to exclusively represent that wisdom.

### *Calcutta Corporation Under the Congress*

The following comparative table has appeared in *Liberty*:

> The Congress came into power in the Calcutta Corporation in 1923, and its work in municipal administration of the city will be judged from a comparative study of the following figures:

EDUCATION

| | 1923-24 | 1930-31 |
|---|---|---|
| No. of Primary Schools | 21 | 220 |
| No. of pupils | 2,468 | 27,802 |
| Total Expenditure of Education | Rs. 1,45,000 | Rs. 10,36,000 |

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL RELIEF

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total expenditure | Rs. 8,62,000 | Rs. 16,54,000 |

WATER SUPPLY

| | 1923-24 | 1930-31 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unfiltered Water | 31¾ million | 46½ million | gallons daily. |
| Filtered Water | 36¾ ,, | 55½ | ,, |

FINANCES

| | 1923-24 | 1930-31 |
|---|---|---|
| Revenue | Rs. 2,15,17,000 | Rs. 3,02,40,000. |
| Expenditures | Rs. 1,74,07,000 | Rs. 2,34,49,000 |
| | 84 p. c. of receipt | 76 p. c. of receipt. |
| Balance at the end of year | Rs. 41,60,000 | Rs. 67,91,000. |

In this connection the following figures may be noted:—

POPULATION

| 1923-24 | 1930-31 |
|---|---|
| 9,07,851 | 1,196,668 |
| | Hindus—8,21,270 |
| | Moslems—3,11,087 |
| | Christian, etc.— 46,872 |

### *Fascist Menace to Freedom of Thought and Teaching*

*India To-morrow* has reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* a letter in which nineteen professors of the University of Manchester state:

> We, the undersigned, who are teachers in the University of Manchester, have learned with the gravest apprehension that the Italian Government, by its decree of October 8 of this year, is about to exact from University professors and lecturers a stringent oath of allegiance to the Fascist regime. How complete is the constraint which the oath, under an appearance of formality, imposes upon their minds will best be understood if we quote its actual words. They are as follows:
>
> "I swear allegiance to the King, his royal successors, and to the Fascist regime. I promise loyally to obey the Constitution and the other laws of the State, to teach and to fulfil all other academic duties with the purpose of educating honest citizens, faithful to the country and to the *Fascist regime*. I answer not to belong, at present or in the future, to such associations or parties the activities of which cannot be reconciled with the duties of my office."
>
> There is nothing which the academic teacher rates more highly than his freedom of thought and of teaching. To bind him to conformity with one kind of political faith is to sap the sources of his strength and to exclude from the academic profession some of the best, because the most independent, minds. We hope it is not too late to reconsider this measure. We believe that the Italian professors whose protest you published in your issue of November 13 have with them the sympathies of their English colleagues, and they certainly have ours.

The Italian professors have our sympathy, too, whatever it may be worth.

### *Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Ninetieth Birthday*

The ninetieth birthday of the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland was celebrated on the 11th February last at his son's home in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where the latter, Dr. E. R. Sunderland, is Professor of Law in the University of Michigan. Thousands of this good and great old man's friends and others who had benefited by his spiritual ministrations sent him messages of congratulation. As he is one of the truest and greatest friends of India, natives of India, particularly students, residing in the United States of America, were among those who sent their loving and respectful greetings to him. Besides individual greetings from such of our countrymen, including Dr. Taraknath Das (and Mrs. Das), the India community of New York City commemorated the occasion by presenting him with a beautiful Loving

Cup, finely inscribed, in recognition of his service to India. The Editor of this monthly sent him his respectful greetings and good wishes both by cable and letter.

For more than half a century Dr. Sunderland has strenuously championed the causes of freedom and human brotherhood and world peace. He has striven throughout his long life to promote friendly understanding between the West and the East—particularly between America and the Orient. He is a distinguished biblical scholar and has written a standard work on the origin and character of the Bible. In more than one work of his he has shown that there is no necessary conflict between religion and science. He has been able to do so, because he is not a believer in the verbal and literal inspiration and infallibility of any scripture. His religious views are liberal and rational and free from any trace of bigotry, as his recent article on the seven religions of the world in this magazine shows.

Dr. Taraknath Das informs us that this indefatigable friend of India is now busy revising his book *India in Bondage*, which was first published in Calcutta but banned by the Government after the firm of R. Chatterjee had lost more than Rs. 5,000 in fines and forfeiture of copies of the book and incidental expenses. The book was subsequently published in America by Lewis Copeland and Co., and had a wide sale. The author is now preparing a second edition for the American public. It was announced in *The Modern Review* last year that a British edition of the book, with an introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews, would be published during the session of the second Round Table Conference. A well-known British publishing firm whose name we mentioned had agreed to bring out this work. But for unknown reasons the book was not published—perhaps Mr. C. F. Andrews would be able to tell what the reason was. A French edition was published in Paris some months ago.

It may be mentioned here incidentally that a letter relating to Dr. Sunderland's 90th birthday celebrations was sent to us from New York by Air Mail registered on the 10th February last. It reached Calcutta on the 29th February. According to the post mark, it ought to have been delivered to us on that day by the 10 A. M. delivery. But we got it on the 1st March. If it had been delivered to us by the post office on the 29th February, as it ought to have been, what we are writing for the April issue could have appeared in the March number.

## *Those Haggling Princes*

It is not the first time that the ruling princes have demanded that they should be given 50 per cent of the seats in the Central or Federal Legislature, if their States are to federate with the British-ruled provinces of India. As we have subjected their claims to detailed criticism in our article on the "Coming Federal Legislature" in our last number, we need not repeat our arguments and observations. Excluding Burma the Indian Empire contains a population of 337,923,000. The Indian States contain 79,937,000 inhabitants. So their population is less than 25 per cent of the total population of India. Hence the Princes' claim must be based on the axiomatic truth that they and their despotically ruled subjects are, man for man, more than twice as important as the contemptible plebeians of British-ruled India! The Princes are in fact all supermen.

## *Effective Crushing of Gandhi*

On his return from America to England Mr. Winston Churchill has delivered his ultimatum in the modest sentence, "The prelude to the constitutional reform in India must be an effective crushing of Mr. Gandhi and all he stood for." As Mr. Gandhi is mortal like all human beings, it would not be at all difficult to crush what is physical and perishable in him. But crushing "all he stood for" is altogether a different proposition. It simply can't be done. Mr. Gandhi, like many a lesser Indian, stands for the perfect citizenship of Indians—for their unfettered freedom to do what they think necessary for the good of themselves and mankind at large. This ideal, this aspiration, cannot be crushed. The only wise thing to do about it, is to help its realization and fulfilment. Any effort in the contrary direction is bound to fail, if not also to strengthen the hold of the ideal on all those who cherish it more than their heart's blood.

## *The Sino-Japanese Situation*

A few days ago there seemed to be some hope of an understanding being arrived at between China and Japan. But that hope has vanished for the moment. The following paragraph from *The New Republic* of February 24 may not, therefore, appear untimely :

> The situation at Shanghai is a horrible mess, and one which grows worse from day to day. Even from the point of view of Japanese themselves it is a ghastly failure ; if they had achieved their objective within a few hours or days, and with a minimum loss of life, their position would have been no better in the eyes of the world, but at least the official explanations offered to the Japanese people would have been more plausible. As things are, they have bungled as badly in the military aspect of things as in every other. This is partly due to the superiority of land forts over warships, which was demonstrated during the Great War at Gallipoli, partly to other advantages which the terrain gives to the Chinese, but perhaps chiefly to the latter's momentary overwhelming numerical superiority plus the valuable tactics in which they have been trained recently by German instructors. But the net result of it all is an obscene spectacle : it is like a man trying to kill his wife with a club, in the middle of Fifth Avenue, while a great crowd of spectators looks on and she refuses to die. In the end the Japanese will probably win their limited objectives, unless their country is prostrated by an economic debacle ; but their military humiliation is already complete and irrevocable. If their commanders had the high standards of personal honour and responsibility traditionally assigned to them, we should have seen already a series of suicides according to the prescribed forms of *hara-kiri*.

To the same issue of the same weekly Mr. Jonathan Mitchell contributes an article "In *re* Japan *vs.* the World," which concludes as follows :

> The most recent episode in Japan's career of international lawlessness is Shanghai. There Japan has violated the International Settlement's neutrality and brought in reinforcements after pledging that it would not do so. It is necessary to go back to the Thirty Years' War to find any parallel in Europe of the cold ferocity of Admiral Shiozawa's bombing of the Chinese suburb of Chapei. There is, moreover, every indication that Japan is growing steadily more reckless. The Japanese people is one of the friendliest and kindliest on earth, but just now Japan, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, is represented by a band of utterly irresponsible, half-mad generals and admirals. Between them and the forces of civilization, no useful communication seems possible.

## *"Worldwide" Survey of Unemployment*

An American weekly says, the International Labour Office of the League of Nations has recently conducted a "worldwide" survey of unemployment, with striking results. Before we give any of the figures quoted by this paper from the survey, we must tell the reader that this "worldwide" survey has no use for India, which contains one-fifth of the human race, or for China, which contains more. China being an oriental country which has not yet beaten any European country in war is certainly under an uncivilized government. But India is under an undoubtedly civilized government. Yet, there are no unemployment statistics for India.

The comparison made by the International Labour Office is in all cases between some month late in 1931 and the same month in 1930. The American paper adds that in the case of countries with compulsory or voluntary unemployment insurance (*in India there is neither*), these figures may be accepted as fairly accurate ; in other instances, where trade union figures or those of unemployment exchanges were taken (*in India there is little* of these, too), there may be a margin of error, though it is probably not large. Now for the figures :

> The returns show an increase, in a year's time, of 34 per cent in Germany, 63 per cent in Italy, and 30 per cent in the United States. The percentage of increase for Great Britain was 12 in December, though in previous months unemployment had been decreasing as a result of the abandonment of the gold standard ; figures last week showed that unemployment has again risen, to the extent of 218,000 since the first of the year. Perhaps the most surprising percentage of increase is that for France —566 ; it is due to the fact that the figure a year ago was undoubtedly far too small....French Socialists have recently estimated the number of unemployed as close to a million.
>
> The British Dominions are shown by these figures to be severely affected by the depression, and Australia's increase in a year is 34 per cent, and Canada's 80. New Zealand shows an increase in applicants for work (not quite the same as the unemployed, of course) of 184 per cent. Ireland, on the other hand, shows the smallest increase recorded anywhere—only 3 per cent. Two other countries have increases of more than 100 per cent—Belgium with 118 and Latvia with 125. Austria has 12

Denmark 52, the Netherlands 92, Switzerland 41, Czechoslovakia 45, Hungary 28, Sweden 44 ; Japan last August had 8 (a number now no doubt tremendously increased as a result of the Chinese boycott), Norway has 28, Poland 24, Rumania 20 and Jugoslavia 52.

Some of the figures may not be wholly accurate, but their trend is significant. In the twelve months under survey, there has not been any decline in unemployment in any country but an increase everywhere. One of the principal causes, if not *the* cause, of the last great world war was economic rivalry and jealousy. The above-quoted figures show that the victorious "Allies" have not become unemployment-proof because of their victory. In fact, the perusal of these figures is not calculated to brighten the faces of capitalists, militarists and imperialists, if they seek to base the claims of their respective isms on the tendency of the latter to promote human prosperity.

As regards India, we do not blame the civilized British Government for the non-existence of any records or other data from which the increase or decrease of unemployment in this country can be definitely asserted and measured. Such measurement is impracticable bacause of the great excess of unemployment among the people of India under British rule. We are not concerned here to state whether the aggregate of wealth of all kinds in the hands of Indians and foreigners in India is now greater than the aggregate in pre-British days. But there is no question that, owing to the decline or ruin, as the case may be, of India's indigenous trades and industries during British rule, the unemployed at present form a larger proportion of India's population than in pre-British days. Just as in the case of literacy it is easier to count the literates than the illiterates, so as regards employment it would be easier to count the employed than the unemployed, because the latter far outnumber the former.

## *"Responsibility" and Federation*

Responsible government was promised to India a decade and a half before an All-India Federation was heard of. Therefore, if British statesmen want to prevent another example of a broken pledge being added to the existing list, they must not say that the grant of responsibility at the Centre would depend on the Princes' coming into the Federation. Federation or no Federation, India must be made fully responsible for the management of all her internal *and* external affairs, for many internal and external matters are interrelated. To declare that there cannot be responsibility at the Centre without Federation would be a dishonest dodge. And to concede a so-called responsibility after eviscerating it of its essential and vital contents by the reservation of financial, fiscal, commercial and military safe-guards in the hands of a predominantly foreign Executive, and after placing the stranglehold on democracy in the hands of a subservient majority in the Central Legislature consisting of the representatives of the Princes and of the "Minorities" clique, would be a still more dishonourable dodge.

## *Khadem-ul-Ensan Society's Relief Work*

The Khadem-ul-Ensan Society opened ten relief camps in the flooded areas of Bengal and duly helped thousands of villagers, both Hindus and Muslims, with rice, cloth, money, medicine, diet, etc., from fourteen centres under its management. The society is still continuing its relief operations in some centres. The labourers who are out of employ are engaged by the society in the business of fishermen, wood-cutters, etc.

Up to this time none of the Muslim organizations of this country has been found to render humanitarian service on such an extensive scale as this society.

## *Visva-Bharati Flood Relief Work*

Early in September last the staff and students of Visva-bharati at Santiniketan and Sriniketan formed the Visva-Bharati Durgata-sahayak Sangha for giving relief to the people in distress in some flood-stricken areas. We have received a statement of accounts of this society from the 10th September 1931 to the 26th January 1932. It shows that during this period altogether 922 families in 80 villages received help from its funds and workers, and the total number of persons in test relief works was 9,430. Rice worth Rs. 2,240-9 was distributed free. Rs. 1,347-1 was given in cash. Test relief works cost Rs. 1,198-8-6. On the 26th January the balance in hand was Rs. 4,157-12-6. But as relief did not cease to be given on that date and is still being given in various forms, the funds in the hands of the workers must by now be greatly reduced.

### "Untouchable" Priests in Hindu Temple

> Bombay, Mar. 18.
>
> The "*Times of India*" correspondent wires from Ratnagiri that fifty persons, including members of several castes from Bhangis (scavengers) to Brahmins, officiated as priests and conducted a mass worship together under the guidance of Swami Onkarananda on the occasion of the first anniversary celebrations of the Pan Hindu temple of Patit Pawan. A Bhangi boy poured the ritualistic water on the idol and a party of *chamars* (cobblers) and mahars, trained in chanting Vedic mantras, and Brahmins, Marathas, Vaishyas and others went on chanting prayers with devotion. Following close on this an anti-caste dinner was held and 500 persons of all castes from Bhangis to Brahmins dined together publicly.

This was undoubtedly good for purposes of demonstration. During the last Durga Puja in Bengal, in some places persons of the Namasudra and other so-called depressed castes officiated in more than one place as priests and as cooks and distributors of the food offered to the goddess and was partaken of by men of all castes. In Howrah last year the cooks and distributors of food at a Hindu public dinner attended by Brahmans and others were *methars* or persons of the scavenger caste. Such occasional intercaste dinners show the social goal towards which Hindu society is moving. It were much to be wished that it also moved away from polytheism and image-worship towards the spiritual worship of the One Supreme Spirit.

The non-observance of "untouchability" by persons of "high" and "low" castes even in a single village in their everyday lives throughout the year would be now worth recording, and would be welcome, satisfactory and encouraging news.

### "Mantra-diksha" by Pandit Malaviya

It has been reported in the papers that recently Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave *mantra-diksha* to several hundred persons, including so-called "untouchables," at Dasaswamedh Ghat, Benares. He taught them a *mantra* (a Sanskrit formula sacred to some deity) for devout recitation and repetition, garlanded them, and gave them a leaflet of printed religious instructions to follow. He also performed *katha*—a form of religious instruction consisting of the telling of mythological stories with the exposition of religious doctrines and spiritual principles—for the edification of the multitude. A few years back the Pandit gave similar *mantra diksha* to many persons in Calcutta, irrespective of their castes, at a bathing ghat on the Ganges. Though non-Hindus may not understand the significance of this move on the part of so orthodox a Hindu as the Pandit, liberal Hindus will consider it an indication of progressiveness, however small, on his part.

As we do not know what *mantra* Panditji is using for the purpose of initiation nor what religious instructions he is giving, we cannot discuss them. We will assume their spiritually elevating effect. And in fact without such effect, no formula or verse can by itself produce any beneficial results as if by magic. If the spiritually elevating effect of Pandit Malaviya's religious ministrations is assumed, it becomes all the more necessary that those who are initiated should have social rights. If, as the result of being initiated by Panditji, a Brahman and a scavenger are both spiritually elevated, it would not be reasonable to keep the latter in the status of the "untouchables." Personally, of course, we do not believe that it is right to consider anybody, whether initiated or not, "untouchable";—wholesome water and food offered by anybody who is physically clean and free from contagious or infectious diseases, irrespective of his lineage, are acceptable. But we are here speaking from what ought to be a reasonable orthodox Hindu's point of view.

We think, it would be necessary for the full fruition of Panditji's endeavours to remove the ban of "untouchability" from the "untouchable" disciples initiated by him.

The very instructive story of the great *rishi* Satyakáma Jábála in the Chhándogya Upanishad comes to mind in this connection. He was the son of a woman-servant of the name of Jabála, his name being derived from that of his mother. When as a boy he went to the great sage Gautama for becoming one of his disciples, the sage asked him his *gotra* and his father's name. As he did not know, he went back and asked his mother. She, too, an unmarried mother, could not tell him his father's name. This fact he truthfully reported to the great sage. The *maharshi* ("great seer") Gautama thereupon admitted him to discipleship as well as to Brahmanahood for his truthfulness.

## *Marathi Records of Peshwas*

The Director of Information, Bombay, writes:

> For financial reasons the Bombay Government have most reluctantly been compelled to discontinue, with effect from the beginning of March 1932, the grant of Rs. 10,000 per annum, which they have been allotting during the past three years, towards the cost of publishing selections made under the superintendence of Rao Saheb G. S. Sardesai from the Marathi records of the Peshwas. An appeal has, therefore, been made through the good offices of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the eminent Indian historian, to those States and persons who are interested in this exceedingly important period of Maratha history to provide the sum of Rs. 10,000 which is estimated as necessary to complete the work. In response to this appeal the following donations have already been received: Rs. 3,000 from His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda; Rs. 1,000 from His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar; Rs. 200 from the Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh (first instalment of Rs. 1,000 promised); Rs. 250 from the Jawhar State; Rs. 250 from Rao Bahadur Manaji Ragooji, J. P. Bombay.
>
> This will enable the work to be continued for four months more by which time it is hoped that further donations will be received. Such donations may be sent to the Commissioner, Central Division, Poona.
>
> Twenty-five printed selections from the records have already been issued and it is hoped to issue some twenty more before March 1933, if funds are available. Otherwise the work will have to cease and the staff be disbanded. In view of the historical importance of the work and the interest which the selections hitherto published have evoked among all classes of the Marathi-speaking public, it is hoped that the necessary financial support will be forthcoming.

Money ought certainly to be found for the selection and publication of the Peshwa records. But it is also true that the impecunious Bombay Government continues to spend many a ten thousand rupees per annum for objects less important and worthy. *Vide* the Note in this issue on "What is good conduct?"

## *Union Jack and Welsh Flag*

> London, Mar. 1.
>
> The Union Jack was hauled down by ardent Welsh Nationalists and the Welsh Flag (Red Dragon) substitued at Carnarvon Castle in North Wales to-day.
>
> The action followed the local agitation that the Welsh Flag should be flown on the highest tower of the castle on St. David's Day (to-day), which is the National Day of Wales. Government sanction was, however, refused and the Red Dragon was flown, as previously, from the west tower, which was not so prominent, until it was removed and nailed on the highest tower by an amateur steeplejack, imbued with nationalism.
>
> The officials, however, discovered the substitution and restored the Union Jack. A party of students later entered the castle, climbed the tower again and removed the Union Jack, which was torn to ribbons in the square.—*Reuter*.

Wales is not India, and hence this Welsh incident has not been followed by *lathi* charges, or arrests, or detentions without or after trial, or Ordinances in Wales. In India uncounted men and women, boys and girls have been suffering imprisonment and other punishments for their effort to honour the national flag and to plant it where the Union Jack flies.

## *Indian Numismatist Honoured*

> Mymensingh, Mar. 16.
>
> Sj. Surendra Kishore Chakravarty, Professor of History, Anandamohan College, has been awarded the Nelson-Wright bronze medal for 1931 by the Numismatic Society of India for having written a book on Indian Numismatics.—*Associated Press*."

## *Sanskrit Play in London Historical Drama Ball*

Recently there has been an Historical Drama Ball in London the different items of which were described beforehand by a correspondent in the London *Observer*. The first item in it was an Indian play, the second the early Chinese play "The Circle of Chalk," the third a dramatic arrangement of the charming Japanese legend "The Heavenly Cave," to be followed by Greek, early English and Shakespearean scenes. About the Indian drama we are told:

> We were anxious to find the very earliest play for our first episode and I went to Sir Edward

Denison Ross (who was with me in the Durbar) and asked for his help. At his suggestion we decided to present some scenes from the "Prabodha-chandrodaya," an ancient allegory which first appeared in the eleventh century. Its origin is lost in antiquity, but there is evidence that the play is considerably over 2,000 years old. The title is translated as "The Rising of the Moon of Wisdom" and like some of our Western mystery plays, the characters are the personifications of virtues and vices. It shows how the mighty King Error with his subjects, Selfishness, Voluptuousness, Hypocrisy, Stupidity and others, drive from the country Good King Wisdom and the Human Virtues. Finally, there is a Nuptial Ceremony between King Wisdom and Revelation. The parts are being played by Indian men and women and the settings and costumes have been designed by Mr. S. S. Choudhury, a pupil of Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Choudhury won a scholarship open to all India, and he has been engaged on the decorations at India House in London.

## *Terrorism in Japan*

Tokyo, Mar. 16

Mr. Inukai, Prime Minister, surprisingly has taken the portfolio of Home Affairs, following the resignation of Nakahashi, ostensibly on grounds of ill-health, but it is believed to be in anticipation of the censure in the Diet for his failure to prevent an attempt on the life of the Emperor and the assassinations of Inouye and Takumada.

—*Reuter*.

Reuter's message is perhaps incomplete. Merely a motion of censure in the Diet on the person in charge of law and order is much too mild a punishment and remedy for the terrorism which has resulted in the actual assassination of two prominent statesmen and the attempted murder of no less a man than His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan. The Japanese Government ought to send some one to India, particularly to Bengal, to take a lesson in statesmanship, particularly as a plot for the murder of prominent Japanese by the "Blood Brotherhood" has been unearthed.

## *Disabilities of the Press*

The disabilities of the indigenous Press, particularly in Calcutta and Bengal, are many and real. They interfere with the due discharge of the functions of the Press as public servants. Not only have the right of legitimate criticism of the Government, the Executive, the Police and the Judiciary, been seriously curtailed, making effective criticism almost impossible, except at great risk, but even the full publication of Council and Assembly debates and of trials, is interfered with. High officers of the Central and Provincial Governments may deny all this. But they speak according to the materials supplied to them, they have no personal knowledge of these affairs. Journalists' associations and journalists individually, on the other hand, know from personal knowledge and experience where the shoe pinches. The question as to whether they are less truthful than the highest officers of the Government or whether they exercise due care in giving publicity to the disabilities and restrictions under which they labour, does not arise and need not be raised. What is material is that they know that their work involves great risk under the ordinary penal laws of India and the risk has become indefinitely greater under very wide and very vague emergency laws and ordinances. So, even assuming, without admitting, that they have been cursed with a double dose of the original human romancing propensity, that inclination must be kept completely in check by fear of the ordinary laws and the extraordinary laws and ordinances of British-ruled India. On the other hand, Home Members incur no such risks by depending on and supplying incorrect information. Hence we believe the statement of grievances made by journalists to be true, denials of Home Members notwithstanding. The conditions under which we have to work are humiliating and prevent us from doing our duty to the public and ourselves.

No journalist can have any grievance against the censor or press officer personally. In fact, what the censor asks the editors to do, or rather not to do, might be considered friendly advice or warning, if the safety of the editors and their journals were the only or the supreme consideration. For by doing what that officer tells you to do and by not doing what he asks you not to do, you can avoid house-search, arrest, demand of security, forfeiture of press, or prosecution, or all or some of these combined. But the personal safety of journalists or of their business is not the thing that matters most. The Press exists to discharge a public duty. Censorship stands in the way of the discharge of that duty. So, though it does not much matter who the press officer is or how he does his work, censorship itself does matter and is highly objectionable and detrimental to public interests. That is the plain truth, whatever Sir James Crerar or Mr. Prentice may say to the contrary.

### *Allegations of Police Excesses*

In spite of the British-Indian ordinary and extraordinary laws and the "emergency" ordinances, some allegations of police excesses continue to find publicity in newspapers. More perhaps reach the ears and eyes of M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s through unnamed channels. So these gentlemen ask questions relating to them in the Council Chambers. The Government officers who answer them generally deny the truth of these allegations or, in some extreme cases, try to minimize or extenuate what the police may have done. But these answers produce the same effect on the public mind as, Mr. Prentice says, Government *communiques* do—that is to say, they are disbelieved. Asked why the *communiques* are disbelieved, Mr. Prentice said that that was due to the mentality of the people. But as in creation there is nothing uncaused, the causal series must be pursued a little further. It must be ascertained why the people have that sort of mentality. There is no question that the Government officers who answer questions in Council are more well-to-do, more educated, more clever and better-dressed people than the ordinary villagers who form the bulk of the population of India. But the latter possess one advantage over the former. They possess more direct and closer information—in some cases through "person"al experience—of what is going on in the country under the ordinances than high officers do. The latter have to depend on information supplied most frequently by the very persons whose action is complained against. Hence the contradictions and denials emanating from the high and mighty are often contrary to the facts known to the people concerned. No wonder, then, that the public should have the mentality ascribed to them by Olympians.

As regards incidents or series of incidents about which the vast majority of the public may not have personal knowledge, people may have judged of the accuracy or otherwise of the information supplied by the Press or by Dame Rumour on the one hand and by Government *communiques* on the other, from certain striking instances, *e. g.*, what happened at Chittagong and at Hijli. Allegations were made regarding the former in the Press and from the public platform (there was such a thing in Bengal as the public platform in those days) and a non-official committee of inquiry composed of well-known public men supported these allegations in the main. Government appointed an official committee of inquiry consisting of two of its own high officers. If the non-official allegations were false, the easiest thing in the world would be to nail the non-official lies to the counter by publishing the official committee's report. But this the Government have refused to do, leaving the public to draw their own conclusions.

As regards the Hijli incidents, the conclusions of Government's own judicial enquiry committee went against the official statements issued previously, and substantially supported the allegations made in the Press.

From the Secretary of State for India downwards, high Government officers have nothing but praise for the Indian police. It is to be noted that most police officers and men are Indians. So naturally their praise ought to be grateful to our ears. And it is certainly also true that every policeman or officer is not corrupt or cruel. It is also to be noted that the bulk of the Indian police are drawn from the same classes to which our villagers and townsmen belong. Those who are appointed to the police services do not become for that reason absolutely reliable or endowed with high character and their village and town confreres, not in Government service, absolutely unreliable and characterless. Hence, when there is a conflict between the official version (which is in its ultimate source the police version) and the non-official version of an incident, there is no reason why the former should be preferred to the latter irrespective of proof. On the contrary, considering that the policemen incur far less risk by telling lies or half truths than a non-official, it would be reasonable to treat the allegations made by the latter —

as at least worthy of independent investigation.

### *"Policy of Terrorism"*

The allegation of a "policy of terrorism" has been met in the Council Chamber with an absolute official denial. To prove the existence of such a Government policy, it would be necessary to bring forward facts showing that terroristic deeds have been done by Government servants, and also to produce a document or documents showing that such deeds were done by order of or under instructions from Government. In ony case, it would be necessary to show that Government had not punished the official doers of proved terroristic deeds. If any M. L. A. or M. L. C. be armed with such proofs, he may charge Government to some purpose with having a policy of terrorism. But, of course, as there is freedom of speech *within* the Council Chamber, Legislators may choose to prefer such a charge on being personally convinced, though they may not be in a position to prove it to the hilt ;—that is their look-out.

So far as journalists are concerned, they must certainly not do the latter, if they value safety. As for preferring any provable *true* charge against the Government, or its judiciary, or the police, the Bombay High Court has practically decided in the *Indian Daily Mail* appeal case that the Press may be liable to punishment if they do any such thing. The reader will remember that the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay was called upon to deposit Rs. 6,000 with Government on account of certain comments in its columns by Mr. B. G. Horniman on the application of the Ordinances in Bombay. The *I. D. M.* appealed to the High Court against this demand for security.

> The Advocate-General maintained that under the law it was no defence that facts alleged were true and that, whatever might have been the motive of the comments, their effect was to bring Government and the administration of justice into contempt.... The truth of an allegation was no defence, they had not to consider the object or the motive of the writer, but the effect on the mind of the readers. The object may be the highest and the motive the best, but what effect did the writing leave on the mind of the average reader ?

In the judgment of the Court, which was delivered by the Chief Justice, the Advocate-General's contention was upheld. His Lordship summed up the present position thus:

> "So that it really comes to this that there is no check on the Government as to the persons they may regard as suspects, that orders may be passed affecting drastically the conduct of such persons, that heavy punishment may be imposed for the breach of any such order and that the right of appeal or application in revision which can normally be enjoyed by such persons is very largely curtailed. In considering these articles we have to remember that the present state of affairs is part of the Government established by law in British India for the time being."

Regarding the position of the Press under the Ordinance, he observed :

> "The effect of the Ordinance seems to me to be to bring within Section 4 of the Press Act every charge of misconduct of Government, whether such charge is well-founded or not. It has been argued by Mr. Taleyarkhan, the defence counsel, in effect, that it is better that misconduct, if any such there be, on the part of Government should be publicly exposed in order that it may be remedied and that in the long run such exposure will redress the felings of bitterness and hostility against Government. Such feelings would ultimately rest on the misconduct rather than on the exposure. But in my view questions of that sort are really outside the scope of our enquiry. They are really questions of policy. No doubt the Legislature had such considerations in their mind when they framed the explanations to Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code which deals with sedition. But there are no explanations in the Press Act and the words of the Press Act cover a tendency in the article. In Section 124-A. the offence must amount either to the creation of hatred or an attempt to create such feeling."

All this implies in effect that, under the law and the ordinances as they stand, it is not the official doer of a bad official deed, if any, who brings the Government into contempt or hatred, but it is the non-official exposer of that official bad deed who brings Government into hatred or contempt. As laymen we are obviously not in a position to criticize the Bombay High Court's interpretation of the law. We have to assume it to be correct. In any case, the interpretation shows how powerful Government have made themselves and to what impotence the Press has been reduced. The latter may criticize, not as a matter of right, but by favour and forbearance of the powers that be.

This is not a position on which the Government can be congratulated. Even the publication of news with the best of intentions having become very risky, Government have been deprived of the means of knowing what is really happening in the country and consequently of the opportunity of setting right what is wrong. For, there may be terrorism by Government servants even if Government have no *policy* of terrorism, and it is not reasonable to expect the subordinate officials themselves to report their own lapses, incompetence, or misdeeds to higher officials. It is only a free press and platform that can bring to light such misdeeds. Government must have known from the seizures of unauthorized news-sheets in different parts of the country that they continue to be circulated, purveying news, true, half-true, or false, which the public newspapers dare not print. Government should also know that Dame Rumour has been still more active. News secretly purveyed is liable to be exaggerated without any check. Whatever Government's attitude towards public opinion may be, the fact stands that that opinion is being moulded more and more by secret agencies which Government, in its ignorance of what information they circulate, can neither check nor contradict nor correct. More news relating to some villages in Tippera and Midnapur have reached the public than high Government officers dream of. Meanwhile, whether there be terrorism by some officials or not, some British men and women appear to be under the impression that there is ruthless repression here, which they are denouncing in England. They are persons like Bertrand Russell, Laurence Housman, Kenworthy, Muriel Lester, Sylvia Pankhurst, and some prominent Labour M. Ps.

### *Treatment of Political Prisoners*

To some complaints relating to the treatment of political prisoners in jails, the official reply has been that Government do not recognize political prisoners as a separate or distinct class. That may be so. But they do recognize the division of prisoners into A, B, and C classes according to education, social status, etc. The vast majority of civil disobedience prisoners belong to the educated middle class and ought, therefore, to be assigned automatically at least to class B. But even a man of the standing of *Seth* Jamnalal Bajaz, a multi-millionaire, has been made a C class prisoner! It is a futile excuse that many prisoners do not furnish particulars relating to their position in society. They should not be penalized for not seeking favours from the trying magistrates.

An official query purports to be, "When the civil disobedience prisoners themselves court suffering, why do M. L. C.s and men of that ilk want facilities for them?" But the facilities wanted are those which are according to the jail code. If those in charge of the machinery of administration be eager to supply what the political prisoners court or want, they should purvey not merely sufferings but should also meet the wishes of these prisoners in relation to the improvement of the political status of the country, for which they have willingly courted suffering. In every subject country there may be many persons whose slogan may be, "My country's freedom or my death." But he would be a grim joker who would give all such persons death as an equivalent of or substitute for their country's freedom.

### *Treatment of Women Satyagrahis*

In course of his reply to some questions relating to the treatment of women satyagrahis in or outside prisons, Sir James Crerar appeared to suggest that women and children had been pressed into service in India's political struggle regardless of the suffering which may be caused to them. But it is not a fact that they are tools in the hands of others. They are free and voluntary agents in the part they are taking in the political struggle. The male members of the families of these women and children may be presumed to care at least as much for their comfort and happiness as Sir James Crerar. In any case, even if these women and children were tools in the hands of others, that is no reason why civilized and humane treatment should not be claimed for them.

### *The Monje-Raja Pact*

The main points of the agreement arrived at between Dr. Moonje and Rao Bahadur

M. C. Rajah, the "Depressed Class" leader, are that, there is to be joint election of the represesentatives of the depressed with other classes and that seats are to be reserved for the depressed classes in proportion to their numerical strength. As the "Depressed Classes" form an integral part of the Hindu community, and a component part of the Indian people and nation, joint electorates are highly to be desired, and separate electorates for them to be condemned. As regards reservation of seats in proportion to population, we recognize that it had to be accepted, in spite of obvious objections and drawbacks, in order to meet the desire of some depressed class people to have M. L. A.s and M. L. C.s of their own caste and in order to counter the mischievous moves of Dr. Ambedkar and the sponsors of the "Minorities Pact." It would not be quite easy to determine who exactly are depressed, nor is it evident how a scavenger will be a more suitable or more able representative of the *Chamars* (shoemakers and tanners) than a Brahman. More over, a caste can claim reservation of seats only by making the humiliating confession that it is "untouchable."

However, in his letter to the British Prime Minister Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah states distinctly that the reservation of seats is only a temporary expedient. He writes :

> I take this opportunity to make it clear that even this proposal of reservation of seats is merely of the nature of a temporary expedient. I hope and believe that in view of the present awakening in my community, they will soon realize their inherent strength and will be able to stand on their legs rubbing shoulders in healthy competition with other sections of the Hindu Society of which we are, as I have said above, quite an integral part.
>
> In this connection I may mention that when the late Mr. Montagu came out to India, the demand of the non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency was for Separate Electorates, but they were given reservation of seats in joint electorates. To-day, however, they do not stand in need of this protection. I have no doubt a similar experiment in our case also will lead to healthy development.

It is highly encouraging to find that the Rajah-Moonje Pact has been receiving all but universal support from the "depressed" classes.

## *Mr. E. J. Thompson's Latest Role*

Members of some R. T. C. Committees are doing the country. But as their object is well known, they cannot obtain all the information and misinformation required by British politicians. Hence unofficial British visitors—particularly those who can pose as friends of India—have been touring India. To this latter category belong Miss Rathbone and Mr. Edward J. Thompson. The latter said during his recent visit, in private conversations and public lectures, that he had never said anything against India, that India's honour was quite safe in his hands, that Dr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* was a bad book, that the India Office did not pay him to do propaganda work in America (who *did* pay him he did not disclose !), and so on and so forth. It is always better to judge a man by what he has written and what is printed at his instance than what he is reported to have said. So, from his book on Rabindranath Tagore, we showed in an article published *The Modern Review* for July 1927 what poor knowledge of the vernacular of Bengal he possesses. His ignorance of Bengali and his misunderstanding and misrepresentations of Rabindranath's works have been similarly proved in *Prabasi*. As regards his pretensions to be a friend of India, we showed in our criticism of his book on the "Reconstruction of India" in *The Modern Review* for November 1930 that the claim was unfounded.

But all this may be past history. Let us show from his recent writings what sort of friendship he has for India and the best of Indians. During his recent visit he, we have assurances from thoroughly trustworthy British and Indian sources, acted as special correspondent in India of *The Manchester Guardian*. We shall quote some passages from his letter, dated February 22, to that paper, published in its issue of the 9th March 1932. In order to throw dust into the eyes of the unwary he indulges in some criticism of the Government. But his real attitude becomes at once apparent from the following sentence :

> "In its deeds Congress has played the fool, even the dishonest fool, and its present eclipse is well deserved."

Arraignment of Congress means arraignment of Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody is bound to believe that Mahatma Gandhi is a perfect incarnation of wisdom and has never done any unwise thing. But to say that in its deeds Congress has played the fool, which means that in his deeds Mahatma Gandhi has played the fool, is a more sweeping condemnation. Nevertheless, even that may be allowed to be legitimate criticism. But the observation that Mahatma Gandhi has played the *dishonest* fool, is not expected from any honourable opponent of his, much less from one who openly professes to be a trusted friend of the Mahatma, as Mr. Thompson has done. In the Calcutta Albert Hall meeting, presided over by Sir P. C. Ray, another (though in this case rightly) trusted friend of the Mahatma, Mr. Thompson was reported in *Liberty* to have said that he enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Gandhi and other prominent Indian leaders and was, therefore, entrusted to carry on a delicate piece of negotiation. We do not know whether he was really entrusted with such a mission and whether Gandhiji considers Mr. Thompson to be a trusted friend of his. If the facts are as stated by Mr. Thompson, we must say Mr. Gandhi's friendly confidence was entirely misplaced. In any case, Mr. Gandhi was at the worst guilty of an error of judgment. But what are we to think of a man who openly claims Mr. Gandhi as a friend and who does so to win the confidence of the Indian public in himself as a friend of India, but who at the same time writes Mr. Gandhi down as a *dishonest* fool in an unsigned letter? Surely even occidental double-dealing ought to have a limit.

In the political objects aimed at, Congressmen, Liberals and all other true Nationalists are substantially agreed, though their methods differ. Hence, if those objects be not attained, no true patriot, no real friend of India, can rejoice. But Mr. Thompson writes gleefully in his *Manchester Guardian* letter :

> "Meanwhile Congress, having refused to play the game and having played the fool with a good case, is beaten and, as I said before, thoroughly deserved to be beaten."

It may be incidentally observed that it has yet to be seen whether Congress is beaten and whether Mr. Thompson is not shouting before he is out of the woods.

The angelic Mr. Thompson wants "strong" rule—"stronger" than what India has got now. He appears to be trying to stampede British public opinion into supporting "stronger" measures in India by calling up visions of the "chapatties" of pre-Mutiny days (one wonders if some friend of India has not as an agent provocateur already actually got some chapatties sent round !), and he wants the overhauling of a dozen obsolete systems, not for substituting for them systems under the people's control, but for more rigorous repression of those who have been foremost in demanding and working for freedom. British Tories want Congress to be thoroughly discredited and rendered perfectly powerless, and a division created in Indian Nationalist ranks. The prospect of all these things seems to rejoice the heart of Mr. Thompson. All this is borne out by the following concluding sentences of Mr. Thompson's letter :

> "But people, though quiet, are sullen and sulky. Mischief-makers are having their chance. As before the Mutiny so now, "chapatties' are being furtively sent round, probably with no further purpose than to perplex Authority if it finds out. If the Government contents itself with sitting still, having locked up its opponents, it wlll lose the game yet. The game can be gloriously won in one way—by *governing*. And governing is not merely locking people up. In India to-day it means unflinchingly overhauling a dozen obsolete systems, and starting such a job of reconstruction that your critics will see a task in which it would be a shame not to collaborate. And then you will be justified in every way (and in Indian eyes) in treating those who will not collaborate far more rigorously than they are being treated now."

For Mr. Thompson's idea of the reconstruction of India the reader is referred to our article on the subject in *The Modern Review* for November 1930. We will quote here only one passage from his book on the subject.

> "Immediate full Dominion Status would merely make a fool of India, or, rather, put her where she cannot help making a fool of herself (and an extremely unhappy fool). Independent India would be like Independent China, but far more torn and wretched, even more ridiculous a spectacle to the outside world."—*The Reconstruction of India*, pp. 40-41.

Mr. Thompson sees visions of fools all round to such an extent that the word fool occurs pretty frequently in his book and in his *Manchester Guardian* letter. *"Atmavat sarvabhutesu yah pashyati sa panditah"*, "He is a learned man (certainly an Oxford

Don) who sees the like of himself in all beings."

As for China, she is certainly a tragic spectacle, but not a ridiculous one. She has brought to bay by her unaided might power-proud Japan, whom the first-rate Powers of the world could not or would not cross in her predatory adventure.

We have sincerely admired Mr. Thompson for dropping the title *Reverend* before his name. We shall admire him still more if he drops the cloak of friendship for India.

## Power of the Chinese Boycott

Some time ago *The Manchester Guardian* quoted a statement made by the chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai. Some facts are summarized below from that statement.

> Shortly before the beginning of the present military operations, he reported that *eight hundred thousand tons* of Japanese goods were lying in various Chinese ports, all having been ordered by Chinese importers and then refused because of the boycott. It is not sheer patriotism among the Chinese which caused these goods to be rejected; in many cases merchants feared reprisals if they accepted them, and in some instances, when they attempted to do so, the Chinese banks refused to permit the withdrawal of funds for the purpose. The loss to Japan at the time mentioned, including that based on goods which have not yet been shipped to China, was already estimated to be ninety million (American) dollars. The losses to Japanese steamship companies are put at $ 17,000,000. In certain lines, the goods lying in Shanghai and other harbours represent only one-tenth of the total curtailment of trade already inflicted by the boycott.

## What is "Good Conduct"?

The following Associated Press despatch has appeared in American papers :

> GOOD CONDUCT PAYS
>
> BOMBAY, (AP)—It was announced today that life grants of money will be made to certain persons on condition that the recipients "continue their good conduct, showing steadfast loyalty to the King-Emperor and rendering active service to the legal government in British India."
>
> The first individuals to benefit from this device received grants today of 259 rupees (about $65) which will be paid annually as long as they live. Half that sum will be continued through the next generation. There has been a rush of applicants.

What is the particular kind of "good conduct" rewarded in this way, assuming the news is correct ? What is the total amount of the rewards thus disbursed ? Are these annuities expected to be continued when the new constitution, if any, comes into effect ? Has it come to this that the British Raj has to a pay a hereditary price for hereditary loyalty ?

## Irish Fight for Freedom to be Peaceful

> London, Feb. 28.
>
> "The Fianna Fail's programme is complete freedom for Ireland," declared Mr. Sean O'Kelly, who is expected to hold office in the New Free State Government, speaking at Carrick on Shannon today. But he believed that Ireland's freedom could be won without raising a gun to brother Irishmen.
>
> Alluding to the recent statement said to have been made by Cardinal Macroy that Ireland had only got an "instalment of freedom," Mr. O'Kelly said that the Fianna Fail wanted to win the other instalment of national rights by peaceful and constructive methods. They were not trailing their coat, asking England to come along and fight.—Reuter.

This item of news ought to gladden the hearts of Mr. Gandhi and of all others who believe in pacifism.

## The Nizam Lifts the Purdah

During his recent visit to Lucknow, the princesses of the family of H. E. H. the Nizam went about unveiled to the various functions held in his honour. *The Advocate* writes that the Nizam exhorted the girls of the local Muslim girls' school to follow the example of the ladies of his family in discarding the purdah. None of the Sunni *ulemas* and Shia *mujtahids* present at the functions raised any objections to the non-observance of the purdah. Evidently the Nizam likes the progressive spirit in Muslim Egypt, Turkey, Persia, etc., which has done away with the purdah.

## Chittagong Armoury Raid Case

After a protracted trial lasting nineteen months the special tribunal delivered judgment in the Chittagong armoury raid case. Twelve of the accused were sentenced to transportation for life, one was awarded rigorous imprisonment for two years, and one, a boy of tender years,' was directed to be detained in a Borstal school for three years. Sixteen others were acquitted, but were re-arrested by the police under the Bengal Ordinance. The tribunal recommended clemency to be shown to five of those convicted.

The twelve accused have been punished for a daring crime, and it is to be hoped their punishment and provision of facilities for self-improvement may enable them to turn over a new leaf and become useful citizens, provided that by their good conduct they succeed in obtaining release after a few years. For, the very daring and strong nerves which were of use to them in their crime might have enabled them to lead forlorn hopes in lawful fight and may, in future, if opportunity arises, enable them to do so or to serve the state in other ways.

## *Life and Long Term Prisoners*

As prevention and reform, not vindictiveness, are the leading motives in punishing offenders in civilized countries, and as recently many life prisoners and long term prisoners of both sexes have been added to those already in jail, we urge that ample provision be made in the prisons where they are kept for their self-improvement.

## *Re-arrest After Acquittal*

Sixteen accused in the Chittagong armoury raid case were re-arrested after acquittal after 19 months' trial. According to Mr. Prentice up to the 23rd March last 42 persons had been arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act or the Bengal Criminal Law Ordinance of 1931 after their acquittal by courts of justice. That shows that, though the majority of the 717 detenus are persons whose guilt has never been proved or attempted to be proved in a court of justice, there are some among them whose grievance is greater in that, though the Government could not establish their guilt in their own courts of justice, still they were deprived of liberty.

## *Bengal Detenus Bill*

And yet these two classes of men—men whose guilt has never been proved and never attempted to be proved and men whose innocence has been established in courts of justice—are to be deported outside Bengal, are deprived by clause 4 of the Bill of the right of seeking relief from High Courts and it would be very difficult for their relatives to see them occasionally. This piece of legislation has roused very strong feelings. It is a standing disgrace to the majority of the members of the present Assembly who voted for the Bill that they voted for a measure which was not passed by the three previous Assemblies.

## *All-India Medical Conference*

The recent session of the All-India Medical Conference in Calcutta was a complete success from every point of view. The addresses of the president, Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, and the chairman of the reception committee, Dr. B. C. Roy, were very able and comprehensive pronouncements. The attendance of delegates was satisfactory. Many valuable papers were contributed to the scientific section. According to Sir Nilratan, the ambition of the medical profession should be to feel, to think, to speak and to act like one man in the spirit of loving service to the nation. He strongly criticized the Medical Council Bill, showing that Indian sentiments and interests have been freely ignored therein. He laid stress on the need of post-graduate training and the improvement of the Medical schools. We have an inadequate number of doctors. According to Dr. Sircar India requires at least 100,000 qualified practitioners. So, 70,000 more are required over and above the existing number. He dwelt on the need of cheaper treatment. The organization of public health, organization of medical research, top-heaviness of the administration, voluntary research work, medical services, an Indian Pharmacopoea and health insurance were some of the other topics he dealt with. He concluded his address as follows :

> India is the land of poverty and poverty coupled with ignorance stands as the root cause of all our miseries such as starvation, bad sanitation, disease, untimely and heavy mortality, etc. But the task of ameliorating the condition of the sufferers has been entrusted to the medical man,

In this great task the scientifically trained medical men will be the guide, friend and philosopher.

Blessed are we the members of this noble profession of India, who have the privilege of being entrusted with the heavy burden of so many duties and responsibilities on our shoulders, and blessed be this Association in whose bosom we all unite with renewed Faith, Love and Strength.

In his address of welcome Dr. B. C. Roy dwelt on the history and growth of the city of Calcutta, medical education, post-graduate training, medical services, "caste" in the profession, prevention of disease, all-India Medical Bill, Ayurvedic and Yunani systems, "Food and Drugs Act," medical research, and other topics.

The resolutions passed at the Conference were all timely and important.

## *"Failure to Solve Communal Problem"*

In all countries where there are different religious communities, there are occasional "religious" dissensions. In India there have been in her past history, not more of such dissensions but rather less in proportion to her area and population, than in other similar regions. The political problem of India called the communal problem is a recent growth to be traced back to the administration of the second Lord Minto. So long as there is British domination in India, it cannot, therefore, be solved without the willing and serious endeavour of British statesmen. When, therefore, the Prime Minister Mr. MacDonald threw the burden of arriving at a communal settlement on the British Indian "delegates" to the R. T. C., it was really a huge joke, though it might not have been intended to be one. It was more so, considering that the R. T. C. had been crammed chock-full with the cream of Muslim communalists. No wonder they failed to reach a settlement.

If with at least some men having a representative character and the resulting authority, like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonje, the R.T.C. failed, what chance was there for the Indian members of the so-called Consultative Committee, almost all of whom are without any following, to arrive at a settlement? Yet their failure to do so and their referring the problem to the British Government *without any mandate from the Indian people*, is now to be taken advantage of by that Government to solve it and to frame a constitution for India to suit their own interest and liking. The stage had been so set that it was not difficult for Mr. MacDonald to anticipate what turn things would take. Therefore, in his statement made to the R.T.C. on the 1st December last, he, speaking on behalf of the British Government, used the following language:

> "I desire to warn you that if the Government have to supply even temporarily this part of your constitution, which you are unable to supply for yourselves, and though it will be our care to provide the most ample safe-guards for minorities so that none of them need feel that they have been neglected, it will not be a satisfactory way of dealing with this problem. Let me also warn you that, if you cannot come to an agreement on this among yourselves, it will add considerably to the difficulties of any Government here which shares our views of an Indian constitution and *it will detract from the place which that constitution will occupy amongst those of other nations.*" (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

The British Government will now, therefore, provide India with a constitution inferior not only to those of independent and free countries but also to those of the British Dominions.

## *Did Press Leaders Seek Censor's Help?*

On the 23rd March in the Bengal Council the Home Member Mr. Prentice said that "two Indian leaders of the Press made bitter complaints to him regarding the absence of instructions and assistance of a press officer," adding that if he saw the list of office-bearers of the Indian journalists' association, he could say if the two persons referred to were in it. Now that Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, the secretary to the association, has published the list, Mr. Prentice has got the chance to keep his word.

## *So-called All-India Moslem Conference*

The so-called All-India Moslem Conference at Lahore, presided over by Sir Muhammad Iqbal, have passed a resolution which threatens the British Government with direct action (*à la* Congress ?) if before the end of June next that Government does not concede all their demands, two of the demands being :

> That the proportion of Muslims in the All-India Services and statutory governing bodies should not be less than 33 1-3 per cent, that is, their proportion in the central legislature.
>
> The proportion of Muslims in the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks of the army shall not be less than 50 per cent.

The last demand in particular is marvellously modest.

The threatening resolution is a peculiar combination of begging and bluffing.

## De Valera's Programme

> Mr. de Valera, interviewed By "Reuter," outlined his policy.
>
> He said that he would suspend the Public Safety Act, by which Special Tribunals have been established.
>
> He contended that the abolition of the Oath of Allegiance did not infringe the London Treaty.
>
> Mr. de Valera hoped to merge Governor-Generalship into the Presidency of the Republic.
>
> He also hoped to wash out the "unnatural boundaries" between North and South and to unite Ireland.
>
> He would suspend further annuities to London and claim for the return of those already paid.
>
> Mr. de Valera would give protection to Irish industries, but would not create tariff for revenue purposes.

In exercise of the fundamental right of self-determination, every nation is entitled to try to modify or, if need be, abrogate, treaties and the like, not in consonance with the national welfare and will, for greater realization of righteousness and freedom.

## Hindus in Hyderabad

The *communique* issued by the Nizam's government does not controvert the facts relating to the position of the Hindus in the services of that State, but only trots out some lame excuses to explain them away. In order to believe that things are in Hyderabad as they ought to be, one must believe that in that State alone Hindus are beaten in public competitive examinations, that there alone only town-dwellers (and particularly Moslem town-dwellers) seek service, that the Adi-Hindus are not Hindus and that in Hyderabad alone they do not want public jobs, etc., etc.

The religious disabilities of the Hindus in the Hyderabad State are described and discussed in some detail in the *Indian States Journal* of Bombay, dated February 13-20, 1932, pages 3-6 and 11-12. They are serious in all conscience.

## Hindus in Bhopal

Last month we praised the Nawab of Bhopal for permitting his Hindu subjects to hold a conference—though that ought to be the ordinary right of all inhabitants of all civilized or uncivilized countries. We are sorry we did not wait for the actual holding of the conference before praising the Nawab. For, we find a meeting of the Hindu members of the central legislature and other Hindu leaders present at Delhi passed the following resolution in the third week of March last :

> That this meeting of the Hindu members of the central legislature and other Hindus have learnt with great surprise that a few Hindu workers engaged in the lawful activities of assisting in holding of the Hindu conference at Bhopal, have been arrested. These arrests in the opinion of this meeting amounts to putting obstacles in the way of holding the conference, whereby the Reception Committee of the Bhopal Hindu's Conference has been forced to postpone the Conference.
>
> Inasmuch as the holding of the Conference had been permitted by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and with a view to remove the misunderstanding caused in the public mind, this meeting submits to His Highness that the persons so arrested be released and every facility should be extended to the people to hold the conference.

## Hindu Mahasabha and Sikh Conference

Last month some prominent members of the Hindu Mahasabha and other prominent Hindus at Delhi, including Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji who had gone up from Lucknow, passed resolutions in accord with the Hindu Mahasabha working committee's statement on constitutional reforms issued in March 1931. Reasonably and naturally they were opposed to the giving of a statutory majority of seats to any community in any provincial legislature. They supported joint electorates and opposed separate electorates and were absolutely opposed to making the qualifications for the franchise different for different communities for any reason whatsoever.

At their recent political conference in Lahore, the Sikhs, too, expressed themselves strongly against the giving to any religious community the majority of seats in any legislature by statute.

### Middleton Report Revelations

*The Leader* of Allahabad writes :

> It had been alleged in certain circles that the Muslim subjects of his Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir were being terrorized by the Hindu officials of the State and the Government of India's Political department was appealed to for protecting their interests. A perusal of Mr. Middleton's report of enquiry into the Jammu riots, however, would show that far from the Muslim population being terrorized, they were allowed to defy authority and create disorder with impunity for quite a considerable time. We read at one place in the report: 'The Governor has indicated that he was in constant communication with Kashmir in the days immediately preceding the riot. I cannot say how far his inaction was due to instructions from Srinagar but an efficient and responsible official could surely have represented the urgent need for action in a manner which could have enabled him to have a free hand.' At another place also Mr. Middleton writes : 'Earlier action against agitators had been largely nullified by acts of clemency on the part of the Government ; firmness was required to control the situation but none was displayed and necessary precautions were neglected. Now even if it be admitted that the administration of Kashmir is very inefficient and requires to be overhauled—though why Europeans and not competent Indians should be imported for the purpose we are unable to understand—one thing is clear, that there is no truth whatsoever in the allegation that undue severity has been shown to the Muslim population.

### How Far Kashmir Durbar Was to Blame

We do not possess all the materials to be able to decide how far, if at all, the Kashmir Durbar and officials were responsible for the origin and duration of the disturbances in that State. Some light, however, is thrown on the subject by the following Associated Press message :

> Tawi, Mar. 17.
>
> "The agitation took the form of open defiance of the authorities and there can be little doubt that the agitators in the city had been emboldened by the Ahrar Jatha campaign to adopt this reckless course," is one of the conclusions of the Middleton Enquiry into the Jammu riots of November last, which necessitated the entry of British troops into Kashmir territory for the first time since one hundred years ago.—Associated Press.

The Ahrar Jatha Campaign originated in and was conducted from British territory, where the Kashmir State had no authority. Further light is thrown on the matter by the following passage in a memorandum submitted to the Viceroy in February last by some Hindu and Sikh members of the Legislative Assembly :

> We shall be failing in our duty both to the Government and the Hindu community if we did not bring to your Excellency's notice the wide-spread impression that not only has the Paramount Power not done enough to put down strongly this trouble in Kashmir and to protect the lives, property and honour of the Hindus, but that his Highness the Maharaja has failed to make effective use of his own resources because of the fear of the Paramount Power restricting his Highness in using sufficient force to put down this rebellion.

The Viceroy did not vouchsafe any reply to this memorandum. *The Leader* observes:

> Mr. Middleton does not hold the authorities in British India entirely free from blame. He writes : 'A review of the position created by the *jatha* campaign shows that disorganization within the state and disturbance was the inevitable result. The authorities in British India ultimately took action to stop this trouble at its source; had it been possible to take that action a few days earlier, subsequent events in Jammu might have taken a very different course.'

Was it impossible "to take that action a few days earlier" ?

### European R. T, C. Delegates' Sabotage ?

*Advance* has published a document purporting to be a confidential circular issued by the Executive of the "Royalists" of Calcutta to its members. It describes what the European delegates to the R. T. C. from India did to safe-guard their own interests and, as a means to that end, to thwart constitutional advance in India. We shall make a few extracts from this revealing and interesting document.

> "After the general elections (in England) the right wing of the Government made up its mind to break up the Conference and to fight Congress. The Muslims, who do not want responsibility at the Centre, were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with provincial autonomy with a promise of central reforms. We had made up our minds that the final fight with the Congress was inevitable; we felt and said that the sooner it came the better; but we made up our minds that for a crushing

success we should have all possible friends on our side. The Muslims were alright ; the Minorities Pact and Government's general attitude ensured that. So were the Princes and the Minorities."

This, if correct, should settle who were responsible for the fight with the Congress.

"The important thing to us seemed to be to carry the Hindu in the street as represented by such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro and others. If we could not get them to fight Congress we could at least ensure that they would not back Congress, and that by the one simple method of leaving no doubt in their minds that there was to be no going back on the Federal Scheme, which broadly was also the accepted policy of the European community.

The Muslims, the Princes, and "such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro and others," being specimens of "the Hindu in the street," should feel highly flattered by the references to them in this precious circular.

## *Hindu Mahasabha's Statement on Franchise Questionnaire*

We have received a copy of the statement of the Hindu Mahasabha on the questionnaire of the Franchise Committee, but too late for detailed comment. Suffice it to say, that it is thoroughly nationalistic and democratic. It is printed below.

The Hindu Mahasabha holds strongly the view that communal representation is fundamentally opposed to nationalism and gradually creates an increasing desire for the assertion of communal differences in various departments of public administration. The Mahasabha also thinks that this principle is incompatible with responsible Government in which preferences based on communal distinctions are out of place. In the working of responsible Government, full freedom should be given for the growth of healthy adjustments satisfactory to the desires of minorities to take their proper place in the public life of the country.

The Mahasabha, therefore, wishes to state that the following principles should be kept in view in framing any constitution for India :

a. That there should be uniformity of Franchise for all communities in the same province.

The Mahasabha is opposed to and will not accept any scheme of differential franchise [qualifications for different communities which the Questionnaire suggests for the purpose of providing voting strength to a community proportionate to its numbers.

Differential franchise, instead of easing communal tension, will cause great heart-burning and aggravate and perpetuate communal tension, which will make peaceful and ordered working of the Constitution impossible.

b. That the elections to the Legislatures should be by mixed electorates. The Mahasabha has a fundamental objection to the grant of separate electorates to any community.

*N. B.*

Provision of separate representation for communities by separate electorates will invitably raise the contention, on the principle of "No taxation, No representation," that the amount of such separate representation must depend on the amount the community pays in taxes.

c. That there ought to be no reservation of seats, either in Joint or Separate Electorates, for any community which holds a majority position in any province.

d. That if a scheme of Minority—Protection by reservation of seats be considered necessary, then the basis of representation of different minority communities should be uniform, such as Adult population, or voting strength, or taxation, whichever shall be favourable to them.

e. That in any scheme of such protection for minorities, the representation of any minority community in any province should, under no circumstances, be fixed at less than its proportion to the population of the province.

f. That on principle the Hindu Mahasabha is opposed to the system of direct weightage which means expropriation from the legitimate quantum of representation of a majority community without its consent in order to give additional representation, *i. e.* direct weightage to a minority community. A minority community is entitled only to that form of weightage, *i. e.* indirect weightage, which is in the shape of a right to contest for additional seats over and above the number reserved for them. But if any scheme of direct weightage in representation for minorities be considered necessary as a temporary expedient, which the Mahasabha is clearly of opinion it is not, then the weightage should be fixed on a principle applicable equally to all minorities without discrimination in favour of one minority as against the other.

g. That in view of the understanding arrived at between Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, President of the All-India Depressed Classes Association and Dr. B. S. Moonje, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, for the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislatures on the basis of joint electorates with the Hindus with reservation of seats on basis of their proportion in the population, there is no question now of separate electorates for the Depressed Classss.

The Hindu Mahasabha does not agree to the inclusion amongst the Depressed Classes of any caste other than those which are actually regarded as untouchables.

*N. B.*

The above is of the nature of a temporary provision for the satisfaction of minorities for, say, the lifetime of the next two Legislatures. This system of reservation should automatically disappear after the lapse of the period fixed.

2. In the interest, however, of furthering the cause of India's evolution as one united Nation, the Mahasabha feels here the need of emphasizing the point that all minority problems should be solved preferably on the lines of Minorities Guarantee Treaties of the League of Nations, to which both England and India are already parties as members thereof. The League, while providing for full legitimate protection to Minorities in matters concerning their religions, cultures and social customs, which

alone distinguish a minority from the majority population of a country, has scrupulously refrained from discriminating the nationals of a state in the public administration of the country on the basis of their religions, cultures or languages.

In this connection it is instructive to take note of the words of no less a person than the Right Hon'ble Mr. Stanley Baldwin, former Prime Minister and now Lord President of the Council in the present National Government of England. While addressing delegates from twenty-five countries who are attending the Congress of International Universities and the League of Nations Federation, he says :

> "The ideals of the League of Nations were forged amid the fire and smoke of that war (Great War) and those ideals alone could be the salvation of the World." (*Times of India*, page 9.
>
> Friday, March 18, 1932.)

3. The Hindu Mahasabha has no objection to the immediate introduction of Universal Adult Franchise ; but if it be considered an impracticable proposition for the present, it would give its approval to the group system for the enfranchisment of those who remain unenfranchised under the proposed scheme of enfranchisement of from 10 to 25 per cent of the population, subject to the following conditions :

a. That separate electorates are not granted to Moslems or any other Indian community.

b. That grouping of primary voters is strictly and exclusively on civic and non-communal principles, that is, on the basis of residence and neighbourhood.

c. That Adult Franchise is granted for both sexes to the Primary voters.

The Mahasabha is uncompromisingly opposed to the partition of the people into water-tight compartments right from the top down to the bottom, which will inevitably be the result if the group system is accepted with Separate Electorates.

## *Death of M. Briand*

The death of M. Briand deprives France of a great orator and the most experienced among her present-day statesmen.

In September 1926 we had the privilege of hearing him make an eloquent speech in the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva and seeing what a great ovation he received on ascending the platform to speak and after finishing his speech. Being a Frenchman, he made an effective use of gestures.

## *The Late Sir Horace Plunkett*

Sir Horace Plunkett, who died on the 27th March last, was a great benefactor of Ireland. He was the great reconstructor of that island and taught its people the advantages of co-operation in farming and the use of improved methods of agriculture.

## *Cultural Fellowship with Foreign Countries*

A non-sectarian and non-political Society for Cultural Fellowship with Foreign Countries, which had been quietly functioning for the previous nine months, was formally inaugurated in December last with Dr. D. N. Mitra as its honorary secretary and 4 Sambhunath Pandit Street, Calcutta, as the location of its office. Its aims and objects are :

> To cultivate and foster international fellowship through mutual understanding, goodwill and service, by securing facilities for foreign educational travel and studies, and providing opportunities for coming in closer contact with the life and culture of the people, for both Indians and foreigners in the countries they visit ;
>
> To found Indian Students' Federation to be linked up with the International Student Federations of Europe & America ;
>
> To honour the great men and women of all countries in suitable manner ;
>
> To interpret the culture of India to the World and *vice versa* ;
>
> To co-operate with other Associations working more or less on similar lines ; and
>
> To adopt such other measures as are conducive to these aims and objects.

These are all worthy objects, and the Society deserves success.

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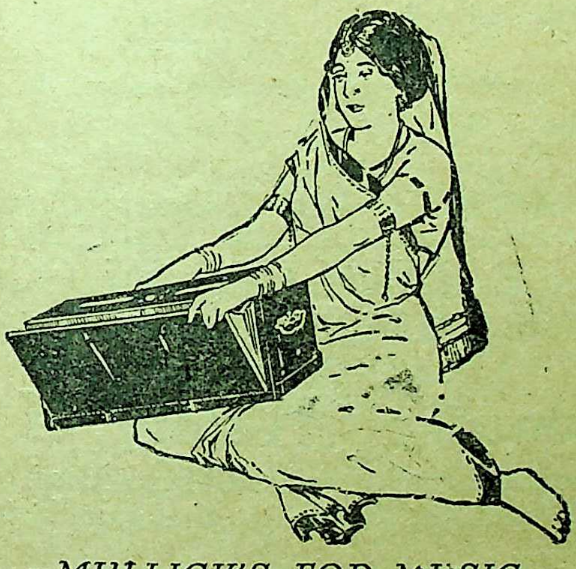

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The book was first published about ten years ago in five volumes. The publisher has considerably improved the get-up by printing the book in its second edition in one volume. It has been profusely illustrated and elaborately indexed. There are 120 illustrations and 4 maps to add to its attractiveness. In many places necessary corrections have been carried out and the language improved. The publisher may well congratulate himself on this excellent production. The book will serve the same purpose as the valuable Economic History of India by the late Ramesh Chandra Dutt. It has been placed within the easy reach of students by the reduction in its price from Rs. 25 to Rs. 15. The appreciation of the book by the public is evident from the fact that a second edition became necessary."

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This is by far the best and the most important history of British rule in India, written from a fresh point of view, and bringing to light many inconvenient facts. The facts are well arranged and presented in a form that makes the mastering of them a delight. In resuscitating the true facts with regard to this period of India's story, mostly culled from the records of contemporary Englishmen, Major Basu has rendered a distinct and invaluable service to the cause of India, truth and justice. Like a true historian he has given a straight talk on every subject. It is a most useful work and should be read by all. We hope it will have a wide sale in England especially at this crisis in the history of our country.

...The book deserves all success and we wish many more students follow the lead given by the author. We recommend this valuable book to the careful attention of all our readers."

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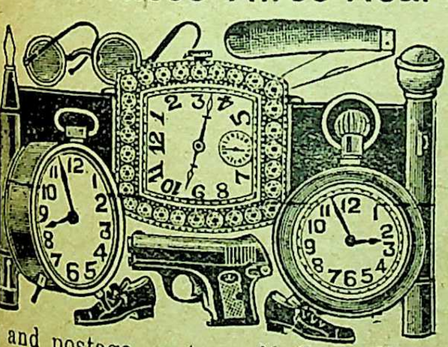

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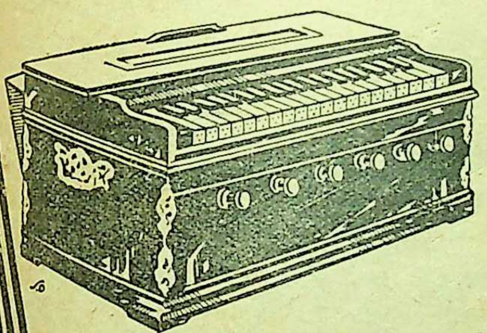

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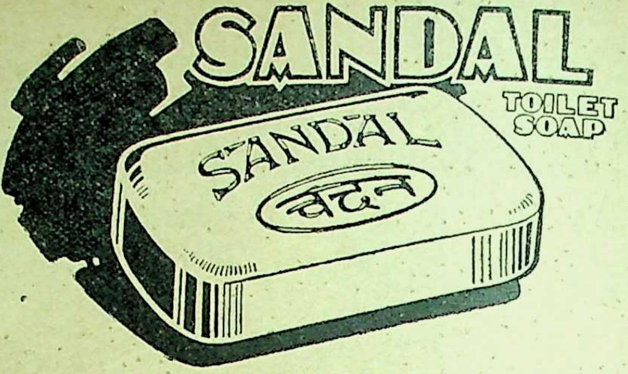
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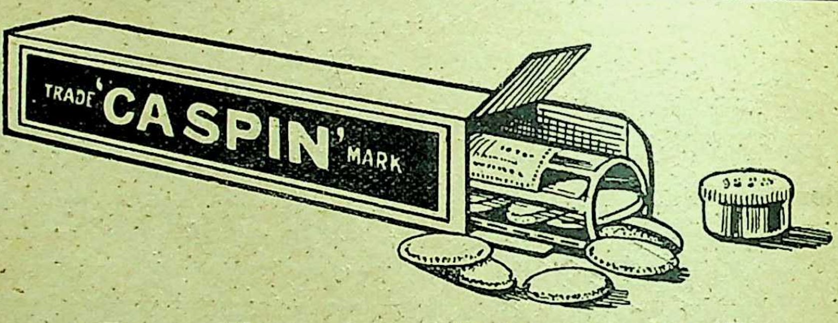
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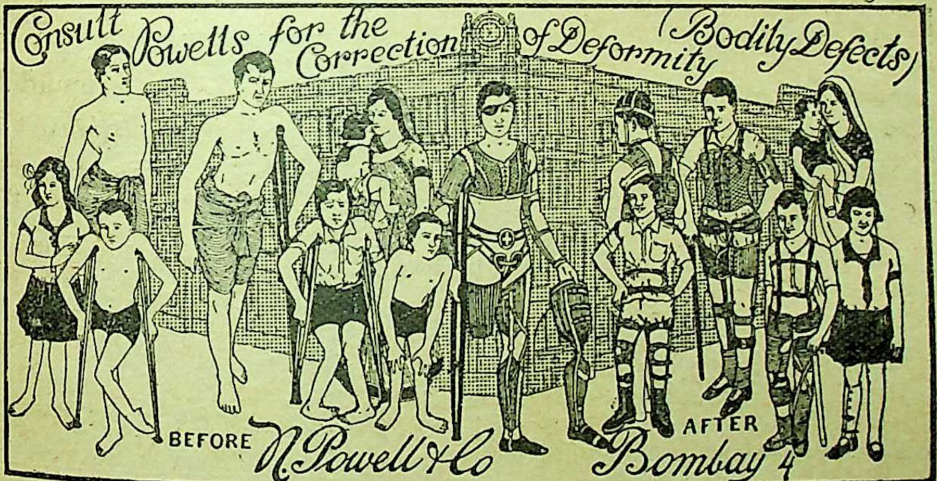
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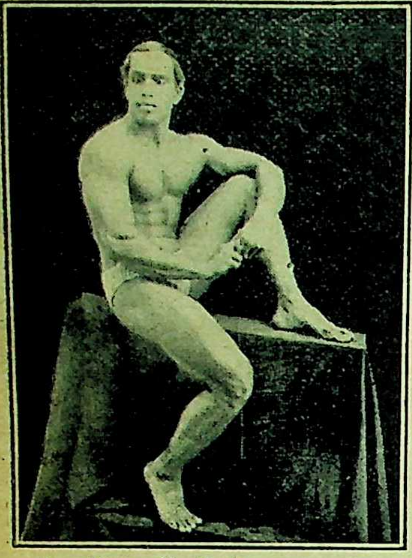

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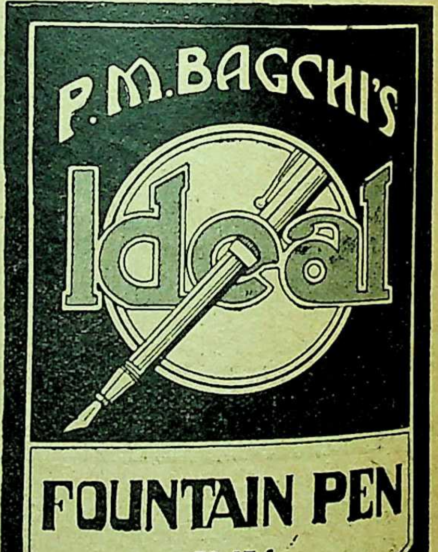

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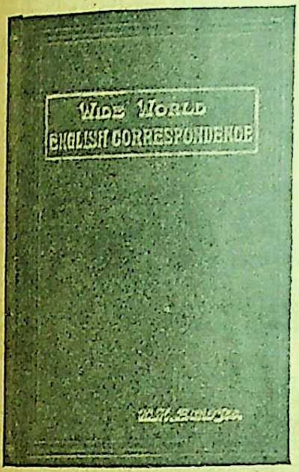

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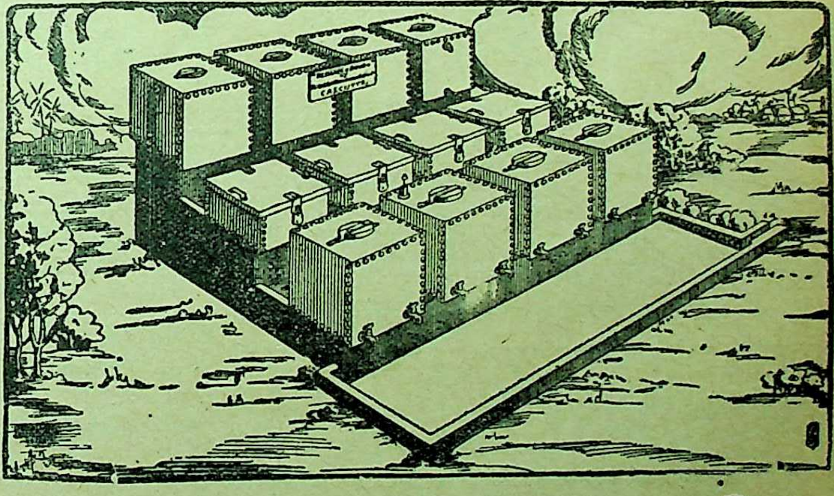

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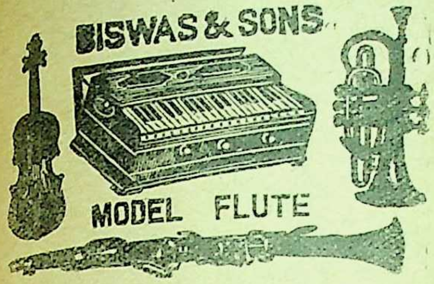

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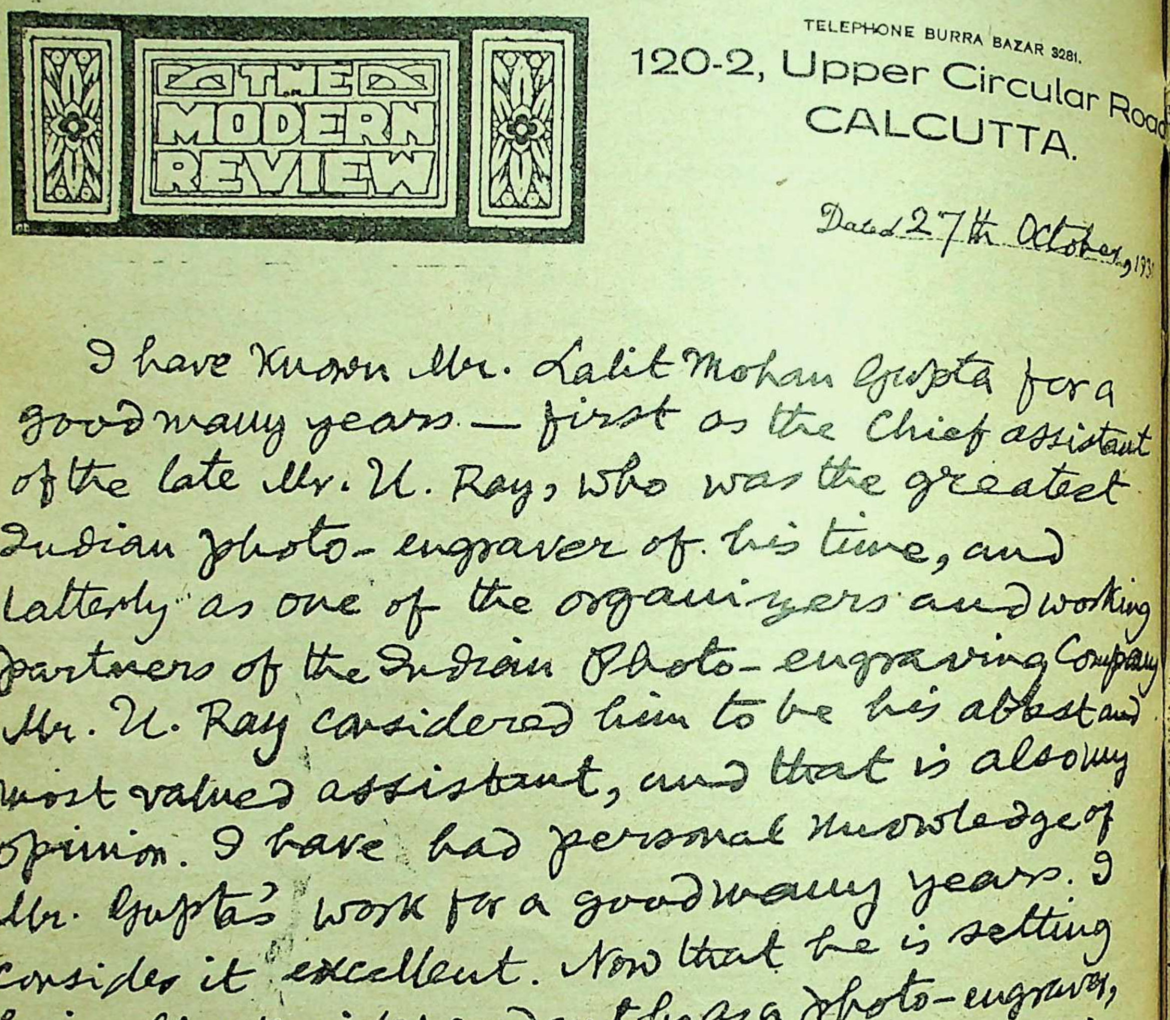

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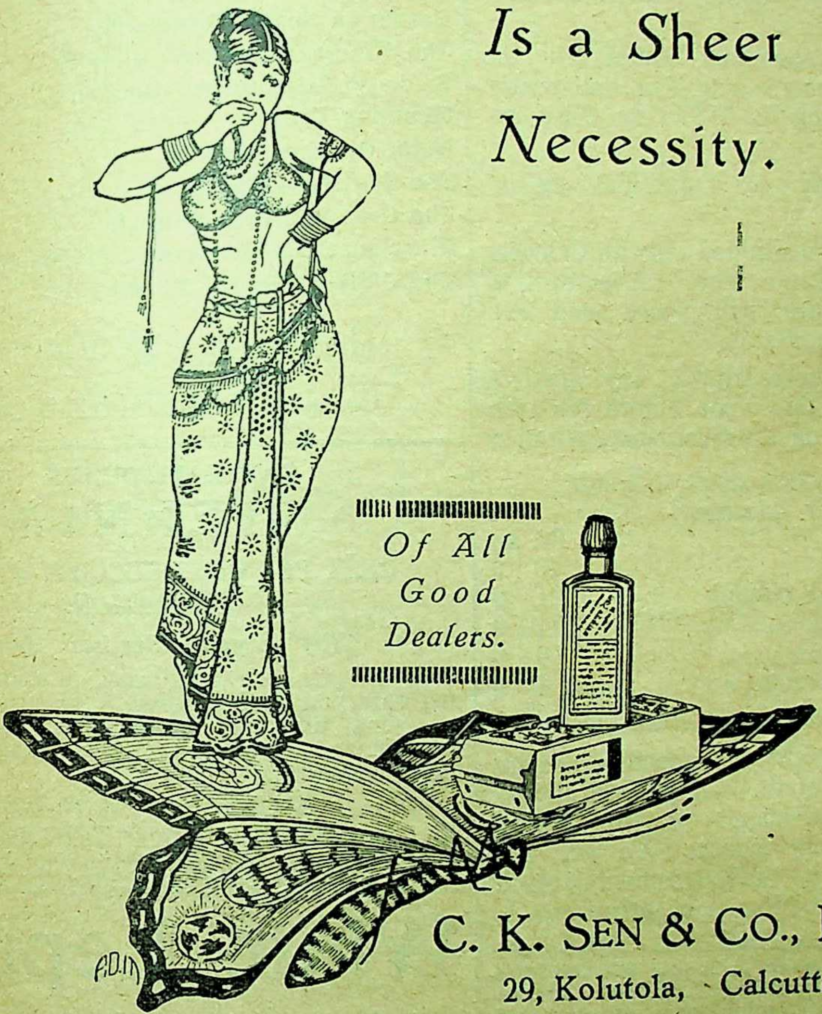

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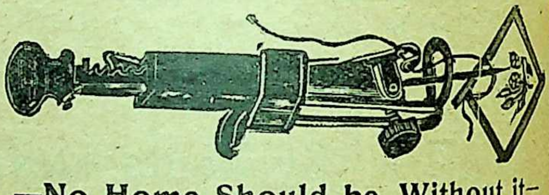

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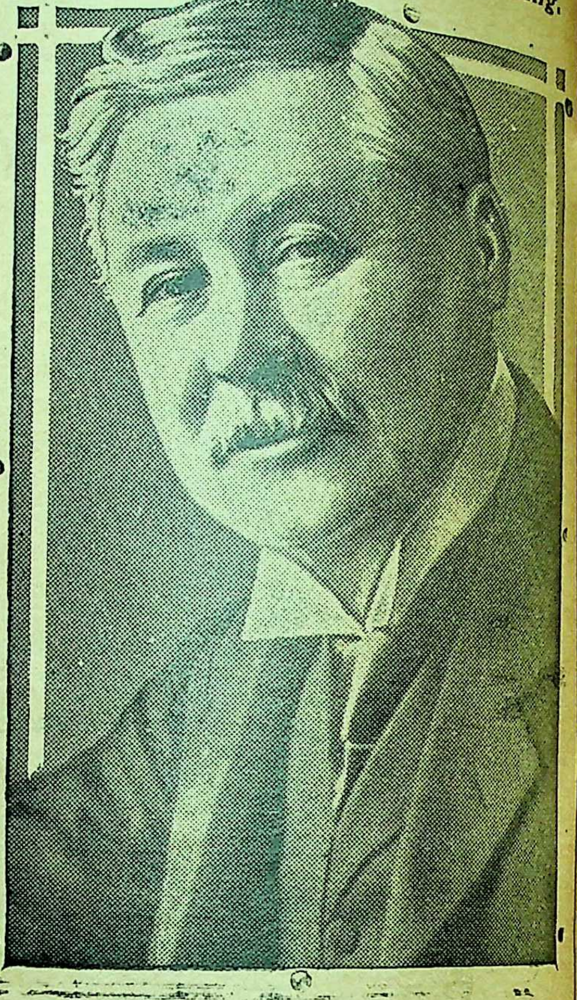

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# WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

**Nagendranath Gupta**, Journalist and Author, former editor, *Tribune*, Lahore.

**Reginald A. Reynolds**, It was Mr. Reginald Reynolds who delivered Mahatmaji's famous "ultimatum" to Lord Irwin in 1930. Since then he has been engaged in promoting the cause of India in England.

**Nalinikanta Gupta**, Bengali critic and author. He has been closely associated with Aurobindo Ghosh for many years.

**Christopher Ackroyd**, Professor of History, St. Paul's College, Calcutta.

**Agnes Smedley**, Journalist, who has made the cause of revolutionary China her own.

**Dr. Rajanikanta Das**, of the International Labour Office, League of Nations, Geneva; author of *Industrial Efficiency of India* and other important works on Labour questions.

**Swami Nikhilananda**, of the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda Mission. Swami Nikhilananda is a distinguished scholar of vedanta, was associated for a long time with *Prabuddha Bharata*, and is now in America

**G. S. Dutt**, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Birhhum (Bengal).

**Dhirendranath Roy**, PH.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of the Philippines, Manilla.

**K. P. Jayaswal**, Distinguished Orientalist and scholar.

**Lakshmiswar Sinha**, Mr. Sinha has lived in Sweden for three years as a student of educational system and is familiar with every aspect of the student life of that country.

**Our Reviewers**: Taraknath Das, PH.D. Author and journalist authority on diplomatic history. Kalika-ranjan Qanungo M.A. PH.D., Lecturer in History, Dacca University. U. C. Bhattacharjee, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A. PH.D., Professor of History, Lucknow University; Author of many works on Indian history. Dr. H. Sinha, PH.D., Professor of Economics Presidency College, Calcutta. Dr. S. N. DasGupta M.A., PH D. Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta; Author of *A History of Indian Philosophy*. Priyaranjan Sen M.A. lecturer in English, Calcutta University. Chintaharan Chakravarti Prof. of Sanskrit, Bethune College, Calcutta.

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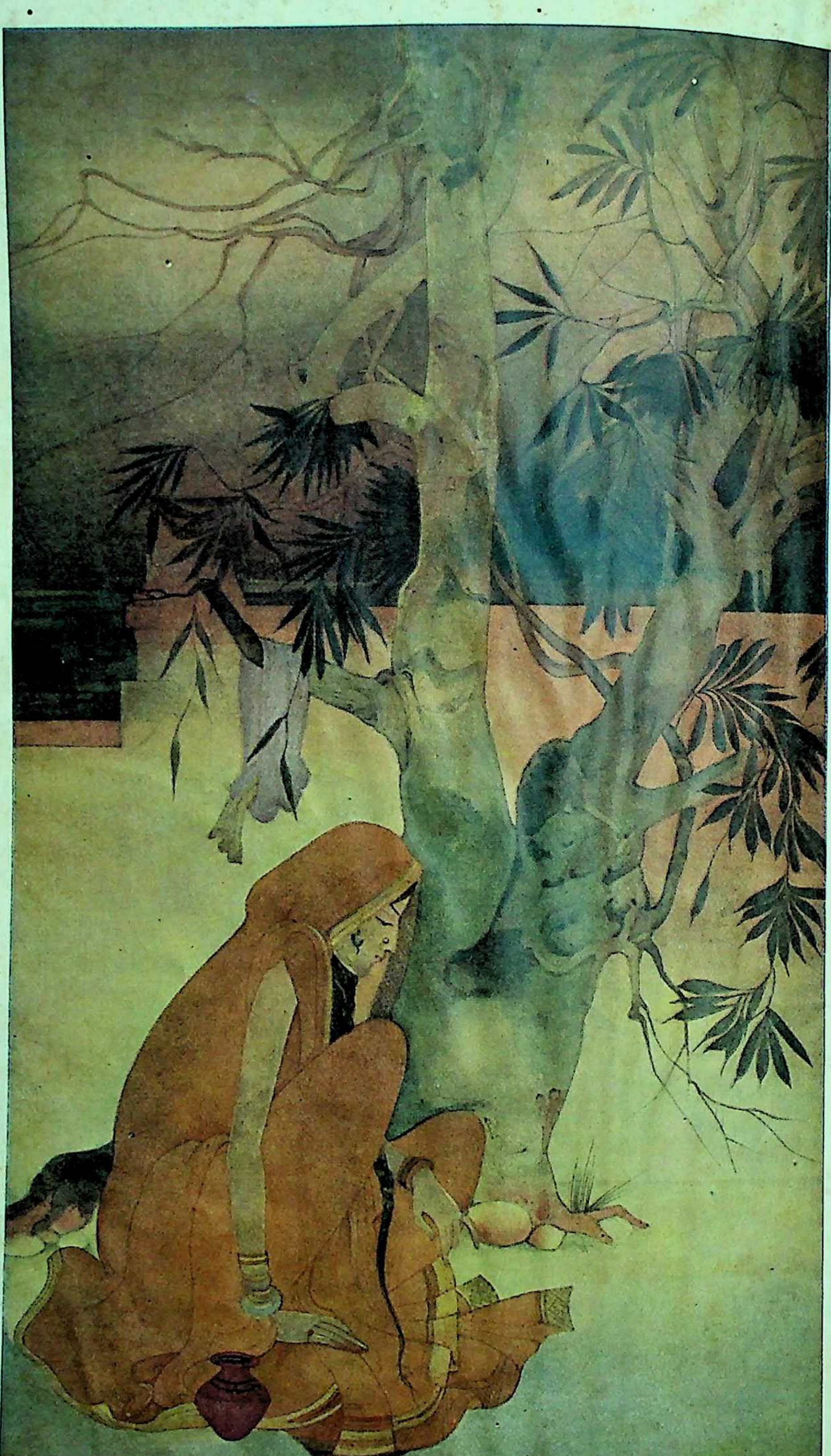

SITA IN THE ASOKA GROVE

By Kshitindranath Majumdar

THE MODERN REVIEW

*MAY* 1932

Vol. LI., No. 5 Whole No. 305

# THE SPAN OF LIFE

By NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA

So uncertain is life and so certain is death that in all ages and in all lands men have been strongly attracted by the idea of the prolongation of life. The immortality of the soul is a matter of speculation and faith, but life in the flesh is tangible to all. The normal desire of every man is to live to what is called a good old age. There are the ordinary laws of health and temperate living which are conducive to longevity. But the most careful or the healthiest life may be abruptly terminated by accident or disease, to say nothing of the heavy toll of war in which men inflict and find sudden death.

Men cling to life not so much because of the love for it as on account of the dread of the unknown thing called death. Death comes to all but no one knows what it is or what comes thereafter. All the theories of another life after death, the conception of heaven and hell are based upon imagination and faith, and not on experience or actual knowledge. The mind is appalled by the prospect of nothingness at the end of life, the dissolution of the spirit as well as the flesh. It finds solace in the belief of the continuity of existence in some form or other, in the uninterrupted state of being. Even the tortures of hell are preferable to the complete cessation of existence. The terror of death is enhanced by its sphinx-like inscrutability, the enigma that baffles all attempts at a solution. Nothing is more familiar than death, nothing more mysterious. There is that striking parable in which Buddha asked a woman who was disconsolate for the death of her son to bring some mustard seeds from a house in which there had been no death, and the woman failed in her quest. Wherever there is life there is death and the number of the dead exceeds the number of the living.

As the sphinx towers over the desert plain of Gizeh in Egypt so death dominates the landscape of life, and men have ever vainly tried to circumvent it by stretching out the length of life. Who has not heard of the mythical elixir of life, the magic drops that were supposed to confer immunity from death ? Drugs and incantations, penance and austerity of life have all been resorted to for the purpose of lengthening life indefinitely. The life everlasting may be true of the soul but men have sought it for the flesh. Ancient Sanskrit mythology is full of legends in which the boon of everlasting life or immortality in the flesh was bestowed by the gods upon men as a reward for devotion and rigorous penance. In some countries in ancient times the king was saluted by the greeting, 'O king, live for ever !' In India up to the present day the common form of blessing is a wish that the recipient of the blessing may live for ever. At the back of all these imaginings and formulas is the fear of death, a vague desire to avert death indefinitely. The truth remains that a king dies as surely as a beggar, and neither divine boon nor human blessing can stave off death at the appointed time.

Conclusive evidence of the human desire for the protraction of life is to be found in ancient books. The fact need not be disputed that among the Jews the patriarchs lived to a great age, but there is no warrant for the detailed and precise figures given in the Old Testament. For instance, it is definitely stated that Adam was 930 years old when he died. Even if Adam was not a mythical person it is impossible that an accurate record of his age was kept. There was no literacy, no instrument for noting the passing of time, no division of months and years. The age assigned to Adam is purely imaginary. The longest stretch of life is attributed to Methuselah, who was descended in a straight line from Adam and lived 969 years. He is still spoken of as the oldest man that ever lived. Noah is not far behind for he lived 950 years. When there was great wickedness in the world and God decided to destroy every form of life from the face of the earth Noah was spared for he 'found grace in the eyes of the Lord ; Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.' Before the deluge God commanded Noah to take refuge in the ark with his whole family and a number of beasts and fowls. And God established a covenant with Noah. It is worth while noting that although Noah was favoured because he was just and perfect he was not always righteous or even temperate. After the floods had subsided God made a fresh covenant, of which the rainbow was the token, with Noah. Afterwards Noah became a husbandman and he planted a vineyard. 'He drank of the wine, and was drunken ; and he was uncovered within his tent.' His second son, Ham, finding him in this state covered him. When Noah awoke and knew what had happened he, instead of thanking Ham, cursed Canaan, the son of Ham, saying, 'a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.' This was scarcely the conduct of a man who walked with God, nor is there a word said about God being displeased with Noah.

In extravagance of language and fantastic calculations of time the ancient Aryans of India easily take the first place. In intellect and spiritual culture they were far ahead of other ancient peoples. The *Upanishads* and the philosophies disclose unrivalled concentration and depth of thought, and brevity and precision of expression. But in the epics and *puranas* all restraints disappear and a free rein is given to the imagination. There is supreme and sovereign contempt for all accuracy in the measurement of time. These ancient masters of fiction and creative literature were recklessly prodigal in their estimates of time. In the Old Testament the longest lease of human life stopped short of a thousand years ; in the Indian epics and mythologies thousands of years were given away with the same ease that we spend minutes and hours. Three or four figures were altogether too paltry for the insatiable imagination of the Aryan poet and mythographer. As multi-millionaires think in millions so these plutocrats of imagination dealt in staggering figures. Their arithmetic was prodigious, their hyperboles took away the breath. Fable was never more daring than when they fashioned it. They conjured up treasure beyond the dreams of avarice, they massed armies that swamped the hosts of Armageddon. To men they gave thousands of years of life, to kings thousands of years of sovereignty, to devotees thousands of years of penance and meditation. There was no era, no reckoning of time. They wanted to impress the imagination and little things are not impressive. The actual span of life is much too short to satisfy the imagination and hence this multiplicity of years. These ancient romancers were shrewd speculators for they knew they could draw upon the bank of time without the slightest fear of depleting it, that there are no figures that can either compass or exhaust time.

With the passing of time this tendency of assigning lives of incredible length to human beings has diminished, but even in quite recent times a lingering faith of this kind is to be found in works of fiction. In Bulwer Lytton's *Zanoni* and *Joseph Balsamo* and *The Memoirs of a Physician* by Alexander Dumas there are instances of men who have defied time and lived for some thousands of years. The fact that these characters are purely fictional does not exclude the belief that has persisted through the ages that it is possible for a man to live for many generations either by the cultivation of some occult powers or by the use of some rare nostrum discovered for the prolongation of life. Outside fiction men of science are always busy in carrying out experiments for the rejuvenation of old age, in grafting monkey glands on human bodies and in stretching the length of human life. An individual who has lived for nearly a hundred years or more and has retained his or her faculties more or less unimpaired is an object of the liveliest curiosity. People are eager to learn from the experience of that lucky individual the secret of a long life. They speak with bated breath of some holy man reputed to have attained a fabulous age. There is an unmistakable craving, a wistful yearning for longer life than is usually vouchsafed unto man.

Analysing this feeling are we satisfied that men would be content if the span of life were extended, if the limit of life were increased to twice or thrice its present length ? Would they in that case surrender life cheerfully when the call came, would they cease to be haunted by the fear of death ? We know nothing like this will ever happen. The desire for the prolongation of life proceeds from the hope of the avoidance of death as long as possible and the longer a man lives the stronger becomes the dread of death. It is a singular fact that men fear the coming of death the least when life is at its fullest and strongest. It is young men full of the joy and glow of life who cheerfully and light-heartedly undertake adventures of which the hazard is death, and even young women are equally intrepid and dauntless. Life is valued least just when it appears most precious, when the blood courses strongly through the veins, when the body is tingling with vitality to the finger tips. The reaction comes with the advancing years, the growing sluggishness of age, the increasing feebleness of the faculties. In the flow-tide of life the sense of fullness promotes the spirit of prodigality and life is held or flung away with equal ease. It is when the ebb sets in and the waters recede that men cling desperately and despairingly to the shores of life.

Both in myth and fable the conception of an uncommon length of life is confined to the individual and not the race. Once in a way a man was supposed to have lived for hundreds or thousands of years. If it were possible for any man to live so long, would his position be an enviable one ? Let it be assumed that by some extraordinary means he retains his physical and intellectual vigour through all these years. In the ordinary course of nature he outlives his children and grandchildren and his descendants for many generations. If he is unmarried and consequently childless, he loses all his friends and gradually becomes a stranger in the land, not forgetting the world but by the world forgot. His place in life becomes one of an acute and a tragic isolation. He is bewildered by the flux of constant change. Manners and modes change with the passing generations. The nation to which he belonged may disappear. Kingdoms and empires rise and fall, men come into life and go out of it in endless succession. New-fangled inventions do not astonish him so much as they jar upon his old-world notions. The world that he knew and loved is changed beyond recognition. The elasticity of the human mind is very limited and that is why old people grumble against the younger generation and regard their own youthful days as the Golden Age. For some time people wonder at the length of his years, then comes incredulity followed by positive disbelief and the man who has survived his generation for a long time should deem himself fortunate if he is not clapped into prison as an impostor. The world is a world of change, of sudden entrances and quick exits, and the man who loiters superfluous on the stage finds life has no use for him. The man whose life runs into thousands of years cannot be a happy man and he finds himself indulging in the megrims or a flotsam wallowing in the doldrums.

The wildest imagination or the most extravagant myth has not conceived a race of human beings whose normal length of life extends to thousands of years. There were, of course, the immortal gods on the Himalayan and Olympian heights but they did not appear to have a numerous progeny and they had the further advantage of being ethereal and invisible. The children of Adam, on the other hand, are made of solid flesh and bone and they require living room. Now, this little earth of ours is not very precious and three-fourths of it consists of a waste of waters unfit for human habitation. Fixing the average length of human life, say, at three thousand years what would be the result? The Aryan *Rishis* would be heard today chanting Vedic hymns on the banks of the Panjab rivers and on the Himalayas. The Lord Buddha would be preaching his lofty doctrine in the Gangetic valley mound about Benares. The Great Moghul would be sitting on his dazzling peacock throne, Sivaji's ochre coloured flag would be floating over the Deccan and Maharaja Ranjit Singh would be all powerful in the Panjab. This is a confusion of history and a complete upsetting of the sequence of events. It is obvious that many of these things could not have happened if men were to live so long. Shifting the scene to another part of the world we should find the Pharaohs still ruling over Egypt, the Greek and Roman Empires flourishing, Alexander engaged on his conquests, Cæsar dominating Rome, the Romans ruling Britain and Napoleon in conflict with Alexander and Cæsar. Jesus Christ would still be preaching from Galilee to Jerusalem. Confusion could not be worse confounded and much of the history of the past would have to be wiped out. Bewildering as the whole thing may appear the entire superstructure of fancy is shattered by the hard fact that there is no room on earth for the simultaneous subsistence of so many generations of men. Egypt could not hold Rameses and the builders of the pyramids, Cleopatra, the Copts and the Fellahin. Neither Rome nor Italy could find house room for the Romans and Italians. The world would be much too small for such a bunch as Alexander, Jengiz Khan, Nadir Shah and Napoleon swinging their scythes simultaneously and mowing down the human race.

The world is so designed that usually there is room only for three generations. The birth of a grandchild is a notice to the grandfather to quit. For a few years the grandsire and the grandchild may entertain each other, but the companionship is of brief duration. All life is before the grandchild whereas the grandfather's life is behind him. In the two the dawn and the sunset of life meet. It is the meeting of two twilights, one heralding the glory and splendour of sunrise and the bustle of life, and the other ushering in the gloom and murkiness of night and the stillness of death. The richest language in the world with the largest vocabulary has no words to designate relationship beyond the third generation. A word like 'great-grandfather' is obviously an awkward and clumsy invention betraying the dearth of simple, single words for relationship beyond three generations. If seven generations happened to be living at the same time how would the oldest and youngest members of the family address each other?

It is because the length of human life, at its longest, is so short that there is such a longing for a larger number of years. To a man whose span of life does not stretch beyond three or four score years a period of a thousand years seems like an eternity. The disillusionment comes after a thousand years of life, for time itself is absolute; the relativity is in the other things that are sought to be measured by time. A hundred, a thousand and a hundred thousand years are all the same in the infinity of time. The past is fathomless, the future is measureless; it is only the present that is fleeting according to our consciousness, because life is fleeting. Eliminate life and there will be no need for divisions of time. The truest conception of time is to be found in the peace chant of the Isavasya or *Isa Upanishad*, believed to be the oldest of the Upanishads. It is part of the mantra portion of the Veda itself and the fortieth chapter of the white *Yajur Veda*. *Om purnamadah purnamidam purnatpurnamudachyate. Purnasya purnamadaya purnamevavasisyate.* 'Om. That is Full, this is full. from that Full, this full emanates. Taking away this full from that Full, the Full still remains behind.' This apparent paradox is strictly true. The commentator explains that this verse describes Infinities of different orders.

If an infinite straight line is taken away from an infinite surface the remainder is still infinite.' Time is one of the Infinities; it remains infinite even when millions of years are taken away from it.

A man who has outlived his contemporaries and has attained a great age and has also retained his faculties is an object of great interest. People gather round him to hear stories of the past of which he is a living witness. If his memory goes back to a hundred years how long does it take him to recall what he remembers? In the memory the years are crowded into moments. The history of a whole lifetime flashes through the memory in an instant. It makes no difference whether a man has lived a hundred or ten thousand years. The longest life appears all too short when it comes to an end. The long way that a man has travelled through life is no longer than a step. All the past years, the joys and sorrows, the varied experiences are crowded into a single yesterday.

To man whose body is made up of perishable matter the weight of years is a heavy one. No man can live very long without being subject to the physical and intellectual decline of age. Some age quickly and others slowly, but the advance of senility cannot be resisted for an indefinite length of time. The erect body bends like a reed in the wind, the vigour of youth and the alertness of the prime of life give way to the decrepitude of old age, the senses and the faculties begin to flag and fail, memory lapses and becomes a blur, and man, the vaunted lord of creation, becomes a doddering, pitiful object, helpless as a blind kitten, terrified by the fearsomeness of approaching death. Life can never run away from that haunting apparition. For live we how we can and live we ever so long, yet die we must.

What would happen if the dark shadow of old age with its infirmities and its tragedy of lost vitality were to lift from the sunshine of life, letting it revel in the springtide, full of colour, without any apprehensions of the greyness of autumn and the bleakness of winter? A contingency of this kind did not escape the wide range of the imagination of the wise Aryans of ancient India. In the parabolic legend of King Yayati it is stated that in consequence of a curse of the Rishi Sukracharya he was afflicted with the miseries and infirmities of old age in the prime of life. At the earnest and humble entreaty of the king the Rishi was pleased to commute his curse so far that he gave the king the option of exchanging his senility with the youth of a young man willing to accept the exchange. The king had five sons and he asked each of them in turn to surrender his youth to him in exchange for his old age. The four elder sons declined the proposal, but Puru, the youngest, readily and cheerfully assented to it and gave up his youth to his father and accepted his father's old age and infirmities. For a full thousand years, to use the florid figure of the legend, King Yayati enjoyed his newly acquired youth to the full, abandoning himself to the ceaseless pursuit of pleasure. Then came the reaction. Yayati realized that there is no repletion or satiety in enjoyment, that desire grows all the more the more it is gratified just as fire blazes up more fiercely the more it is fed. To the king steeped in pleasure came the awakening of the spirit, the knowledge that there is no rest, no peace, no happiness in running distractedly hither and thither after the will-o'-the-wisp called pleasure. The thirst called desire can only be quenched by being stifled, it is a fire that must be extinguished. Yayati gave back to his son the youth he had borrowed from him and took back his own curse and the debility of old age. He spent his time in prayer and meditation, and died in the odour of sanctity.

For men who think and men who dream life is somewhat different from the lives of cattle that browse and lie down to chew the cud with closed eyes and never lift their heads to look at the sky or gaze at the mystery of the stars. The placid, bovine life is not perturbed by any thought or fear of death. To man death is familiar, a thing of everyday experience and yet it is an utter stranger since no one knows what it is or to what it leads. Is life to be prized merely because so long as it lasts it is a negation of death? Life waxes and wanes with the years; with growing age the mainspring of life becomes lax, reaction and resilience become feeble ; the fire of vitality burns low and the stirring of the embers produces no spark. When 'King David was old and stricken in years they covered him with clothes, but he got no heat.' That is the case with every one who lives long. Is life still desirable when it is almost completely drained of all vitality ? So long as the breath remains in the body and the pulse continues to beat, however faintly and feebly, death is held off from day to day. This is the poignant tragedy of life and it brings us round to the statement with which we started, namely, that men hold on to life not because of what it offers or what it promises, but on account of the overwhelming dread of death. The wine in the cup of life may be drunk to the dregs and yet there is no inclination to set down the empty cup. There is no outlook beyond life, no horizon other than that which encircles the world.

This is not an exhilarating conception of life. It is no more than a respite, the sense of relief that comes to a criminal under sentence of death when he gets a reprieve. Life is not a state of mere passivity, an existence on sufferance, but a thing of abounding vitality, a consciousness of strength, a resolute purpose to do and dare undaunted by the inevitable end. To the majority of mankind life is a dull and unstimulating routine, a daily round of drudgery and struggle for existence, a drab, dreary iteration of the same banalities. It is vapid, thoughtless, uninspiring. If life were to be judged by a record of achievement, length of years would not be always essential. As an illustration we may take three names in three different spheres of life : Alexander, Jesus Christ and Sankaracharya. All three died quite young, but their names are among the most famous in history. No warrior has surpassed the fame of Alexander of Macedon ; in his remarkable and brilliant *Life of Jesus* Ernest Renan does not consider Jesus of Nazareth as an incarnation or the son of God but as the greatest of men. Sankaracharya of Kerala possessed one of the acutest and subtlest intellects ever seen in men. His intellectual achievement was marvellous. All these three men died almost at the same age : Alexander was thirty-two, Jesus thirty-three, Sankara thirty-two. Who would ask for ten thousand years if one could get a score and half years of such glorious life ?

It is not possible for the vast majority of men to acquire either fame or distinction. These can come only to the fortunate or favoured few. The bulk of humanity must be content to live and die in obscurity, unnoticed and unknown. The mistake lies in looking at life through the wrong end of the binocle. Life gains nothing by extension or expansion. It is not by spreading it over a large number of years that life yields the best results. It is rather by concentration that life becomes fruitful. What matters is not how long we live, but how we live, how we avail ourselves of the opportunities that life offers, how much of sincerity and earnestness we infuse into life. One of the commonest errors is the notion of getting out of life all we can. The philosophy of life resolves into a gross sort of Hedonism. This accounts for the wild scramble for pleasure, the untiring search for excitement, the morbid titillation of the senses, the reckless squandering away of the best years of life. The truth is wholly the other way about. We are here not to get anything out of life, but to put into it our best and purest and noblest, to make life a thing of beauty and joy, to exalt it with high purpose, to fill it with strenuous endeavour. In its own way the humblest life is as good as the most valuable. Each has its own setting, each has its appointed task. Do the work that lies nearest your hand and do not waste your breath and tire your limbs in chasing the mocking shadow of fame. The least among men can live a sweet, clean, cheerful life radiating brightness and sunshine around him. Fill your life with the scent of roses and the *attar* of Stamboul so that you may leave a fragrant memory behind.

Life does not become fuller or more fruitful by mere length of years. When it draws to an end there is no satisfaction in the number of years. In summing up life the count of mere years yields no gratification. The thought is invariably of the kind of life one has lived, the use he has made of the years of life. The reckoning is by the mile-stones of events, the landmarks of endeavour and achievement. The barren years of idleness or thoughtless existence appear like an ugly smudge on the scroll of life. If the memory does not fail the restrospect of life is singularly swift, for the mind and memory are extraordinarily rapid calculators. The years before us seem very long and the veil of the future is lifted very slowly, but the years that we have lived, the years that are behind us appear like an incredibly brief space of time.

The desire for the indefinite prolongation of life is unconnected with the higher thoughts about life, speculation as to what is behind it and what is beyond. If all that we see in this life represents the totality of it as an entity life cannot be infinite. It is an immutable law that everything that has a beginning must have an end, that which was not will not be. There is longing for the continuous possession of life since we have got it, but if there was no life before birth why this reluctance to part with a thing which we did not always possess? When there is an abiding and a firm conviction of the immortality of the soul the fleetingness of life in the flesh should not unhinge the mind or fill it with the dread of death. The tenement of clay in which the deathless spirit abides for a time must crumble into dust in the course of nature. The component parts of the physical body cannot endure for ever or very long. After the fullness of growth must come the stage of decline and decay, and the ultimate cessation of the function of life. Thus men of faith who believe in the existence of the soul apart from the brief span of life in the flesh await the approach of death calmly and they are not afraid to meet it face to face undismayed. They regard it as a necessary stage of transition, an inevitable change. This is the proper attitude towards death, but it requires a training and discipline of the mind of which few are capable. Neither the ecstasy of the martyr at the burning stake nor the shrinking terror of the murderer at the foot of the scaffold represents the correct attitude towards death.

Supposing man had an unfettered option on life, that an indefinite term of life were his if he so willed, that death could not claim him unless he desired to lay down his life, what would be his ultimate and final choice? To this pertinent, even if hypothetic, question a definite and clear reply is to be found in the Mahabharata, that matchless and monumental epic in which the roll and march of incident and action are combined with the profoundest wisdom. It is in the Mahabharata that we find the Bhagavadgita framed against a background of two armed hosts waiting for the signal of battle. In the same great work we are told that Bhishma, the aged and wise warrior, the grandsire of the two contending factions of the Kauravas and the Pandavas, had been granted the boon of power over death, which would not come to him unless he wished for it. In spite of his advanced age Bhishma was one of the greatest and most skilful warriors of those times and he was the first generalissimo of the vast Kaurava army. On the tenth day of the war, the Pandavas, finding him invincible, employed a ruse which had the effect of making him desist from the use of arms. He was then attacked, and fell from his chariot pierced by many arrows and sorely wounded. Physicians crowded round him with healing balms and ointments, but he would have none of their ministrations, nor did he yield up his life at once. The sun was then passing through the southern orbit and Bhishma declared he would live until the sun passed the equinox and entered the northern orbit. And so he lay on the battle-field under the open sky, on a bed of arrows whose perpendicular shafts held his body clear above the ground, and there unmindful of his hurts and the agony of his sufferings he discoursed day after day with ripe and unrivalled wisdom on high and solemn topics. A scene of greater solemnity can scarcely be conceived: the warrior sage lying on a bed fitting a warrior's calling and the princes sitting round listening to the flow of wisdom from his lips. And thus it went on until the sun crossed the equinoctial line and entered the northern section of his orbit when Bhishma entered into *Yoga* and so passed away. The point is not whether the power over death attributed to Bhishma is a figment of the imagination, but what use a wise man would make of it if he had it. Since Bhishma lingered so long he could have recovered from his wounds, but that thought never occurred to Bhishma. His was the higher wisdom which holds that there is a time to live and also a time to die. Even if the choice rests with him a wise man will elect to lay down the burden of life when he considers it is time to do so.

If we leave out of account the extravagant and fanciful lengths of human life mentioned in the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament the biblical span of three score years and ten as representing the length of a man's life is a very wise allotment. A few years this way or that makes no appreciable difference. Life is desirable only so long as the faculties are more or less unimpaired and a man does not become helpless and a burden to others. The mere count of years is of no avail if a man outlives his energies and the powers of his mind.. It is pitiful to see the vital spark lingering and flickering in a body which has reached an advanced stage of senility. In the measureless infinitude of time thousand years are of as little account as seventy years. The span of life allotted to man is ample for such work as he may accomplish and for the rest death is the natural fulfilment and fruition of life. Even this length of years is not attainable by the majority of human beings, for somewhere round the corner lurks in the shadow the sinister figure of death, crouching to leap out and pull down its victim. What need is there to long for years that we may not win while the moment that passes calls out aloud to fill it with the best we have ?

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# STRANGERS TO THE TRUTH

## SOME NOTES ON ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA

### BY REGINALD A. REYNOLDS

A good man once rebuked me for calling someone a liar. "A liar," he said, "is a Stranger to the Truth." Viewed that way, it is a hard term to use of any human being.

Nevertheless there are times when anti-Indian propaganda in this country reaches such a pitch of venomous untruthfulness that one cannot help wondering whether its authors are not indeed "Strangers to the Truth." The lust of power and wealth seems to have obliterated every moral sense in them. It is as though they were seized with a sort of Satanic fanaticism.

Pure ignorance, of course, may account for a great deal. When the *Daily Express* for February 29 treated us to a lurid Mayo-esque picture of the Holy City of Benares on the Ganges, and said that it was in the North-West Frontier Province, one marvelled chiefly at the lack of elementary education among journalists. When in that same article the same ignoramus in high horror described the poverty, disease and filth of Benares, one might wonder whether he thought the poverty did credit to the Government and whether he had ever visited the East End of London. With the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Bombay one could feel the same forbearance. He wrote on February 16 that Miss Slade had been ordered to leave Bombay, having "acted in a manner prejudical to public safety in furthering an unlawful movement" and then added by way of explanation: "Miss Slade has spent the greater part of her time, since the arrest of Gandhi, in spinning cloth." After all, what could be more subversive except weaving yarns ? However, the British public can rest assured that yarns are still *spun* in the old-fashioned way so far as its Press is concerned. And that must have been much easier with Miss Slade out of the way, just as the removal of Father Elwin from the North-West Frontier Province must have made things much easier for the Government and its Fleet Street allies in Peshawar.

The subject of Father Elwin, however,

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brings me to an aspect of journalism that neither ignorance nor stupidity can excuse. Of all Englishmen that I met in India, Verrier Elwin was outstandingly the noblest and the best. A recent article in a religious journal describes his early career at Oxford as brilliant: he was successively Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall and Assistant-Chaplain of Merton. At Gandhi's request he visited the North-West Frontier Province to investigate the situation, and though very soon deported by a Government that is terrified of truth, Elwin produced a report based on what he had seen and heard that substantially confirmed the reports made previously by responsible Indians.

Over here we had no account of events in the Frontier Province except biassed accounts by British journalists censored first by the Government and then by their own editors of the Imperialist Press. A copy of Elwin's report was therefore sent to the *Manchester Guardian* by an optimistic friend of mine who thought the *Guardian* would at least publish "the other side," for this journal is as eager as Pontius Pilate to be impartial. My friend forgot, however, that atrocities in Poland and "Law and Order" in India are very different matters, and was disappointed to receive a polite note from the editor intimating his inability to publish this document. I could have saved him his trouble by telling him of at least two previous instances in which the *Guardian's* impartiality had proved "unable" to meet a popular lie with a proven truth, where India was concerned. In this struggle we soon learn to discriminate between real fair-mindedness and that pompous "moderation" that cloaks a lie with gravity like a rogue in a dog-collar. I could name three religious papers with regard to which I made this same unpleasant discovery in connection with Indian news.

Lest, however, the reader should imagine the attitude of the *Guardian* to be one of strict neutrality, precluding indictments from *either* side, a long letter published in its issue of February 26 should be noted. It appears over the signature of John W. Graham, a man who has written more untruth about India, both in England and America, than any other propagandist with whose work I am familiar. Just to show his mettle he makes the amazing statement in his first paragraph that "Mr. Gandhi has refused the method of conference offered by the Government." This is soon followed by a wholesale indictment of the Indian nation "where there is not the courage and truthfulness to carry on courts." The rest of the letter is mostly made up of miscellaneous falsehoods, badly jumbled together, and in the course of this slander one is not surprised to find Mahatma Gandhi included. Gandhi, it appears, is convicted of *lying* on two occasions. Authorities ? Miss Mayo for one and the "Giornale d'Italia" for the other. And such is the intelligence of the British public that I doubt not many will actually take this man's word for the fact that a nation of 350 millions consists of cowards and liars, including a man whom the noblest men of every land have recognized as a saint. For in England we are so firmly convinced that no Englishman can tell a lie, that if *either* Mr. Graham *or* the entire Indian nation is a Stranger to the Truth, it follows that (the former being impossible) the latter must be the case ; even though Mr. Graham's evidence be an Italian newspaper and a woman whose statements have been proved in so many instances to be shamelessly false.*

Strange are our ideas of slander. The mildest insinuation directed against one's countryman brings with it the penalties of the law, backed by public indignation. But a Katherine Mayo or a John William Graham can utter vicious falsehoods in defamation of 350 million helpless people, too distant, too poor, too closely muzzled and crushed by an oppressive regime to make any effective reply ; and "impartial" journals will countenance their libels and lend their weight to the campaign of calumny.

So far as India is concerned the main offensive in this campaign is being conducted in England. But for a long time our Imperialists have been aware of the necessity of carrying on international propaganda, particularly in America. Miss Mayo's attempt to stir up race hatred against the Indians was no more an accident than the service she rendered the American Imperialists respecting the Philippines. More recently attention has been devoted to the Continent, and I would select as a last example of the activities of the Lie Factory—the German book *"Indien Kampf"* by Walter Bosshard.

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* The *Guardian* has since published a letter showing that both Dr. Edmond Privat (a professor of Geneva University) and Miss Muriel Lester, who were with Gandhi at the time, deny the authenticity of the Italian interview. But why need so obvious a falsehood ever have been published ?

As I know very little German I should probably never have come across Bosshard's book if my attention had not been drawn to passages referring to myself. It was from the unscrupulous mendacity of these passages that I first judged the general purpose of the book. From the passages that have since been translated to me regarding Gandhi, the events of 1930 and other matter, I find that my first conclusions were fully justified : the book is a German *Mother India* designed to check the growing sympathy on the Continent with India's struggle for freedom.

*"Indien Kampf"* appears to be, in effect, a solemn repetition in book form of all the wearisome nonsense that was written in the British Press about India during the campaign of 1930, fortified by the *obiter dicta* of Anglo-Indian standard gossip. For purposes of propaganda, however, Herr Bosshard has put a large number of his false statements into the mouths of Indians, from Gandhi downwards, and so contrived to condemn them from their own words by fictitious interviews, in the Mayo manner. Anyone who knew the people whose alleged statements he quotes, would realize their falsity immediately, but as confirmation I can best quote my own case. Unimportant as my example is, I am speaking here from first-hand knowledge of the "interviews" of Herr Bosshard (and many other journalists, I regret to say) whose general truthfulness I was able to judge from personal experience. Two-thirds of Herr Bosshard's "interview" with me was simply newspaper hearsay which he put into my mouth, a procedure which would have been rather more successful if he had not made me refer to "Cambridge, where I studied." Now the newspapers had said that I came from Cambridge, but I did not, nor from any University. So either Walter Bosshard is a Stranger to the Truth or I am.

And that reminds me that Walter Bosshard is now in the Far East and writing (so a German doctor tells me) very silly reports from Shanghai in a well-known German newspaper. I should feel very much the same about those reports, if I were a reader of that paper, that I felt about the hair-raising accounts of Russia that Mr. C. J. Ketchum wrote in the *Daily Express* ; for I have also been "interviewed" by Mr. Ketchum. Yet these are the makers of war and peace and the writers of history.

Blessed are the Strangers to the Truth, for they shall be called Special Correspondents.

# THE STANDPOINT OF INDIAN ART

By NALINIKANTA GUPTA

INDIAN art is not in truth unreal and unnatural, though it may so appear to the eye of the ordinary man or to an eye habituated to the classical tradition of European art. Indian art, too, does hold the mirror up to Nature; but it is a different kind of Nature, not altogether this outward Nature that the mere physical eye envisages. All art is human creation; it is man's review of Nature; but the particular type of art depends upon the particular view-point that the artist takes for his survey. The classical artist surveys his field with the physical eye, from a single point of observation and at a definite angle; it is this which gives him the *sine qua non* of his artistic composition, anatomy and perspective. And the genius of the artist lies very much in the selection of a vantage ground from which his survey would throw into relief all the different parts of the objective in the order and gradation desired; to this vantage ground the entire construction is organically—one could even say, in this case, geometrically—correlated.

Indian art, too, possesses a perspective and an anatomy; it, too, has a focus of observation which governs and guides the composition, in the ensemble and in detail. Only, it is not the physical eye, but an inner vision, not the angle given by the retina, but the angle of a deeper perception or consciousness. To understand the difference, let us ask ourselves a simple question: When we call back to memory a landscape, how does the picture form itself in the mind? Certainly, it is not an exact photograph of the scenery observed. We cannot, even if we try, re-form in memory the objects in the shape, colour and relative positions they had when they appeared to the physical eye. In the picture represented to the mind's eye, some objects loom large, others are thrown into the background and others again do not figure at all; the whole scenery is reshuffled and rearranged in deference to the stress of the mind's interest. Even the structure and build of each object undergoes a change; it does not faithfully re-copy Nature, but gives the mind's version of it, aggrandizing certain parts, suppressing others, reshaping and re-colouring the whole aspect, metamorphosing the very contour into something that may not be "natural" or anatomical figure at all. Only we are not introspective enough to observe this phenomenon of the mind's alchemy; we think we are representing with perfect exactitude in the imagination whatever is presented to the senses, whereas in fact we do nothing of the kind; our idea that we do it is a pure illusion.

All art is based upon this peculiar virtue of the mind that naturally and spontaneously transforms or distorts the objective world presented to its purview. The question, then, is only of the degree to which the metamorphosis has been carried. At the one end, there is the art of photography, in which the degree of metamorphosis is at its minimum; at the other, there seems to be no limit, for the mind's capacity to dissolve and recreate the world of sense-perception is infinite—and many modern schools of European art have gone even beyond the limit that the "unnatural" Indian art did not consider it necessary to transgress. Now, the classical artist selects a position as close as he can to the photographer, tries to give the mind's view of Nature and creation, as far as possible, in the style and norm of the sense-perceptions. He takes his stand upon these and from there reaches out towards whatever imaginative reconstructions are justified within the bounds laid out by them. The general ground-plan is, almost rigorously, the form given by the physical eye. The art of the East, and even, to a large extent, the art of mediæval Europe, followed a different line. Here the scheme of the sense-perceptions was rejected, the artist sought to build on other foundations. His procedure was, first, to get a focus within the mind, to discover a psychological standpoint, and from there and in accordance with the subtler laws and conventions of an inner vision create a world that is unique and stands by itself. The aim was always to build from within, at the most, from within outwards, but not from without, not even from without inwards. This inner world has its own laws and they differ from the laws of optics which govern the physical sight ; but there is no reason why it should be called unnatural. It is unnatural only in the sense that it does not copy physical Nature ; it is quite natural in the sense that it is a faithful reproduction of another, a psychological Nature.

Indian art is pre-eminently and *par excellence* the art of this inner re-formation and revaluation. It has thrown down completely and clearly the rigid scaffolding of the physical vision. We take here a sudden leap, as it were, into another world, and sometimes the feeling is that every thing is reversed ; it is not exactly that we feel ourselves standing on our heads, but it is, as if, in the Vedic phrase, the foundations were above and all the rest branched out from them downwards. The artist sees with an eye, and constructs upon a plan that conveys the merest excuse of an actual visible world. There are other schools in the East which have also moved very far away from the naturalistic view ; yet they have kept, if not the form, at least, the feeling of actuality in their composition. Thus a Chinese, a Japanese, or a Persian masterpiece cannot be said to be "natural" in the sense in which a Tinterotto, or even a Raphael is natural ; yet a sense of naturalness persists, though the appearance is not naturalistic. What Indian art gives is not the feeling of actuality or this sense of naturalness, but a feeling of truth, a sense of reality—of the deepest reality.

Other art shows the world of creative imagination, the world reconstructed by the mind's own formative delight ; the Indian artist reveals something more than that—the faculty through which he seeks to create is more properly termed *vision*, not imagination ; it is the movement of an inner consciousness, a spiritual perception, and not that of a more or less outer sensibility. For the Indian artist is a seer or *rishi* ; what he envisages is the mystery, the truth and beauty of another world—a real, not merely a mental or imaginative world, as real as this material creation that we see and touch ; it is indeed more real, for it is the basic world, the world of fundamental truths and realities behind this universe of apparent phenomena. It is this that he contemplates, this upon which his entire consciousness is concentrated ; and all his art consists in giving a glimpse of it, bodying it forth or expressing it in significant forms and symbols.

European—the Far Western—art gives a front-view of reality ; Japanese—the Far Eastern—art gives a side-view ; Indian art gives a view from above.* Or we may say, in psychological terms, that European art embodies experiences of the conscious mind and the external senses, Japanese art gives expression to experiences that one has through the subtler touches of the nerves and the sensibility, and Indian art proceeds through a spiritual consciousness and records experiences of the soul.

The frontal view of reality lays its stress upon the display of the form of things, their contour, their aspect in mass and volume and dimension ; and the art inspired and dominated by it is more or less a sublimated form of the art of photography. The side-view takes us behind the world of forms, into the world of movement, of rhythm. And behind or above the world of movement, again, there is a world of typal realities, essential form-movements, fundamental modes of consciousness in its universal and transcendent status. It is this that the Indian artist endeavours to envisage and express.

A Greek Apollo or Venus or a Madonna of Raphael is a human form idealized to perfection,—moulded to meet the criterion of beauty which the physical eye demands. The purely aesthetic appeal of such forms consists in the balance and symmetry, the proportion and adjustment, a certain roundedness and uniformity and regularity, which the physical eye specially finds beautiful. This beauty is akin to the beauty of diction in poetry.

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* I am tempted to add a fourth view—the view from behind or the occult view—something of which may be found in the art of Egypt in its most ancient and naïve aspects, in the art of archaic Tibet, in the remnants of some of the old-world submerged civilizations, now known as "primitive" (Polynesian, for example).

Apart from the beauty of the mere form, there is behind it and informing it what may be called the beauty of character, the beauty revealed in the expression of psychological movement. It corresponds to the beauty of rhythm in poetry. Considered aesthetically, the beauty of character, in so far as it is found in what we have called *formal* art, is a corollary,—an ornamental and secondary theme whose function is to heighten the effect of the beauty of form, or create the atmosphere and environment necessary for its display.

A Chinese or a Japanese piece of artistic creation is more of a study in character than in form; but it is a study in character in a deeper sense than the meaning which the term usually bears to an European mind or when it is used in reference to Europe's art-creations.

Character in the European sense means that part of nature which is dynamically expressed in conduct, in behaviour, in external movements. But there is another sense in which the term would refer to the inner mode of being, and not to any outer exemplification in activity, any reaction or set of reactions in the kinetic system, nor even to the mental state, the temperament, immediately inspiring it, but to a still deeper status of consciousness. A Raphael Madonna, for example, purposes to pour wholly into flesh and blood the beauty of motherhood. A Japanese Madonna (a Kwanon), on the other hand, would not present the "natural" features and expressions of motherhood; it would not copy faithfully the model, however idealized, of a woman viewed as mother. It would endeavour rather to bring out something of the subtler reactions in the "nervous" world, *the* world of pure movements that is behind the world of form; it would record the rhythms and reverberations attendant upon the conception and experience of motherhood somewhere on the other side of our wakeful consciousness. That world is made up not of forms, but of vibrations; and a picture of it, therefore, instead of being a representation in three dimensional space, would be more like a scheme, a presentation in *graph*, something like the ideography of the language of the Japanese themselves, something carrying in it the beauty characteristic of the calligraphic art.*

An Indian Madonna owes its conception to an experience at the very other end of consciousness. The Indian artist does not at all think of a human mother; he has not before his mind's eye an idealized mother, nor even a subtilized feeling of motherhood. He goes deep into the very origin of things, and from there seeks to bring out that which belongs to the absolute and the universal. He endeavours to grasp the sense that motherhood bears in its ultimate truth and reality. Beyond the form, beyond even the rhythm, he enters into *bhava*, the spiritual substance of things. An Indian Madonna (*Ganesh-janani*, for example) is not solely or even primarily a human mother, but the mother, universal and transcendent, of sentient and insentient creatures and supersentient beings. She embodies not the human affection only, but also the parallel sentiment that finds play in the lower and in the higher creations as well. She expresses in her limbs not only the gladness of the mother animal tending its young, but also the exhilaration that a plant feels in the uprush of its sap while giving out new shoots, and, above all, the supreme *ananda* which has given birth to the creation itself. The lines that portray such motherhood must have the largeness, the sweep, the authenticity of elemental forces, the magic and the mystery of things behind the veil.

It is this quality which has sometimes made Indian art seem deficient in its human appeal: the artist chose deliberately to be non-human, even in the portrayal of human subjects, in order to bring out the universal and the transcendent element in the truth and beauty of things. Man is not the measure of creation, nor human motives the highest or the deepest of nature's movements ; at best, man is but a symbol of truths beyond his humanity.

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* It is not my intention to say that the art of character, even in the deeper sense, is totally absent in Europe. On the contrary, it is that which has been growing day by day,—although perhaps often along rather odd lines. It is a moot question how far this orientation is due to the influence of the Eastern, especially, the Far Eastern art. In speaking of Europe, I was referring to the bedrock of the artistic tradition of Europe, its fundamental classical tone.

It is this characteristic that struck the European mind in its first contact with the Indian artistic world and called forth the criticism that Indian culture lacks in humanism. It is true, a very sublimated humanism finds remarkable expression in Ajanta,—and perhaps it is here that the Western eye began to learn and appreciate the Indian style of beauty ; even in Ajanta, however, in the pieces where the art reaches its very height, mere humanism seems to be at its minimum. And if we go beyond these productions, that reflect the mellowness and humaneness of the Buddhist Compassion, if we go into the sanctuary of the Brahmanic art, we find that the experiences embodied there and the method of expression become more and more "anonymous"; they have not, that is to say, the *local colour* of humanity, which alone makes the European mind feel entirely at home. Europe's revulsion of feeling against Indian art came chiefly from her first meeting with the multiple-headed, multiple-armed, expressionless, strangely poised Hindu gods and goddesses, so different in every way from ordinary human types.

Indian art had to be non-human, because its aim was to be supra-human, un-natural, because its very atmosphere was the supra-natural.

# FASCISM

## By CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

ONE of the greatest, but one of the most terrible plays of the twentieth century is Sean O'Casey's *Juno and the Paycock*. Those who have seen the play will remember the final curtain,—the desolate room, Joxer and the Captain drunk on the floor, and as the curtain falls the Captain mutters, "I'm tellin' you Joxer . . . th' whole world's in a . . . terr . . . ible state o' . . . chassis." Fortunately most people do not have to become intoxicated to discover this fact, but the difficulty is that too few people realize that the present state of chaos is the inevitable result of what is usually termed, Civilization. It is almost fourteen years since the Great War ended, and a war-wearied world then looked forward to the materializing of the promises of the politicians and the foundation of a civilization, more worthy of the name. When addressing the American Congress on April 2, 1917, President Wilson had declared that the United States was going to fight for "the universal dominion of right, by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free." To-day hardly one of the ideals then mooted has become an actuality. Since the ending of the Great War disillusionment and cynicism have become general throughout Europe. The post-war decade has been one of disillusion, just as the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth were years of hopeful illusions. Before the war, and even during the war itself, there was a gradually growing recognition of certain wrongs, but there was a passionate belief that all was bound to come right eventually. The air was thick with ideas of "making the world safe for democracy," and similar cries. Then came the politicians and the Treaty of Versailles, and suddenly the world awoke to the fact that words had remained words, and the world with all its vileness was still present. Then because of the greatness of the hopes the disappointment was all the harder to bear, all that was precious had crumbled into dust, and with sickness of soul one realized that not only one's enemies, but "all men are liars." To-day most people in

Europe have adopted Horace's motto "*Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.*" (Pluck the flower of to-day's joys while you may, that as little as possible be left for the morrow.)

China to-day is suffering from a variety of evils, but the root cause of her troubles is that her people apparently lack political ability. China is in a state of chaos because there exist only vague ideas as to what is really desirable, or necessary, and so long as different ideas exist there can be no definite, clear-cut policy, and a nation without clear ideas, and a clear policy is bound to drift into the state of China to-day. Unless India is able to develop political ability, it is inevitable that India will follow in the steps of China. General ideas are not good enough. Political movements of the last few years would have been far more successful, especially in Bengal, if there had been a clearer idea of what ought to be done. To say that chaos is inevitable is nonsense, since Soviet Russia, whatever the capitalist newspapers may assert, is certainly not in a state of chaos, the difficulties the Russians faced were no more, and no less difficult, than those facing the Chinese or those facing India to-day.

Now, if what has been said is true, then India will only be able to achieve cosmos like Russia, as contrasted with the chaos achieved by China, if some plan is in existence which can be put into force when opportunity occurs, and only by studying and contrasting the different political theories can an estimate be formed as to what is most suitable for India. From America and the majority of European countries, India has little to learn. Methods of material production may be studied, but these after all are only a means to an end, and must not be thought of as an end in themselves. The old Europe has nothing to offer to the awakening East, and it watches with cynical and amused contempt the growth of democratic nationalism. It still pays lip-service to the ideals of democracy, but it has no belief in its own words, and Oscar Wilde's dictum that "Democracy may be described as bludgeoning of the people, by the people, and for the people," has come to be generally accepted. That matters are bad is generally admitted, but there is a tendency to resort to palliatives, and to attempt to patch up the old system, whereas the need is for drastic reconstruction. There is no need to waste time considering whether what has been unsuccessful in favourable conditions elsewhere may be suitable to India, and attention should rather be concentrated on the two successful 'isms' of Europe, namely Fascism, and Bolshevism.

THE rise of the Fascist party in Italy was extremely rapid, and, to many, strangely surprising. At the elections of 1919 no Fascist got elected, but gradually the Fascist ideas began to spread from Milan over northern Italy, especially after the riots at Bologna in November 1920. The collapse of the 'Red' organizations at Bologna was due to the Fascists, though they numbered only some 200 or so, and their influence soon spread along the valley of the Po. By the end of 1920 masses of workers became Fascist for patriotic reasons, and Fascism definitely became a mass movement. In the elections held in May 1921, 38 Fascists were returned including Signor Mussolini himself At Undine on September 29, 1922, Signor Mussolini declared his adherence to the monarchy, and this secured the support of those who had previously held aloof from the movement on account of its republican tendencies. Finally, on October 28, 1922 the Fascists came into power.

A mistake that is frequently made is to confuse Fascism, with Italianism, and to regard it as something peculiarly Italian. Nothing could be further from the truth : it is true that Fascist Italy is strongly nationalistic, and that Mussolini has at times indulged in "sabre-rattling" speeches, but other statesmen have made similar speeches, and other countries are as strongly nationalistic without being called Fascist. There may be an Italian Fascism, but it is not true to say that Fascism is of necessity Italian, but since it has risen first in Italy, one must study it in its Italian form, and try to understand it better, by the elimination of its purely Italian aspects.

In ancient Rome, the symbol of the State, carried by the lictors before the magistrates, was a bundle of rods and an axe ; this device has been adopted as part-emblem of the Italian Fascist State, since it most clearly expresses the central political and social principles of Fascism. The axe is the symbol of the authority of the State, and recalls the old Roman tradition of authority, and the reign of law and order. The bundle of rods emphasizes the idea that "unity is strength." There is then, the symbolical unification of authority, and co-operation, necessary in any well-ordered society. Each citizen is regarded by Fascism as being a member of the society, which is united by the State's authority, the justification of which lies in its capacity to foster the greatest collective good, which is regulated by the ability of the individuals to develop a spirit of social solidarity, and to allow their egotistic instincts to be submerged by the social instincts.

At different times since the Renaissance, attempts have been made to escape from the excessive individualism which that movement engendered. The Utilitarian school argued that "the greatest good of the greatest number" would in the end promote the greatest possible collective interest. Rousseau tried to justify the sinking of the rights of the individual in the abstract conception of the General Will. Comte advocated "the religion of humanity" as a remedy for the prevailing individualism: Hegel taught that society is a spiritual unity for which, and by which its members exist. All these attempts ended in failure, and the German idealistic school merely succeeded in sublimating the egotistic impulses of the individual into a racial and national egoism which deified the State, and carried excessive individualism on to a higher and more dangerous plane. It is impossible to check individualism, when the individual is regarded as the starting-point, and thus one arrives at the philosophy of Pragmatism which teaches that a shifting relative truth is the only kind or truth available, and thus what is useful may be regarded as true. All this really means that an unbalanced individualism is bound to end in the blind alley of materialism, which encourages an unmitigated ruthlessness, and people while desiring to escape from the Slough of Despondence which results, find only the abandoned beliefs of former ages to satisfy them. All this goes to explain the despondency, cynicism, and general feeling of unrest characteristic of the greater part of Europe to-day.

Fascism is a definite revolt against materialism, and thus opposes all interpretations of the universe from a purely naturalistic or individualistic standpoint. Though one cannot say that all Fascists in Italy are believers in a divine transcendent Providence, all Fascists have a desire to believe in such a One, and are determined that the growing generation shall be protected from the dissolving poisons of materialism. This explains to a large extent Fascist intolerance: they are determined to build up a generation of believers, as the only means of reaching out of the present chaos, cost what it may. This also explains how Fascism came to start without any definite theoretical ideas, since the spirit of anti-materialism was forced by circumstances to express itself in action before it had reached sufficient maturity to express itself in systematic coherent thought. It explains also the readiness to submit to discipline and to suffer from mistakes of leadership rather than have no leadership, provided only that the spirit of the movement is maintained. It is the great difference between Fascist nationalism, and other forms of nationalism which are based on individualism, and one of the great differences between Fascism and Bolshevism.

Fascism should not, however, be regarded as the antithesis of the present era. It realizes that all heresies contain a certain amount of truth, though the truth they contain is regarded as being one-sided, and needing to be supplemented by other truths: Fascism rather seeks to synthesize: to preserve what is of value in modern thought, while rejecting what is purely materialistic: to conserve tradition, while opposing reaction. It regards modern 'progress' as being largely vitiated by its materialistic basis, and therefore is anxious to restore a culture which has its roots in revealed religion. The recent dispute between that Vatican and the Italian Government was not due to the anti-religious attitude of Fascism, but to the fact that though Fascism desires the establishment of religious belief, it fears any one-sided interpretation of life which it believes the Vatican policy would eventually inculcate.

Fascism thus is an attempt to conciliate the ideals of the modern era with the ideals of the past: it is an attempt to base civilization on the old pre-Renaissance, transcendental view of life, with its spiritual interpretation of the universe; at the same time it tries to assimilate modernism so far as this may be done without danger to the vitality of its pre-Renaissance basis. It is thus conservative, if one regards conservatism as the attempt to preserve that which is of value: but it is also progressive in the sense that it is open to new ideas, and rejects them only when these ideas are antipathetic to the ideas it seeks to preserve.

In many ways Fascism may be compared to the movement known in history as the Renaissance. Now the Renaissance though it was itself neither a philosophy nor a religion, gave rise to new forms both of philosophy and religion, it was really a new spirit which entered into men's lives, and stimulated them with fresh vigour. "It (the Renaissance), was circumvented by no particular aim, and the fertilizing wave that passed over Italy, Germany, France, England, and in a much fainter degree over Spain, to leave a fresh world behind it, seems more like a phenomenon, of nature than a current of history—rather an atmosphere surrounding men than a distinct course before them." (Edith Sichel, *The Renaissance.*) The Renaissance was a looking back, past the glories of Imperial and Republican Rome, to the glories of Greece. Out of the Renaissance grew the modern world as it appears to-day. Now, the modern world is the triumph of the Greek spirit of speculation, rationalism, and individualism, as contrasted with the old Roman spirit of practical commonsense, respect for tradition, and social solidarity. (The terms "Greek" and "Roman" are used throughout in their widest sense as typifying two contrasting mental attitudes). But the unchecked Greek spirit led to excess, and moral chaos, which spells death, as certainly as the Roman spirit when unchecked leads to rigid crystalization of the mind which equally certainly spells death. Fascism is the attempt to combine what is best in the Roman tendency of orderliness, and the Greek tendency of speculation.

The *Weltanschauung*, or the way of looking on the problems of life, of Fascism, may now be more easily understood. In Italy there is a large peasant class, which has conserved to a large degree the old pre-Renaissance way of looking at life. Practically speaking, Italy, which from 250 B. C. to 1550 A. D. had dominated the culture of the Western world, lay exhausted sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and her place was taken by France and other countries. The strength of the Roman Catholic Church in Italy, with its policy of opposing modern culture, till it had ceased to be a danger to Catholic faith had caused Italy to be cut off from the cultural life of the world. The peasantry, therefore, retained their old pre-Renaissance mentality, and the majority of the aristocracy also kept this basically Roman outlook. The urban proletariat, which grew rapidly in numbers during the nineteenth century, might be described as mentally neo European and, therefore, were Greek rather than Roman in their outlook. The war intensified throughout Italy the sense of national solidarity, together with which there is in the Italian peasant mentality, a strongly intuitive, rather than a rationalistic manner of regarding matters. Signor Mussolini himself is of peasant origin, and that is one reason why he is so successful an exponent of Fascism. He is the peasant aristocrat, and aims at promoting what is fundamentally a rural civilization: he is what the Italians term "*strapaesano*," which is an untranslatable word which denotes everything characteristic of the rural life. This intuitive outlook is the central active principle of the Fascist *Weltanschauung*, as contrasted with the analytical, rationalistic temper of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The urban population has also a contribution to make to the Fascist *Weltanschauung*; for cities are an indispensable element in the life of any highly civilized nation. It is only when cities monopolize the life of the country, and become parasitic, that they become an intolerable danger: when this happens they lose touch with the natural region on which the life of the city depends, until farmers are forced into a condition of manufacturing motor cars, in order that they may get the money to buy food,—which seems to be what is happening in certain parts of the world to-day. The duty of the city is surely to serve as the focussing point of the region, thus potentializing the natural resources of the region. The danger arises, when the city is considered as being the master, and not the servant, and ornament of the region. Cities are necessary, since certain qualities develop better in cities than in the country, such qualities, for example, as a more responsible civic sense, or the physical and intellectual spirit of adventure, and these are needed to leaven the more solid qualities of the peasant class in the country.

It is then, a balanced attitude of mind that Fascism desires, and tries to develop, which is tersely expressed in the Fascist refrain, *libro e moschetto, fascista perfetto* (book and rifle, perfect Fascist). A typical Fascist, for example, is a man like Signor Fracessini who finding himself too young to take his seat, when first elected, studied in a University, and then later recognized the Facsist party. Possibly St. Ignatius Loyola most perfectly represents the virtues which Fascism particularly stresses. Few men have combined so well both learning and action : he was both mystic, philosopher, and soldier, and he fully realized the value of discipline and authority. He founded the Jesuit Society with only seven members, but the Society became the spearhead of the Counter-Reformation. A striking parallel might be drawn between St. Ignatius and Mahatma Gandhi : in both there is the same definite belief in Truth, the same balance of mind, the same impulse towards action, and the same careful preparation before entering on the struggle.

The Fascist doctrine was officially set forth by Professor Alfredo Rocco, Minister of Justice, in a speech at Perugia on August 31, 1925. There, after rejecting the Liberal, Socialist, and Democratic theories of the State, he declared that according to Fascism, socie does not exist for the individual, but th individual for the society, although Fasci does not annul the individual, as individu annulled society under certain of the old doctrines, but rather it subordinates him t the society while securing his right to develop his personality. Fascism has often be accused of crushing individual liberty, b the Fascist view is that though parties oth than the Fascist, may be reduced to inactivit the essential liberty of the people has be secured, namely, the freedom to work an produce for the common good, and that on a strong, relentless government could carr out the necessary reforms. In a speech i July, 1924 Signor Mussolini declared that th people had not asked to be freed from tyranny which did not exist, but they did as for railways, houses, roads, bridges, drain water, and light.

In conclusion, then, one may say th Fascism has certain ideals which it is strivin to advance : it has a definite standard o character, and insists that questions of right and wrong are matters of objective and dis-cernible truth and that they are fundamentall concerned with questions of characte Fascism believes that the salvation of a rac depends on its proper formation of characte and the solution of all problems both soci and economic demands first, the renunciatio of materialism, secondly, the development o a balanced character in the individual, thirdly the development of a stronger sense of soci solidarity, and lastly, the ruralization o civilization, and it believes that this is possi-ble if there is a synthesis of the two gre formative traditions of Europe, the Gree and the Roman. Fascism thus is a defini plan of national life which should be studie and its value appraised to see whethe Fascism,—as distinct of course from Italian Fascism,—will be of benefit to the free Ind of to-morrow.

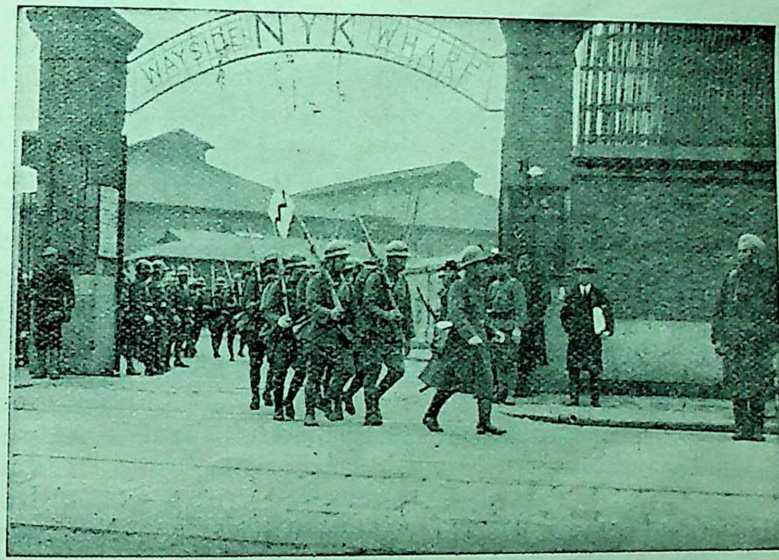
# THE SHANGHAI THERMOPYLAE

### By AGNES SMEDLEY

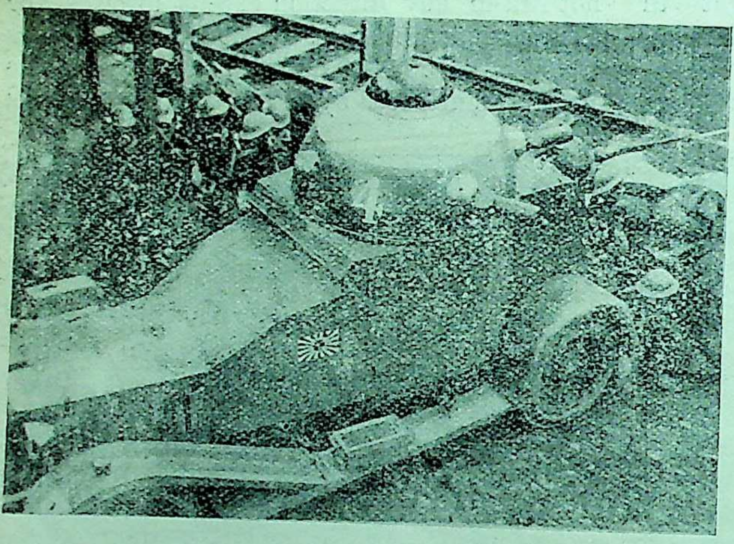
HERE in Shanghai, another battle of Thermopylae has been fought, a battle that will perhaps culminate in a new national revolutionary government, wipe out many of the politicians and militarists that mar the scene today, and throw up men as yet comparatively unknown to the West.

When the Japanese invaded Chinese territory on the midnight of January 28, they boasted they could drive the Chinese back before the dawn. But that dawn came, and many dawns thereafter; when February 18, came, the Japanese had brought in 25,000 land troops and replaced the old naval commander by General Uyeda, of the Japanese army; this general expected also to make the Chinese run by presenting a humiliating ultimatum ordering, among other things, that Chinese troops should withdraw 12½ miles inland, *e. g.*, evacuating their own territory to the Japanese. When they refused, the Japanese began a big drive on the morning of February 20, and one of their spokesmen told newspaper men that when they once started and pierced one Chinese line, "the Chinese will start running like rabbits, and will not stop until they have reached Nanking." But the end of February came, General Uyeda had to be replaced by Field-Marshal Shirakawa, and new troops were called for, bringing up Japanese forces in Shanghai today to a conservative estimate of over 50,000, but equipped with formidable weapons of killing such as to make each Japanese soldier the equal of one hundred Chinese; and these in turn reinforced by forty men-of-war and over one hundred forty bombing planes, planes which for days had already been bombing Chinese villages and towns as far inland as Soochow and Hangchow. The Japanese also brought in organized bands of White-guard Russians, those vultures who always follow in the wake of every form of reaction throughout the world. And for their unloading of ammunition, the Japanese captured Chinese working-men in the streets and forced them to unload and transport ammunition to the Japanese front.

By the end of February the Chinese had not run in any direction except towards the Japanese front lines. The Chinese forces consisted of 50,000 troops of the 19th Route Army, reinforced by parts of the "Model Divisions" of Chiang Kai-shek, which General Chiang had been forced to send in order to avoid completely losing his position in China. Altogether there were about 65,000 Chinese defence troops, of which the 19th Route Army was the backbone. Against the fearful Japanese war equipment, these troops had



Japanese infantry marching out of the wharves of the International Settlement, using it as the base of operations only four or five anti-aircraft guns among them, machine-guns, and some trench mortars. The Chinese army has heavy artillery brigades and fighting planes, but General Chiang Kai-shek has held them back, sabotaging the Shanghai defence to the end, and even the eight Chinese fliers with their planes who came in the first two weeks of February to aid in the defence, were ordered by Chiang to return to Nanking. The Shanghai defenders were left with little else than rifles, hand-grenades, swords, and big knives. Against the steel-helmetted, well-clad, and well-paid Japanese troops, the 19th Route Army was clad in poor, blue-gray cotton uniforms, cloth caps, and straw sandals. Among their ranks were large numbers of boys no more than 14 or 16, and I have seen many as young as 10 or 12. Practically all are peasants from south of the Yangtze. The "Model Divisions" of Chiang Kai-shek had been trained by German military advisers, they were well-fed and clothed in good khaki uniforms; they had been taught to do the goose-step, click their heels, and salute officers whom they were taught to respect as belonging to a higher order of humanity than themselves. But when it came to fighting, they were inferior in every way to the 19th Route Army that had not, fortunately, even seen a German adviser except by accident.



A Japanese armoured car and picket

With others I went behind the Chi lines to see the famous defenders. The 1 Route Army men were scattered over t landscape in small groups of from two to fi hiding in half-destroyed buildings, dug-ou trenches, or in peaked grave mounds fro which they had removed the coffins, transform ing them into dug-outs or gun emplacemen As the giant Japanese bombers that dro over their heads, these small groups empti the contents of their rifles,—pitifully fut operations. Except for the front-line trench these soldiers fought a guerilla warfare, ea man his own commander, each standing hi ground until a bullet ended his life. Fr the front came stories of great heroi volunteers asking to be permitted to go t certain death by crawling or rolling over th ground to set off a bomb under a Japane armoured car.

In response to questions o why they fought so furiousl privates and officers, lying wound in Shanghai hospitals, replied t me in most enlightening terms One said they had learned their fighting tactics from the Re Armies in Kiangsi, against wh they had been sent about a yea ago. Many others said: "We ar no longer fighting our own peopl we are now fighting for the masse of China against a Japanes imperialist invasion, which is tryin to make a colony of China." A young officer said, "When w fought the Red Armies in Kiangs we always wondered why th entire population supported th Reds, while nobody would hel us. Now we know. We were not fightin for the masses; but now we are fightin for the masses, and the population support us."

This attitude of the rank and file an lower officers of the 19th Route Army mea nothing else except that another wave o the revolutionary movement, in co-operati with the masses, is beginning. So far, th is not entirely clear, not entirely consciou and it has no leadership, but it is ther This leadership can never be given by th high officers of the 19th Route Army, for they hate and fear the masses and they stand shoulder to shoulder with the corrupt politicians and militarists who constitute the present authorities in China. But the soldiers are standing on the verge of a national revolutionary movement. And not they alone. The defence of the 19th Route Army threw up a vast wave of revolutionary feeling amongst the masses of the people, affecting even the bourgeoisie. Workers, students, and peasants volunteered as soldiers, stretcher-bearers, and for any other kind of work at the front. Thousands of men and women nurses, including entire medical faculties of Chinese universities, with hundreds of Chinese physicians, volunteered to treat and nurse the wounded. Forty hospitals have so far been organized and equipped by the Chinese population of Shanghai, maintained by popular contributions, while women of the city have bought material and made thousands of suits, padded quilts, and pillows for the wounded. Everywhere nurses and physicians have said: "This is a part of the revolution." There is no sentimentality towards the soldiers here, but a realization of a serious duty to the Chinese revolution. All that human willingness could do, the Chinese population has done, but still their hands cannot manufacture what they so badly need; surgical instruments and dressings, X-ray apparatus, cat-gut, cocain.

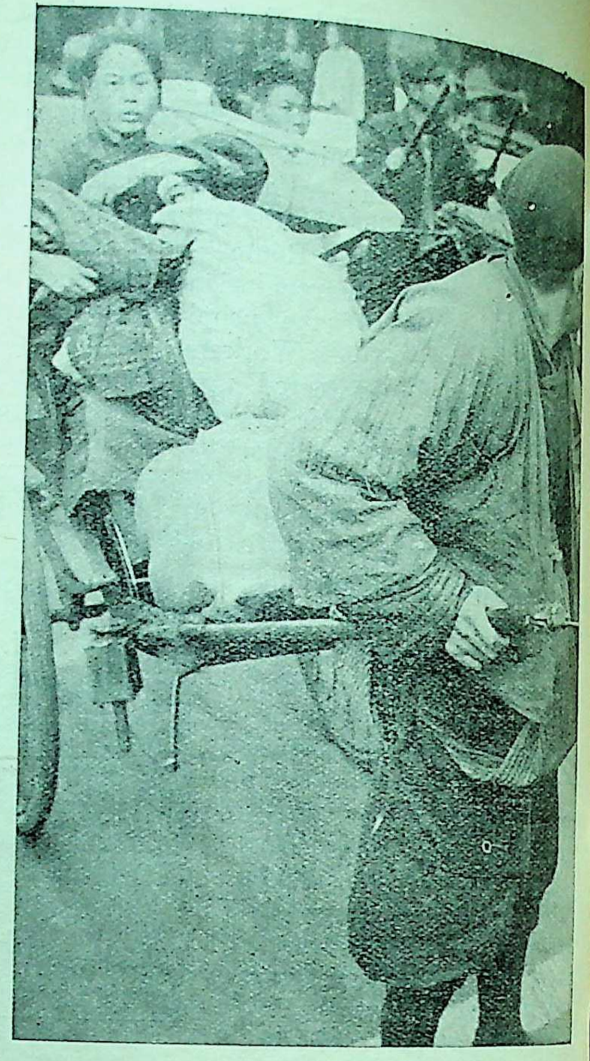
There is, of course, another side to this picture,—a very ugly side indeed. China, like other subjected Asiatic lands, has a large class of the bourgeoisie, especially in Shanghai, whose economic interests are bound up with foreign imperialism; these are bankers, merchants, militarists, and their intellectual political apologists and trailers. They exploit every situation, every disaster, to gain new power and wealth for themselves. This war is to them nothing but an inconvenience, although it is in reality a life and death struggle for the Chinese nation. This class, at the very best, cannot represent any true nationalism, but only degenerate anti-Japanism; and therefore they rush from one imperialist camp to the other, begging for help. At present they are engaged in the endeavour to change their Japanese master for an American one; their brains simply do not operate to show them that the difference is one of method, the Japanese using the economic and military method of subjection, the American capitalists using the economic.

Ruins of the Chinese quarter of Shanghai
This gives quite a good idea of the intensity of the Japanese bombardment

Yet true nationalism in a subjected country, such as China, must be thoroughly anti-imperialist and thoroughly social-revolutionary. But the Shanghai bourgeoisie of this class have decided that no such phrases as "down with imperialism," or "down with the unequal treaties" shall be used, lest they offend other imperialists, and the *Shun Pao*, one of the largest Chinese dailies, has forbidden the word "imperialism" to be used in its columns. This class has decided that Shanghai should be "demilitarized and internationalized," as that would be better for their business, although this is exactly the Japanese demand and the desire of the other imperialists. A group of the wives of this class actually called on Mrs. Sun Yat-sen, requesting her to head a committee of Chinese ladies to go amongst the foreign imperialist troops in Shanghai, distributing presents and thanking them for coming to defend the "sanctity" and the "neutrality" of the city. Other Chinese ladies of this class, elegantly dressed, their fingers glittering with diamonds and jade, have gone through the hospitals, handing out small presents to the wounded—"encouraging" them. But far more serious are the political intrigues that continue among the various Kuomintang cliques, while at the same time the powerful gang leader, Do Yush-seng, whose power and wealth rests on opium, armed kidnapping, and human slavery, sits in the most intimate councils of the Chiang Kai-shek Wang Ching-Wei clique, as well as their opponents, Sun Fo and Eugene Chen. It is even rumoured that this gangster may be the next mayor of Chinese Shanghai.

Other evidence of corruption of this nature is unlimited. Every Chinese knows how Chiang Kai-shek sabotaged the defence of Shanghai from the beginning, although, for the honour of China, they have tried to hide this from foreigners, and the 19th Route Army Commanders have protested all too loudly that it is acting under the orders of Nanking.

A common sight in Shanghai Streets
A Chinese Civilian shot dead by the Japanese



A Chinese woman fleeing with her baby and all her worldly belongings

In North China, from Tsinan to Peiping, every form of anti-Japanese movement, every attempt to aid the Shanghai defenders, has been ruthlessly smashed by Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, dozens of young people have been arrested and imprisoned for trying to help. A Chinese official, returned from the North, says that these powerful rulers in the north are proving to the Japanese their "sincerity" by spending their time in expensive restaurants, theatres, and brothels, parking their automobiles before them each day. And while the Canton population has sent money to Shanghai, the Canton Government has refused to send reinforcements, while at the same time it has begun another war on the

Red Armies of peasants in Kiangsi,—an action intended primarily to get hold of the rich antimony mines there that brought to Chinese generals and politicians such handsome profits. The militarists of Hupeh also, while not fighting the Japanese, have started a new war on the Red peasant armies of Hupeh province ; and Chinese fliers, who were afraid to fight the Japanese, have gone to bomb the peasants.

The soldiers of the 19th Route Army contrast the equipment and appearance of the defenders of Shanghai with those of the aggressors

Of course, there is one section of the Chinese bourgeoisie that is for resistance to the end. They consist of Chinese industria lists who stand to profit by capturing Japanese trade ; and of the revolutionary professors and the petit-bourgeoisie who are under the influence of the masses. They are against any sell-out to the Japanese, such as the "Peace Clique," led by Chiang Kai-shek and the Shanghai bankers of whom Chiang has always been the representative. The elements bound to imperialism, has been willing to surrender from the beginning, their only problem being the method by which they could do this and still keep their power. They have recently declared their willingness "for the sake of other foreigners in Shanghai," to withdraw a certain distance from their own territory. While the Japanese "peace" proposals of February 28 were nothing but a re-statement of the demands of their ultimatum of February 18, many Chinese, under the influence of the British, American, and French Ministers, were willing to negotiate on the basis of these humiliating terms. They may do so yet, and a section of the Commanders of the 19th Route Army, linked with them, may join them. But this action would perhaps cause a split in the 19th Route Army itself, and mark the serious beginning of a new national revolutionary wave throughout the country. For the invasion of Shanghai is but a step in the subjection of China by Japanese imperialism, and the heroic defence of Shanghai by the 19th Route Army, has revealed all issues in the clearest possible light. And the Chinese people see no reason

The Commander of the 19th Route Army with the Staff why their politicians and militarists should bargain away what has been won by precious Chinese blood.

The position of foreigners in this whole constellation has become clearer and clearer. Frankly, openly, almost all foreigners in Shanghai regard the heroism of the Chinese defenders with fear. One American journalist said to me: "If they are victorious, our own position will be very difficult in the future, for within six months they will be arrogantly demanding the abolition of the unequal treaties and of extra-territoriality." A reactionary British journalist wrote that Japanese interests run parallel to those of practically all other foreigners in China and it would be dangerous for the Chinese to gain the impression that they were victorious. The Chinese are being deceived by one section of Americans who are violently anti-Japanese, but this anti-Japanism is due to little else than a conflict between Japanese and American imperialists over the control of China. Some Americans in Shanghai are furious against the Japanese, only because the latter have given the Chinese an opportunity to realize their strength, and perhaps take what is theirs in the future: the International Settlement and French Concession. Of course, the British, French, and other foreigners are openly pro-Japanese, the British because their economic position in China is fairly secure, and because the Japanese and British have a united policy in so far as the subjection of Asia goes, this policy not cemented anew on the basis of a fight against Communism.

The issue of an invasion of Siberia is gradually emerging as the Spring advances when invasions of Soviet Russian territory are always planned or begun. For weeks Mr. Matsuoka, the Japanese representative of Premier Inukei, and perhaps of the Emperor, has been in Shanghai, negotiating with the Chinese and foreigners. A Chinese official of the Foreign Office told me that Matsuoka has offered to the British, American, and French Ministers, to evacuate Japanese troops from Shanghai and permit business to resume its normal course, provided they give the undertaking that no handicap shall be put in the way of Japan in Manchuria. Undoubtedly, the added inducement was thrown in that the Japanese, aided by the White Russians, would also undertake to smash the Soviet Union and disrupt the Five Year Plan. At the same time Matsuoka is reported to have said that if the Powers do not agree to this, Japan will unite with Soviet Russia and fight the world! The Nanking Government is also offering to resume relations with Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia, however, has not yet been heard from. In any case, the Far East is in turmoil and here are all the makings of another great imperialist war

*The photographs published with this article have been sent by the writer.*

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# THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR IN INDIA

## OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPORT

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M. SC., PH. D.

IN the January issue of this *Review* the essential features of the Report have been analysed and the most important recommendations pointed out. In making the recommendations the Commission has followed two well-known principles of labour legislation adopted by the Government of India, namely: first, that legislative regulation of labour conditions should be achieved by a gradual process, so that there may not be any interference with the normal growth of industry; second, that legislation enacted should be general and applicable to all India, so that there may not be any rivalry among different regions or provinces. Even when the provinces have been granted powers to enact specific legislation suitable to local conditions, or to make rules and regulations under general legislation, the sanction of the Central Government has been made necessary in all cases. The same principle has led the Commission to recommend labour legislation to be made a federal subject, in case there be an all-India federation. Most of the recommendations are, therefore, moderate, and are based on minimum requirements for improving labour conditions. The report of the Commission may nevertheless be criticized on several points.

The most important organized industries in India are factories, and the Commission has naturally dealt with factory conditions very extensively. The very first recommendation of the Commission is that the link of the factory workers with the village from which they are drawn should be maintained (p. 20). The recommendation raises a far-reaching issue in social policy, and therefore requires critical analysis. The underlying assumption of this recommendation is that, in spite of certain injurious effects of migration from village to town, village life, as compared with town life, is inherently good, and must be preserved at any cost.

The Commission itself admits that most of the workers employed in factories, although not divorced from the land, are in need of factory work, but argues that the migrant worker brings, on his return to the village, the knowledge of "a wider world" and "a spirit of liberty and independence that is new to village society" (p. 19). The Commission, however, minimizes the social and economic evils connected with such labour. The very village link which the Commission wants to preserve is responsible for a threefold evil: (*i*) the migratory and desultory habits among the workers and a high rate of labour turn-over in factories; (*ii*) lack of specialization by the workers in any occupation and thus of acquiring industrial efficiency; (*iii*) the separation of the workers from their families, leading to sex disparity in industrial towns, with its consequent vice and disease.

Some of the advantages of village life are too obvious to require any discussion, but the village, especially in modern India, is not without grave defects, namely: (*i*) congestion and overcrowding; (*ii*) increasing pressure on land and the consequent under-employment; (*iii*) lack of adequate communication and marketing; (*iv*) lack of educational and medical facilities; (*v*) constant litigation among the people; and (*vi*) the tyranny of caste, untouchability, and other obsolete social customs and prejudices. Moreover, the preponderance of the rural population, which amounts to nine-tenths of the total population, is one of the fundamental causes of India's social stagnation.

The defects of the modern industrial town are also well known. But these defects are not inherent, and can be remedied, as has been done in many Western countries; nor is there any necessity to encourage the growth of such large cities as Calcutta and Bombay. On the other hand, the town has several advantages, such as industrial and educational opportunities for the workers and their children, and the freedom of conscience and action. Moreover, the town supplies the market, which is the foundation of modern exchange economy. The old self-sufficing village economy can scarcely meet modern needs. The town is, therefore, badly needed in India for the supply of the market and for the revival of the village. The town can also absorb the surplus population of the village, and thus save the minute and uneconomic division of the farm land. In Europe the town once served as a shelter for those who fled from the rigour of serfdom. The Indian towns have a somewhat similar function to perform in breaking down caste and untouchability. In fact, the town is the cultural centre and the dynamic force in modern civilization, and no country is in a greater need of urbanization than India.

The point at issue is not, however, whether the workers should live in the town or in the village. They must live in or near by the place of work, and, if permanently employed, they must have also their families with them. Since factories give rise to the town, or are located in the town, it is only natural that factory workers should also live in the town. The problem of unemployment resulting from industrial disputes or trade depression should be solved by unemployment insurance and other means rather than by resorting to the village for refuge. It is not meant that the deep-rooted connection with the village should be cut off artificially, but if the industrial town is well planned and housing conditions are improved on the lines suggested by the Commission, the workers themselves will find it convenient and advantageous to live in the town instead of in the village. It is only when the workers settle down in the place of work that they can specialize in a trade, organize themselves into trade unions, demand sanitary and comfortable housing, bring families to live with them, take interest in civic life, and develop into efficient workers and intelligent citizens, thus assuring the success of modern industry and the welfare of modern society.

Another important recommendation of the Commission is the enactment of a new legislation for unregulated factories which do not use power but employ fifty persons or more. The object of this measure is, to control child labour and unhealthy conditions on the principle of gradualness. It is doubtful whether such gradualness is at all needed in India, where factory legislation has been in existence for over fifty years, and where provincial Governments have been given power to apply it, after notification under section 2 (3) (b) of the present Act, even to factories working with or without mechanical power, and employing ten persons or more.* The only purpose it will serve is that it will allow children between ten and twelve years to work for seven hours. But the employment of such children is objectionable from the view-point of health and education. Moreover, it will add another class of factories to the existing ones and complicate administration.

Regarding mines, the recommendations of the Commission are confined to a few items, one of which refers to child labour. The increase in age from thirteen to fourteen for employment in mines, as recommended by the Commission, can scarcely solve the problem of child labour. Children from the age of fourteen will still be employed as full-time workers, that is, 54 hours a week, both underground and on surface work, and on the other hand, children between twelve and fourteen, assuming that compulsory education recommended by the Commission extends up to the age of twelve, will be left without any occupational opportunities. What is needed is to create a class of half-time workers between the ages of twelve and fifteen as in the case of factories, and to confine their labour to surface work only. This would also eliminate the necessity of employing children under sixteen in underground work.

The Commission recommended a 54-hour week for surface work in mines in place of a 60-hour week as at present, but refused to accept the minority suggestion for an eight-hour day for underground work. The hesitation of the Commission in limiting underground work seems to rest on the following grounds, namely, (*i*) the select

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* In 1930 there were 202 such factories. See *Statistics of factories subject to Indian Factories Act,* 1930, p. 1.

Committee of the Legislative Assembly on the Mines Amendment Bill of 1928 recommended to Government to consider the feasibility of introducing an eight-hour shift after April 1930, and the matter was still under consideration when the Committee made its report; (*ii*) under the present law miners working regularly could not work more than nine hours a day and an eight-hour day may be inconvenient for those who come from the village and desire to put in the maximum of work while in the mines; (*iii*) the difficulty of adjusting the work in mines during the period while women were gradually being eliminated from underground work. After recommending a 54-hour week for surface work, the Commission could not logically refuse to accept shorter hours for underground work, a principle which was accepted even by the existing law. Instead of an 8-hour day, as suggested by the minority, the Commission could have accepted the principle of a 48-hour week and could have also put some limit to daily hours.*

Regarding railways, the Commission has made several important recommendations, but has left the question of reducing hours for consideration by different branches of the Administration. The Act of 1930 has restricted the hours of work to 60 a week for continuous employees, but the hours of work for running staff may rise as high as 84 hours a week. There is no reason why the hours of work in railways should be longer than those in factories and surface work in mines, for both of which the Commission has recommended a 54-hour week. Moreover, although it is difficult to regulate the hours of work of the running staff, the Commission could have recommended some upper limit to weekly or fortnightly hours.

The Commission minimizes the extent of abuses in recruitment and working and living conditions on plantations, especially in Assam tea gardens (pp. 367-368), and thinks that "cases of serious abuse are now exceptions" (p. 360). An altogether different view is taken by Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth, two representatives of the British Trade Union Congress, who have recently visited India and found that "the tea gardens of Assam are virtually slave plantations."*

The present writer's own researches into the question, as described in *Plantation Labour in India*,† have led him to take a view different from either of the two. The gross abuses of former days have now been brought under control, but much remains to be done. It might be added that the present writer's treatise has been found by the *Planters' Journal and Agriculturalist* (Madras)§ to have treated the subject "fairly and impartially," and *Indian Affairs* (London)** even thinks that it is a "more satisfactory record of real conditions in tea plantations than the accounts by the (Whitley) Commission."

What are of more importance are the recommendations for improving labour conditions on plantations. Most of the abuses in connection with the Assam plantations arose in connection with private recruitment. The Commission also favours private recruitment, that is by employers, but suggests more safe-guards. The recommendation is an improvement upon the old method, and is also a practical one. But the private recruitment of illiterate and helpless workers for such a long distance as Assam can scarcely be free from abuse and exploitation. One of the safe-guards against abuse in recruitment is repatriation, for which the Commission has recommended provision on the lines existing in Ceylon and Malaya (p. 380). But the system of repatriation, though improved, is not new in the case of Assam, and the enforcement of this provision is not always easy. The abuse in recruitment is not confined to that for Assam alone, and the real remedy lies in the establishment of the public labour exchange. Recruitment by the Government is not free from defects, but it is a much better system, and the expenditure incurred by Government can be partly realized by charging it to the plantations receiving the recruits. The cost of recruitment by plantations amounts to at least Rs. 150 (p. 359) per person recruited. The Government recruitment for Assam might have led to the introduction of the public labour exchange for the whole country.

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* In the Jharia coalfields, the mines are worked for only 5 days in the week. A limitation of hours to 9 a day would have automatically reduced the weekly hours to 45. A 10-hour day would have also led to a system of 10 hours for 4 days and of 8 hours on the last day giving the workers a chance to go home earlier if they wished.

* *Report on Labour Conditions in India*, British Trade Union Congress Delegation to India; London, 1928, p. 30.

† R. Chatterjee, 1931, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

§ June 1, 1931.

** July 1931.

Another recommendation of the Commission for Assam is the appointment by the Government of India of a Protector of Immigrants, instead of a Labour Commissioner, as in the case of other provinces, to look after the interests of immigrants, including repatriation. There does not seem to be enough justification for this special recommendation for Assam, as the duties of the Protector will be restricted to the affairs only of those immigrants who have not settled in Assam. But the number of workers who have settled down or who work in other industries in Assam is larger than those who are migratory, and their interests must also be protected. As in other provinces, Assam may have its own labour Commissioner in charge of all labour affairs, and the work of forwarding and repatriation, which seem to be the only special duties of the protector, can be easily trusted to him. The objection that he is an officer in the service of the Assam Government instead of the Government of India can be easily met by legislative measures, over which the Government of India has control, and also through the services of the proposed all-India Labour Commissioner, who must have control of the Labour Commissioners of the provinces.

The failure to make any suggestion for the development of trade unionism among the workers on plantations is another shortcoming of the Report. The workers have been on plantations for three quarters of a century, and up to this time they have not yet found any means of expressing their grievances and suggesting any method of improving their conditions. The so-called violence and riot are often the results of the absence of any organization on their part, and any effort for organized activities on the part of the workers is regarded as an act of unlawful assembly, and is often punished under the provisions of the existing law. The very fact that they work and live on or near by the plantations and are outside the reach of the general public makes it almost impossible for them to organize any trade unions unless they are legally authorized to do so. What is needed is the introduction of some kind of works committee in each garden, and also in each district or even in each province, if possible. The workers can elect by direct vote their representatives on the local works committees and indirectly on the district and provincial committees. The value of even these limited organized activities on the part of the workers cannot be over-estimated. Without such workers' organizations, it will be difficult to give effect to the recommendation of the Commission for representation at the wages board which, by the very nature of the work, must consist of technical men and must come from outside the rank and file of the workers. The position of the workers' representatives on the wages board can be made much stronger if there exist workers' organizations, as suggested above, and they come to the Board with the mandates from such organizations.

The Commission also fails to make any recommendation for general legislation for all the plantations in India. An industry which is scattered all over the country and draws its labour supply from almost every province must have a common policy of control over recruitment and employment. The Commission fails to make any recommendation for regulating hours of work, perhaps because of the fact that plantations are essentially agricultural industries. But in view of the fact that plantations are organized capitalistic enterprises, and are undertaken on a large scale, some restrictions on the hours of work for the labourers employed in them is essential. The argument that the present hours of work are not excessive, forgets to take into account the possibility of overwork and also the additional work which most of the labourers have to do for their own farms. Moreover, if the children, who begin work from the age of five or six (p. 415) are prohibited from work and the parents are deprived of their earnings, there will be a stronger temptation on the part of the labourers to overwork. A general legislation regulating hours of work and containing other provisions recommended by the Commission, and at the same time making provision for special cases as indicated by the nature of the undertaking in each province or industry, will nevertheless facilitate administration and also the development of a labour policy for over a million workers.

The development of a labour policy is, in fact, one of the avowed objects of the Commission. For this purpose the Commission has based its recommendations on two principles, namely : (*i*) labour should share with the employers some fruits of industry in the form of reduced hours, a living wage and welfare work ; (*ii*) labour must take part in those affairs in industry which vitally affect its welfare, *e. g.*, as in the case of works committees, wages boards and industrial councils.

There are, however, some points in which the Commission has failed to follow any consistent policy, namely :

(*a*) The majority of the Commission was right in rejecting the abrupt reduction of hours from 60 to 48 a week in factories, mines and railways, as proposed by the minority,* but recommended 54 hours only for factories and surface work in mines and left the reduction of hours for underground work in mines, which are 54 a week, and also for railways, which are 60 a week for continuous workers and may be as high as 84 hours for the running staff at the disposal of the employer or Government. The hours may differ according to the nature of the industry or occupation, but there must be a principle on which such differences should be based. The minority was consistent in advocating a 48 hour week as laid down by the Washington Hours Convention, from which British India was exempted for the time being, although they failed to realize the necessity of introducing an intermediate step.

(*b*) The majority of the Commission was also right in rejecting the suggestion of the minority for an increase in the minimum age of children for employment in factories from twelve to thirteen on the ground that there was no adequate provision for education and children needed occupation for making a living ; but recommended at the same time ten years as a minimum age of employment in unregulated factories and plantations and fourteen years for employment in mines and docks. A consistent policy would have required the prohibition of the employment of children under twelve in all industries, and that of children between twelve and fifteen in certain industries or occupations, as underground work in mines and work in docks.

(*c*) The minority* of the Commission was, however, right in insisting that the proposed Act for regulating small factories, which do not use power, should be applied to all classes of factories where twenty-five workers or more were employed, instead of fifty persons or more as recommended by the majority, on the ground that at present factories employing even ten persons or more can be brought under the Factories Act by notification. But the majority still believed in "gradualness" and rejected the minority proposition.

(*d*) The Commission has recommended the introduction of works committees in factories, mines and railways, but not in plantations, presumably on the ground that "industry" and "plantation" are widely different. As a matter of fact, as far as the employment of labour is concerned, there does not exist any wide difference between plantations and factories, both of which are large scale capitalistic enterprises. The very helplessness of the plantation workers shows the necessity of giving them the right to organize under legal authorities.

(*e*) The Commission recommends taking steps in establishing statutory wage-fixing machinery in Assam plantations (p. 394). The recommendation is primarily based on the ground of the inequality of the bargaining power between the planters, who are strongly organized, and the workers, who are illiterate, helpless and unorganized, and, if given effect to, will no doubt introduce the minimum wage system, for which there is great need in India. But this inequality in bargaining power exists in other industries, even in plantations in other provinces, as pointed out by Sir David

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* Messrs. Joshi, Chaman Lall and Cliff, representing labour.

† Miss Power joined the labour representatives on this question.

Sassoon in his minute (p. 483). While indicating that there might be no objection if the principle were applied to all industries, the representatives of the plantations naturally protested against singling out the Assam tea industry for introducing this new experiment (p. 402). The Commission might have laid down the general principle of the minimum wage in all such industries, although Assam plantations, because of their peculiar position, might have been made to accept it in the first instance.

What is still more important is the fact that the Commission does not take a broader view of labour policy, which is closely connected with social policy. This is most probably due to the fact that the terms of reference were limited. Most of the abuses and misfortunes suffered by the workers are the results of ignorance, helplessness, social ostracism or untouchability, and poverty. The Commission is not altogether oblivious of these facts, but fails to take a comprehensive view.

In the first place, the Commission recommends compulsory education in coal mines, and also the education of children by factories and municipalities. But it must be remembered that a large number of the workers are migrants, and education to be effective must begin at the source. This can be done only by compulsory and universal education all over the country.

In the second place, the importance of workers taking part in local self-government has also been realized by the Commission. In view of the fact that the industrial centres are scattered all over the country, the most effective method of control of local affairs by the workers may be achieved by universal suffrage. This universal suffrage need not be direct except in the case of local affairs. In provincial and central affairs an indirect system can be resorted to until the time when there is more literacy in the country.

In the third place, the Commission has also noticed the effect of social ostracism or untouchability on migration of labourers, but has not suggested any means of solving the problem. A declaration of fundamental rights in the new constitution may go a long way in solving the question of untouchability. A new social consciousness against both caste and untouchability has long been awakened and definite action has also been undertaken by several reform societies. But they have found themselves handicapped without the State's action in declaring fundamental rights.

Finally, as regards poverty among the workers, the Commission suggests the undertaking of enquiries in the worst paid industries, with a view to establishing and fixing machinery for the standardization of wages in certain industries, such as cotton and jute mills. Such a procedure will no doubt equalize or even increase the wages in certain occupations and industries. But this can scarcely solve the problem of extreme poverty which prevails throughout the country. The fundamental cause of low wages is the lack of demand for labour or industrial opportunities, to which might also be added, as contributory cause, the lack of bargaining power on the part of the workers. New industrial opportunities can be created only by a policy of national economy.

The Commission has, however, emphasized the importance of labour in modern industrial society and of the necessity of giving labour a voice in such industrial affairs as directly concern them, *e.g.*, wages, conciliation, legislation and labour policy. What is equally, if not more, important is that the Commission has attempted to take a long view of the labour question and to formulate "a considered programme for the development of a labour policy" (p. 4), rather than to recommend some specific remedies for present problems. Although the Commission has failed to realize fully the ideals as noted before, partly because of the limitation of the terms of reference, it has, nevertheless, made an attempt in the right direction.

In conclusion, it may be said that in spite of some defects noted above, the Report is a valuable contribution towards the development of labour policy in India; first, it has already focussed public attention on the importance of the labour question, as never before; secondly, it has presented precise and elaborate information on many aspects of the work and life of the workers in organized industries; third, it has made a series of recommendations, which will no doubt be the basis of new legislative measures on labour in the near future.

# MORAL AND MENTAL EQUIPMENTS FOR THE STUDY OF THE VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

## I

FROM the very earliest times, there appears to have been a curiosity all the world over to know what the philosophy of Vedanta teaches. And Vedanta has been supplying food to thoughtful minds wherever it was known. Its influence, therefore, extended far beyond the land of its birth and development. It is said that Empedocles, Pythagoras and Socrates were imbued with its spirit. According to Professor E. J. Urwick, the whole philosophy of Plato was deeply coloured by Hindu thought. Aristotle and Plotinus, it is said, were inspired by Vedantic ideals. With the dawn of the Dark Ages in Europe, called dark on account of their eschewing reason and blindly following the dogmas of theology, the thread of this intellectual relation between Europe and India was snapped for the time being. The Christian theology of that period, which dominated the thoughts of the country, refused to seek knowledge from any source other than its religion and Church. It was eager to establish the sovereign authority of the Christian Church. Free thinking was suppressed. Rational ideas were ruthlessly hunted out. It is needless to say that such a soil was not congenial for the growth of Vedantic ideals. When the progress of science and free inquiry liberated the European mind from the thraldom of dogmas and when people began to ask again, "What is Truth?"—as did Pontius Pilate about two thousand years ago—attention was directed to the thoughts of Vedanta. The influence of Vedanta upon the philosophy of Schopenhauer is well known. It was the solace of his life and the solace of his death. From the latter part of the eighteenth century, the scholars of Europe have been showing an ever-increasing interest in the study of Vedantic thought. Colebroke, Horace Hayman Wilson, Charles Wilkins, Roer, Cowell, Böhtlingk, Max Müller, Paul Deussen, Garbe, Venis, Davies, Sir William Jones, Thibaut, Col. Jacob, Victor Cousin and Frederic Schlegel, among others, tried to popularize Vedantic views in the Western world. Swami Vivekananda, and some other Indians of our own times, have impressed the new and the old continents alike by preaching the lofty ideals of Vedanta.

The question often arises in our mind, how far have these scholars, both in India and abroad, been able to understand the *philosophy* of Vedanta *as distinguished from its theology and mysticism.* Deussen, in spite of his herculean efforts to penetrate into the philosophy of the Upanishads, could not separate them from their theological background. Prof. Edgerton of America finds the Upanishads not free from the characteristics of Black Magic with which, in his opinion, the Vedas are filled. Even in modern times, distinguished Indian writers on Vedanta *philosophy* have found the teachings of the Upanishads ending in the mystical intuitions of the Vedic *Rishis*. But whether Vedanta teaches metaphysical truth, or speaks only of theological dogmas, or of the visions of the mystics is a question which must be deferred for a future occasion. But it is necessary to state here that there are not wanting in the Upanishads instances of the visions of the mystics and the dogmas of theologians. They were considered necessary for different temperaments—those which were not yet fit to discuss the metaphysical problem of Reality by following the rational method. But the real contribution of Vedanta to the world lies in its philosophy, so admirably interpreted by Sankara. This philosophy, or the essence of Vedanta, requires for its understanding certain moral and mental disciplines on the part of its students; and it is proposed to discuss them briefly in the course of this article. As Fichte held, everybody formulates his philosophy following his own fancies. A rigorous moral and mental discipline is necessary to purge the mind of the students from all fancies so that they can judge Truth on its own merit.

What does Vedanta aim at teaching? It is not a speculative philosophy that takes pleasure in the formulation of abstract thoughts, as many of its critics would say. The philosophy of Vedanta, like all other systems of philosophy, intends to solve the problem of Reality, the riddle of life and universe. "What is that by knowing which everything is known?" asks the inquirer in the Upanishads. Is there any knowledge by which all doubts can be solved and all speculations set at naught? What is that Reality by knowing which all cravings of human heart for knowledge are satisfied for ever? Vedanta makes bold to answer these questions. Vedanta wants to comprehend everything in its broad sweep. No experience is to be neglected or omitted. For Truth arrived at by the omission of any experience, will not be universal and all-comprehensive. Vedanta pursues knowledge for its own sake. If knowledge means for him what is considered by others as untold suffering in the worldly sense, he is not less happy. Truth may tell him that a God exists as the ultimate reality or that a Satan is the supreme Lord of the universe. He is equally indifferent. Truth, and nothing but truth, is the aim of his quest.

All the ancient teachers of Vedanta were unanimously insistent on one point, *viz.*, the fitness of the students to receive knowledge. They would never impart their teaching to those who are not fit for it. The Rishis often sent back the pupils because they were not competent to receive knowledge; or they imparted lower knowledge to ordinary students reserving the highest for the fittest. The acquirement of the requisite qualifications is the supreme condition for the understanding of the Vedanta philosophy. One who undertakes the study of Vedanta having equipped himself with these qualifications, has already assured his success.

## II

What are these pre-requisites? Vedanta states them almost in the form of a formula, the *Sadhana Chatushtaya* or the fourfold means (for the attainment of knowledge). They are, the discrimination of the real and the unreal (*Viveka)*, renunciation *(vairagyam)*, self-restraint, etc (*Samadi shatsampattii)* and, lastly, the desire for liberation *(mumukshutva)*. We shall examine them *seriatim.*

It may be contended that an *intellectual* understanding of Vedanta is possible to anyone who has the sharpness of intellect to do so. To this contention, Vedanta gives an emphatic reply in the negative. Herein lies the distinction of Vedanta from other systems of thought. *To know Reality, Vedanta says, is to become one with it.* "The knower of Reality attains to the Highest." "He who knows Brahman becomes verily Brahman." *Vedanta does not admit of a difference between knowing and becoming.* The sharpness of intellect to understand the subtle philosophy of Vedanta is not possible without rigorous moral and mental disciplines.

*Viveka*—The word literally means discrimination between the real and the unreal. Success of a student of philosophy can be measured *by his capacity to doubt.* Doubt is the mother of philosophy. The philosophy of Vedanta had its origin in the doubt of the ancient Rishis regarding the reality of the universe and its cause. One of the Rishis exclaims in such a doubting mood:

> "Who knows and who ever told, from whence
> this vast creation rose?
> No gods had then been born. Who can e'er
> the truth disclose
> Whence sprang this world, whether framed by
> hand divine or no,—
> Its Lord in heaven alone can tell, if he can
> show."
>
> (Rig Veda. X. 129)

Vedanta is not meant for him who is satisfied with the existing condition of things or their cause as given by a book or man, however sacred or sacrosanct. One who does not penetrate behind the foams and radiances of the surface cannot understand its philosophy. What is real and what is unreal is the constant inquiry of the Vedantist. It is the thought of his day and the dream of his sleep. Are these perceived phenomena real? Is there anything permanent behind the changes? If not, then, how are changes possible? Is there any controller of the activities of the sense-organs and the mind? Is mind the ultimate Reality? Is it not also subject to change? Such are the questions which always assail the mind of one who wants to discriminate between the real and the unreal. Without this doubt, philosophical knowledge is out of the question. The student must have the courage to go to the logical end of his inquiry. Theology and mysticism are satisfied with partial inquiry and explanations. But the philosopher belongs to the extreme left wing in the Parliament of Thought. Therefore, the first qualification for a student of Vedanta is his capacity to doubt and then go on discriminating between the real and the unreal till he arrives at something which is not liable to further change—one of the Vedantic tests of Reality.

*Vairagyam*—This is one of the most important qualifications for a student of Vedanta. *Vairagyam* or renunciation has been defined by ancient teachers as total dispassion for all the objects that are perceived to exist in this world or said to exist in heaven. In modern language, we may define *Vairagyam* as total dispassion for all fancies or objects that the senses or the mind take to be real, but which, through careful analysis, prove to be illusory. The Vedantic method of realizing Truth through *Vairagyam* is diametrically opposed to the Hegelian method of understanding the Absolute, in that the German philosopher believes that the more the mind is able to create fancies, the richer will be its conception of the Absolute, whereas the Reality, according to Vedanta, can be realized by freeing the mind from all ideas. Once the student has learnt the tests of Truth, he should be prepared to banish mercilessly from his mind all ideas that fail to satisfy these tests. Vedanta says that all empirical experiences of this life or the felicities of heaven, preached by religion, are limited in time and space. Similarly, the cravings of the body and the senses, when fulfilled, give a satisfaction which is ephemeral in character. Again identification with the individual satisfaction stands in the way of the realization of the Truth that is universal. Therefore *Vairagyam* implies certain moral qualifications, such as the practice of non-injury, truthfulness, absence of greed, non-stealing, continence, etc. *Vairagyam* also implies certain physical mortifications which are absolutely necessary for those students that are too much attached to the cravings of the sense. Total detachment is, therefore, indispensable for the inquirer. But renunciation does not imply a pessimistic attitude, as will be seen later on. The absence of systematic moral disciplines for the students is the reason why European philosophy has not been able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion regarding the nature of Reality. Except by the Eleatics, the Stoics, and the Mystic philosophers of ancient Greece, and stray instances of modern times, no importance has been practically attached to the moral qualifications of an inquirer by the teachers of philosophy in the West. The question of morality and good life in the West has been left to religion. Religion, by its very nature parochial in outlook, interprets love, compassion, fellow-feeling, charity and other virtues in a way compatible with its vested interests and narrow prejudices. Therefore, morality, left to the custodians of the Church, has, in Europe, an objective character and lost its subjective importance. But in India morality has been employed as a handmaid of philosophy and its importance is recognized more in purging the mind of the student of its selfish taints and prejudices rather than in bringing grist to the mill of any organized or institutional religion. Philosophy seeks the *rationale* of morality. It has nothing to do with the inspiration of a man or the revelation of a book. The value of morality does not lie in purchasing shares in heaven or in opening bank accounts with God. But its importance is recognized in its preparing the mind for freedom from the idea of individual pleasures so that it may get a glimpse of universal Truth.

*Sama*, etc.—The third qualification is known as the *Samadishatsampatti*, or the six treasures called calmness, self-control, self-withdrawal, forbearance, faith and self-settledness which are essentially mental factors. Calmness (*Sama*) is the resting of the mind steadfastly on its goal, that is, the ideal of Truth, after having detached itself from the manifold sense-objects by continually observing their changeable and negatable nature. Self-control (*Dama*) is turning both sets of organs (*viz*., organs of knowledge and those of action) away from the sense-objects and confining them to their respective places so that they can be directed to the exploration of the region of Reality. Mental distraction is the greatest obstacle of the inquirer. He is out to analyse the entire world of experiences and find out the Truth. The slightest inadvertence means going away from the goal. Vedanta teaches that calmness, self-control, etc., can certainly be acquired as a result of renunciation and discrimination. Once the student has found the unreal nature of a thing by *Viveka* and consequently detached himself from it by *Vairagyam*, his mind no longer runs after it. Then his calmness and serenity become firm and constant. And a serene mind alone can catch the reflection of Truth. Indeed, such is the importance of calmness, etc., recognized by the ancient teachers, in the life of a student that in later times various artificial means were discovered and enjoined for their acquisition. These are dealt with in Yoga. But a Vedantist does not lay much emphasis upon Yogic practices as he knows that artificial calmness, not based upon *Viveka* and *Vairagyam*, is temporary and vanishes with the relaxation of the Yogic efforts landing the students again in the troubled waters of worldly distractions. His aim is, therefore, to ensure permanent calmness and self-control by incessant discrimination and total renunciation.

Forbearance (*Titiksha*) is the bearing of all afflictions without caring to remove them and being free (at the same time) from anxiety or lament on their score. The student should realize that all sufferings, physical or otherwise, are unavoidable incidents of life. They cannot be altogether eradicated. It is like a case of chronic rheumatism which, if driven from one part of the body, takes shelter in another. It is, after all, the mind that suffers from afflictions, physical or otherwise. If the mind be lifted up from the physical plane and concentrated on the higher ideal, it does not feel distracted by physical sufferings. The best way to avoid pain and preserve the serenity of mind is to overlook pain.

Next, we come to the much-misunderstood virtue known as faith (*Sraddha*). In the healthy and vigorous Upanishadic period of our national life, *Sraddha* was understood in the sense of a mental attitude which never doubted in the existence of Reality (*Astikya Buddhi*) because it was constantly iterated by the Vedas and the men who had realized Truth as well as affirmed by our reasoning. Equipped with this virtue, the student always felt encouraged within and found himself quite capaple of achieving his purpose. *Sraddha* or faith was, then, more subjective than objective. It meant more reliance upon self than dependence upon others. It is said in the Upanishad that Nachiketa having acquired this virtue, thought that he was either the best of all students or the middling. But he did not belong to the inferior class. Emboldened by this self-reliance or faith in himself about his ability to realize Truth, he went to the abode of Death and challenged the King of Death face to face. Again, being encouraged by the faith that he would certainly be able to realize the highest ideal of life, he spurned with contempt all the tempting proposals of worldly tinsels and gew-gaws made to him by his teacher. *Sraddha* enabled him to stick to his ideal and never budge an inch from it. *Sraddha*, implying faith in the words of a competent teacher or the scriptures, is necessary for the student. *But such a teacher must fulfil certain rigorous tests.* The teacher must not exact blind allegiance from the student. In the Taittiriya Upanishad, the teacher exhorts the students saying, "Follow only our good examples and not their opposites." The teacher of Vedanta encourages the spirit of free inquiry in the student and his capacity to doubt anything till he is convinced of its truth. But unfortunately, in later times, during the period of our political slavery and theological thraldom, the word *Sraddha* came to mean, in this country, a sort of blind submission to the words of anyone who poses to be a teacher or any book that is written in the Sanskrit language. This Dark Age of Indian philosophy ruthlessly stifled all spirit of free inquiry. We have, even now, hardly emerged from the incubus of the scriptural revelation or the words of a *Guru*. If the *Guru* or the scripture assume prophetic airs, or speaks to ordinary men from the heights of an "immediate insight" or "transcendental intuition" from which they are excluded, he is pretending to be, as Hegel said, "of different species from other men" and "is trampling the roots of humanity under foot." "If philosophy," to quote Hegel again, "required of an individual that he should lift himself to the pure ether of thought, on the other hand, the individual has a right to demand of philosophy that he should let down a ladder on which he may ascend to this point of view; nay, that he should show him that he has already this ladder in his possession. This right is founded upon the absolute independence which in every form of consciousness, be its content what it may, a rational being knows itself to possess; for in every such form of consciousness is involved the immediate certitude of self-consciousness—a consciousness which is not conditioned by anything out of itself." In other words, a rational being, because he is rational, has a right to demand that the highest truth shall be presented to him not as a revelation of something foreign and strange, but as the explanation of that which he is already conscious of being. We have dealt with *Sraddha* at some length because we feel that our custodians of the traditional Vedantic lore often, in the name of *Sraddha*, demand of students a complete self-surrender to the revelation of books, which spirit was undoubtedly repugnant to our Vedic seers, rather than engender in them a spirit of free rational inquiry which seems to be the method of Vedanta.

Self-settledness (*Samadhana*) is not mere indulgence of thought in idle curiosity (*Chittasya Lalanam*) but the constant concentration of the intellect (or the affirming faculty). The philosophy of Vedanta is not intellectual dilettantism. Upon the realization of Truth depends, the student thinks, his very existence. Therefore, he cannot be a mere dabbler in philosophy. Seriousness and earnestness must characterize every act of his. The mind should be constantly concentrated upon the ideal and this concentration should be ceaseless like the uninterrupted flow of oil when poured from one vessel to another.

*Mumukshuttra*—The fourth virtue with which the student should equip himself, is the yearning for freedom (*Mumukshuttra*) *i.e.*, the desire to free himself, by realizing his true nature, from all bondages from that of egoism to that of the body, bondages superimposed by ignorance. It does not require a student of metaphysics to tell us that the world we live in and our relationships with it are subject to changes. Birth, growth, change, decay and death are the inherent characteristics of all objects we deal with. Pain and pleasure are the obverse and the reverse of the same coin. Even a confirmed hedonist in his rare moments of introspection, finds his enjoyments fleeting and ephemeral. People, generally speaking, hide their heads ostrich-like in the sands of sense-pleasures and try to think themselves safe. But cruel nemesis, in no time, overtakes them. Again, to the majority of men, religion comes as a consolation and they are taught that by believing in certain dogmas and cherishing certain beliefs, they will be able to enjoy everlasting happiness in after-life. But a little reasoning will show them that if God cannot wipe out the tears from the widow's eyes or give food to the starving or stop premature death in this world, there is no guarantee of our getting much help from Him in heaven. A Vedantist knows from actual experience that misery is due to the ignorance of the real nature of Reality. If a man but knows Reality, he will, no longer, fall a prey to illusion and thus will be able to escape once for all from misery. Therefore, Vedantic teachers have laid down the yearning for liberation from illusion as the last, though not the least, of the conditions for the realization of Truth.

These are, then, the qualifications with which every student must be equipped before he aspires to understand the *philosophy of Vedanta*. A word has to be said here about *Bhakti* or devotion. *Bhakti* denotes the activity of the emotional aspect of the mind. If it means a mental fervour to inquire after one's own nature, a Vedantist has no objection to accept it as a *necessary* factor for the realization of his goal.

Not unoften Vedanta is associated with the stigma of pessimism. The general opinion is that Vedanta teaches the inquirer to fly away from the world and shut himself in caves and forests. Many a poetic image has been drawn of the Vedantic seer living the life of a recluse far away from the maddening crowd of ignoble strife. But this is not true. Sankara, the lion of Vedanta, Swami Vivekananda, the chief of the Vedantists of modern times, lived in human society. Vedanta has nothing to do with pessimism or optimism, or with any 'ism' for the matter of that. It only wants to know Truth. And human experiences are its data for rationally arriving at a conclusion

Beauty and pleasure are as much necessary for him as ugliness and misery to make the picture of illusion complete. Truth is no monopoly of a recluse or a misanthrope. The ancient *Rishis* of the Upanishads enjoyed a joyous life and many of their highest teachings were imparted in the crowded courts of the kings. The message of the Gita, the excellent *vade-mecum* of Vedanta, was delivered in a battlefield where the grimmest realities of life were faced and fought. To a student of Vedanta, any particular aspect of life, such as sudden change of fortune, disease, desertion of friend or the death of near and dear ones, is no greater incentive to the search for Truth than its opposite. He takes his lessons from all the experiences of life.

The realization of Truth is, no doubt, the most arduous and dreary task. Even those, who set out in its quest with unbounded zeal, soon find themselves spent-up and exhausted. The solitary traveller seeks out a rest-house and, not unoften, finding such a place, goes into deep sleep and forgets his mission. Two such illusory rest-houses a student of Vedanta philosophy often finds, and they are theology and mysticism. Religion starts with the belief in the existence of God. Theologians do not aim at truth but make their God their ultimate truth. They are obliged to find their strongest support for their arguments in what they call revelations, natural or scriptural, to the interpretation of which they devote so much of their attention, intelligence, skill and labour. The method of theology has thus been epitomized by St. Augustine : "Understand so that you may believe and believe so that you may understand." Theologians start with certain assumptions to suit human fancies ; for each school of theology has its own idea of God and His relation with men. The philosopher, on the other hand, builds upon the facts ascertained by scientific thought, irrespective of what scriptures may reveal. He starts just with those facts of experience which are within the knowledge of all men and are viewed from the common standpoint. The philosophy of Vedanta recognizes the utility of theology as something suited to children who have not yet learned to stand on their own legs.

Mysticism is another great hindrance to the student of philosophy. A liberal-minded interpreter of mysticism defines it as "a theory, doctrine or view that considers reason to be incapable of discovering or realizing the nature of ultimate Truth, whatever may be the nature of ultimate Truth, but at the same time believes in the certitude of some other means of arriving at it." (*Hindu Mysticism*, by Prof. S. N. Das-Gupta, p. 17). It may be pertinently asked of the mystic how he knows that what he experiences is the truth and *not a fancy of his mind*. The experiences of the two mystics are not identical. Then how to know which one is the truth ? The mystic may plead immediate intuition. But everyone experiences such intuitions. Therefore, the final court of decision is reason which nobody can escape. Everyone employs reason to justify his own conclusions. But the difference lies in the fact that those who condemn reason do not know the principle of reasoning and thus fail to satisfy others because they employ bad reason. Again, the methods of mystics are private and can be understood only by those who belong to the charmed circle of the mystics.

The Upanishadic philosophers are never tired of reiterating the exclusive instrumentality of reason to find out Truth. "Reality should be known by mind *alone*," "Truth is seen by sharp and penetrating intellect of the subtle seers," "*Buddhi* is the charioteer" (with whose help one reaches the goal of life),—the Upanishads are replete with utterances of this kind. Reason is the only lamp with which a Vedantic student finds out his path and ultimately reaches his destination. The moment one knows by discrimination that it is only a rope that he sees but not a snake, that very moment he realizes the real nature of the rope. No intermediary of intuition or dogma is necessary to convince him that it is the rope. The critic of Vedanta often says that reason cannot help us to arrive at the finality of things. Reason moves in a circle. It ends in doubt. The scope of this article and the space at our disposal will not permit us to discuss the Vedantic method of reasoning or the meaning Vedanta attaches to reasoning. But it should be noted here that people generally carp at reason seeing the failure of Buddhistic metaphysicians or the rational philosophers of the West to arrive at a finality regarding the real nature of Truth. Buddhistic philosophy has ended in nihilism. The rational philosophers of the West have mostly to take shelter under dogmatism, scepticism, romanticism or agnosticism. But the case with the Vedantic method is quite different. To the Vedantist every phase of experience presents two aspects—one is changing and illusory and the other permanent and real. The negative method of the Vedantist consists in shifting the unreal from the real and detecting the negatable character of the former. From common experience he finds that every illusion has as its background something real. Therefore, to the Buddhistic nihilist the Vedantist replies that if the analysis shows that experiences point to us a void there must be a perceiver to witness this void. The defect of Western rationalism lies in the fact that the reason it employs is divorced from the totality of experience covering the three states of the perceiver, *viz*., the waking, the dream and the deep sleep. The reasoning of the Western rationalist is, no doubt, a mere concept, a mere mental diagram. But Vedanta says that reason is a mere intellectual gymnastic if it is not supported by the actual and total experiences of life. If the understanding tells us that perceived objects are mere illusions, the actual experiences of life must affirm it. It is no use building up a romantic theory of the Absolute, in the Hegelian fashion in which fancy and reason alternately relieve each other, unless one actually comes face to face with it and knows by indubitable tests that it is not an imagination of mind. If a man calmly watches the working of his mind, he finds it in a ferment of constant change. Fancies fleet before it. These forms of thought are ever illusory because of their changeability. Many a philosopher, who is not properly equipped with rigorous, moral and mental disciplines prescribed by Vedanta, takes one of these fancies to be the ultimate truth and thus fails to solve the problem of Reality.

The method of Vedanta is pre-eminently scientific and rational. Without a scientific attitude of mind it is impossible to understand the *philosophy of Vedanta*. "The student, as Francis Bacon has said, "must have a mind nimble and versatile enough to catch the resemblance of things (which is the chief point), and at the same time steady enough to fix and distinguish their subtler differences. He must be gifted by nature with desire to seek, patience to doubt, fondness to meditate, slowness to assert, readiness to reconsider, carefulness to dispose and set in order. He should neither affect what is new nor admire what is old and hate every kind of imposture." A student of Vedanta should always have this motto, "He who begins with certainty ends in doubt, but he who begins with doubt ends in certainty." The Indian interpreters of Vedanta often preach an altogether unjustifiable crusade against modern science. In their opinion, science deals with finite things. On account of its limits in the world of relative phenomena, it can never solve the problem of the Absolute. But this is exactly the conclusion of the modern scientists. Science analyses data of ordinary experience. This is, in our opinion, the real Vedantic method. The Vedas, for the most part, consists of injunctions, mandatory and prohibitory in character. The philosophy of Vedanta, after proper analysis, points out their relative nature and asks us to go beyond what is described in the Vedas as *Dharma* and *Adharma*. "The claim of special inspiration," in the beautiful language of Edward Caird, "is an anachronism for the modern spirit which demands that the saints should also be a man of the world, and the prophet should show the logical necessity of his vision. For 'a man's a man for a'that,' and, however sensuous and rude his consciousness of himself and of the world be, it is after all rational consciousness and it claims the royal right of reason to have his errors disproved out of itself. And a philosophy which does not find sufficient premises to prove itself in the intelligence of everyone, and which is forced to have recourse to a mere ex *cathedra* assertion, is confessing its impotence. Unfortunately Vedanta also, on account of the blind allegiance of its orthodox teachers to the revealed words, is being considered by the unthinking minds as impotent to solve rationally the ultimate problem of Reality.

But what does a student of Vedanta achieve as a result of his patient toil and laborious search ? Does it bring grist to his individual or national mill? No. Does it increase his capacity to enjoy the pleasures of the world? No. Vedanta says that, after inquiry, worldly objects are found to be illusory. They exist for us only so long as we do not know the Truth. The 'hay, wood and stubbles' of worldly relations and experiences, when tried in the fire of reasoning, are found to be wanting. The student of Vedanta, realizing the highest Truth, no doubt, derives satisfaction, but this satisfaction (*Anandam*) has nothing in common with the relative happiness we experience in the world. This satisfaction is due to his awareness that Reality exists and that he has known it. No human language or thought can conceive of or describe it. Revelations of the Vedas are mute before it. The pleasure of the Vedantist lies in the fact that he has known that by knowing which everything else in the world can be known. The illusion of the world and the deception of the sense-organs and the mind are dissolved for ever in the menstruum of knowledge. As he has applied his reasoning for co-ordinating all experiences and thereby found the ultimate reality, no further experience of life will be able to spring a surprise upon his by an unlooked-for ambush. The only positive satisfaction that is guaranteed to a Vedantist is that he will, no longer, be deluded by ignorance which deceives us by painting the seeming as the Reality. For, in the language of Sankara, the knowledge of Reality destroys one's hankering after objects which are unreal just as the knowledge of mother-o'-pearl (mistaken for silver) removes the desire for (illusory) silver. This knowledge may be chimerical to those who are still attached to the baubles and tinsels of the world, but it is of supreme importance to a student of philosophy.

# THE ART OF BENGAL

BY G. S. DUTT

THE soul of a people finds its truest and most spontaneous self-expression in its art. The art of a nation is therefore the surest index to its place in the world's culture. It is also the fountain from which the national soul is inspired, strengthened, sustained and ennobled. If a race or nation is cut off from its own art currents it becomes deprived of vital contact with its national soul, loses its creative force and the inspiration for the constant rejuvenation and re-invigoration of its life and becomes a barren and decadent race deriving its light from the culture of other races, but without any distinctive contribution of its own to make to the culture of the world.

In these days of resurgent Indian nationalism and nascent Indian Federalism it may be deemed an unpopular thing and even, in the opinion of some people, a retrograde thing, to speak of Bengal art, Bengal architecture, Bengal sculpture, Bengal painting, Bengal music and Bengal dance instead of Indian art, Indian architecture, Indian sculpture, Indian painting, Indian music and Indian dance; but it is none the less a matter of life and death for the Bengali people, spiritually and culturally, that in the vitally important sphere of art—for some time at least to come if not for all time—we write and act and think and dream, first and foremost, provincially and racially, that is to say, in terms of Bengal and not of India. Thus alone can Bengal develop her distinctive racial culture which, although a component part of the common culture of India and related to the culture of the other component parts, is nevertheless distinct from them in many important respects; and thus alone can she best cultivate and retain the creative force of her people and make her best and most valuable contribution to the common culture of India and to the culture of the world.

The time has, therefore, come to draw pointed attention to the fact that we, educated and semi-educated Bengalis, have hitherto been almost blind to Bengal's greatest national heritage—namely, her heritage in the sphere of art. We have gone begging elsewhere for our inspiration, while all the time we have had in our rural areas living art traditions of unique beauty practised by folk artists of a very high order of excellence who should have been our basic ideals of inspiration and whom we should have recognized and honoured as our inspirers and instructors in the sphere of art; but who, unrecognized, neglected and even despised and persecuted, have nevertheless been faithfully preserving the traditions and practice of the national arts of Bengal through the long centuries and who, at last, driven to desperation owing to our non-recognition, neglect and apathy on the one hand and under the pressure of social persecution and economic distress on the other, are at last abandoning the traditions and practice of their arts,—with the result that today Bengal stands in danger of the total extinction of her most priceless national heritage within a few years, unless our eyes are immediately opened to their value and unless we make a national effort to rescue them from ruin and, after resuscitating them, draw inspiration from them for a real national renaissance in art in Bengal which is yet to come. For, in the sphere of art, a renaissance can never come by copying the traditions and methods of other provinces and other countries, however admirable these may be. It can only be brought about by a race going to the fountain-heads of its own national culture for inspiration.

We must, of course, always be responsive to receiving influences and impulses from the art traditions and movements of other provinces and other countries, for the capacity for such response is an indispensable sign of life and an essential factor in progress, and we must not also attempt either to go backward or to stand still if we are to keep abreast of the march of progress: but it is absolutely vital to our national existence and our national development, that we turn for our *basic* inspiration not to other provinces of India nor to other countries but to the fountain-heads of our own culture, that we keep ourselves constantly in touch with those fountain-heads, that we mould our art traditions, first and foremost, in accordance with the ideals of our own racial culture as expressed in the national art of our own province before we can organically assimilate what is best in the art traditions of other peoples and other races; and that we recognize and honour our national artists who are the bearers of our national culture from a hoary past and shield them from starvation and neglect. Hitherto we have not done so in Bengal; but it is high time that we did so now and that our folk artists who are the real national artists of Bengal and who, so to speak, are the custodians of the soul of our race, and their priceless art traditions, which constitute Bengal's greatest and proudest national heritage, be not starved into extinction for good and all through our ignorance, neglect and apathy.

The rightful place which belongs to Bengal in the sphere of art has not hitherto been appreciated or recognized either by outsiders or by ourselves.

We Bengalis of the present age have undoubtedly been suffering from an inferiority complex if not in anything else, at any rate in the matter of art. We have lost our self-respect and our self-reliance in the sphere of art and our pride in Bengal's own artistic culture and faith in our spiritual mission and have been content to borrow our artistic inspiration from other provinces of India and other countries of the world. We have never ventured to use even such an expression as "*Bengal Art*" or to have a "*Bengal* school of *Bengal* art," for we have hitherto believed that Bengal has no distinctive national art of her own, but that it is her duty to collect what she can from Mogul and Rajput traditions and to create something out of them which might be called in a vague sense Indian art as practised or revived by Bengalis. We have never, I venture to think, dared to take pride in *Bengal art* as distinguished from that of other provinces of India and to be proud of it and take our basic inspiration from it although in every sphere of art as I shall presently show, Bengal has attained a very high order of excellence and has developed remarkably distinct characteristics of her own.

Let us take architecture. It was the art of the master architects of Bengal's cottage architecture which not only inspired the brick architecture of the beautiful Hindu temples of Bengal and also of much of the architecture of the Mahomedan rulers of Bengal; but which also inspired the architecture of Bharhut and Sanchi in the hoary past of India, and the Mahomedan architecture of Bijapur and southern India as well as many of the finest and most admired features of the Mogul architecture of Delhi and Agra. It was this cottage architecture of Bengal which has not only inspired and influenced much of the building traditions of modern Rajputana, but it also inspired the style of roofs and vaults which we find painted in the world-famed frescoes of the caves of Ajanta itself.* And yet we have all but allowed the master architects of our Bengal cottage architecture to become extinct through our stupid neglect and for want of suitable recognition and employment.

The folk-songs of a race constitute an unceasing fount of inspiration for its distinctive spiritual outlook and its distinctive rhythmic self-expression and the spirit of joy in life. Our greatest modern poet Rabindranath Tagore received inspiration from the folk-songs and folk-singers of Bengal for his inimitable art, which has been the admiration of the world. But while we are justly proud of Rabindranath's great genius and the beauty of his poetic art, we have hitherto thought it beneath our dignity to go for our inspiration to the art of the folk-singers of Bengal and we have done and are doing little or nothing to develop and express our pride in their inimitable art, to better their lot or to make a systematic study of their art and encourage its practice; with the result that our folk-songs and our folk-singers constituting one of the most precious possessions of our race which should have furnished a most prolific source of our national inspiration in music are becoming rapidly extinct.

Until about twelve months ago, when I had the good fortune to discover the existence among us of the descendants of the great Raibenshe soldiers of ancient Bengal and their glorious war-dance which was becoming rapidly extinct for complete lack of recognition, our people used to believe that Bengal had nothing to contribute in the matter of the art of the dance and our young dance aspirants turned to the temple dancers of Malabar and to the nautch girls of Lucknow and Delhi, etc., for inspiration. Since then I have had occasion to point out that in her Raibenshe, Kathi, Baul, Jari, Kirtan and other folk-dances and her ritual dances, Bengal has a heritage of folk dance of the heroic as well as the graceful type of which any nation can be justly proud and the practice of which it is our duty to revive and encourage on a national scale before they are driven out of extinction through our neglect and apathy. Further it is of the utmost importance for our national development that we faithfully preserve our distinctive national folk dances unadulterated by extraneous influences.

But it is with the national heritage of Bengal in the sphere of sculpture and of the pictorial art that I propose specially to deal here; for unbeknown to our art schools and colleges in the cities, Bengal has to this day a living tradition of the art of sculpture and of the art of painting which will be a revelation not only to our countrymen and women in the cities of Bengal but to the world at large and which will, by virtue of their intrinsic beauty and high excellence of conception and workmanship, take a very high place in the world of art.

Let us take sculpture first.

The fact that owing to the special climatic and geological conditions of our province our sculptors have had to work mainly in wood instead of in stone does not in the least detract from the intrinsic skill shown by them in their art. For it is well known that sculptors who are proficient in dealing with the wooden medium can show equal proficiency if required to use the medium of stone and we know it as a fact that the sculptors of Sanchi and Bharhut actually acquired their skill in the art of sculpture with the wooden medium and merely tansferred it to that of stone when the necessity arose.* Even in stone, however, Bengal's sculptors have, as we all know, shown a high degree of excellence in the past in depicting religious motifs as in the stone sculptures of the age of the Pal Kings. The beauty and skill of workmanship of the

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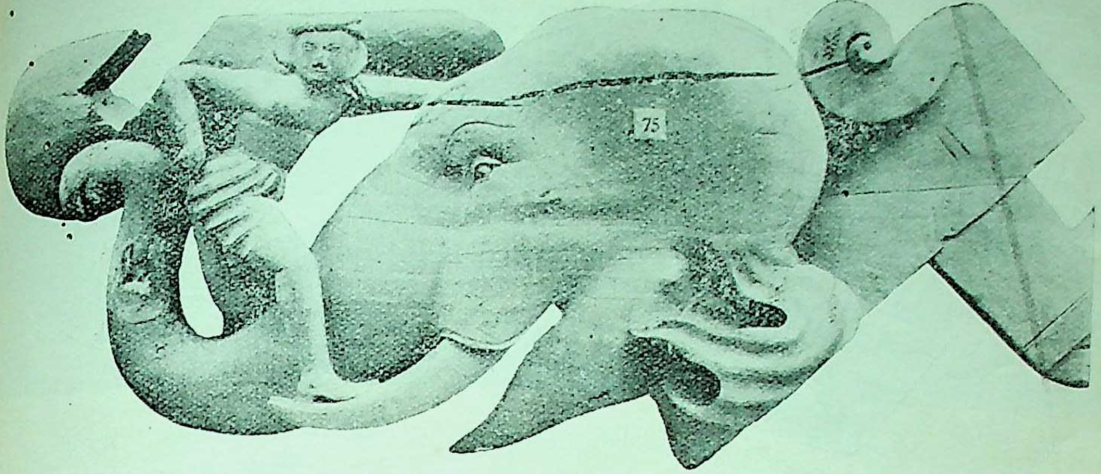
* See *Indian Architecture*, by E. B. Havell, page and also his *Handbook of Indian Art* page 136.

* See *The introduction to Indian Art* by A. K. Coomaraswamy, page 24.

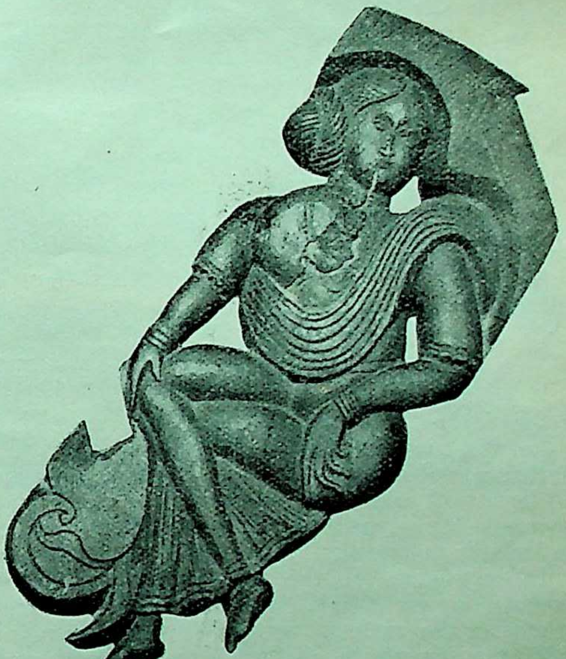


Bengali Wood-carving—Elephant's head and mahout

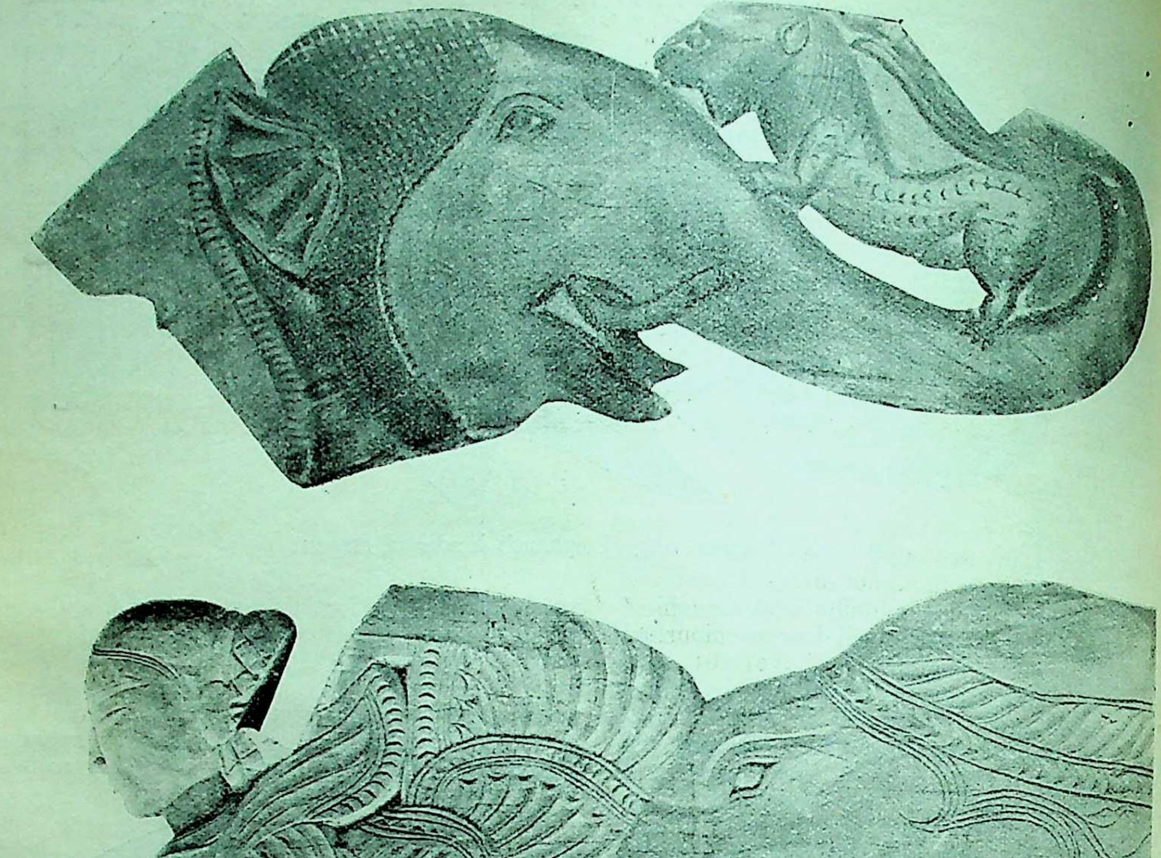
famous terracotta and moulded brick work of Bengal of later times is too well known to need any detailed mention here.

But it is particularly in wooden sculpture which is an integral part of the cottage architecture of rural Bengal to the present day that the sculptors of Bengal have in the past shown and are even at the present day showing their inimitable skill. This sculpture is to be found used mainly in the cornice brackets and friezes on the architraves of the thatched houses in Western Bengal as well as in the wooden door-frames of houses and temples. For plastic genius in the representation of every aspect of life and beauty, specially the portrayal of physical male and female beauty of limb, expression and posture, the sympathetic representation of animal life and in the expression of all the emotions of the soul, as demonstrated by these specimens collected at random from only one district in Western Bengal, this Bengal school of sculpture can claim to take a very high place indeed in this branch of art and our neglected carpenters whom our rich and educated men spurn to employ, can, it will be found, turn out work of equal if not of greater skill than that of the skilled Chinaman, hordes of whom are to be found today employed in our cities at incredibly high rates of remuneration, while Bengal's own indigenous sculptors are fast becoming extinct, through unemployment and starvation.

In the motif of the wood sculptures forming the cornice brackets, the head and the trunk of the elephant form a common motif, and the sculptors have delighted in portraying the various parts of the elephant's head and trunk and the various attitudes of the latter with all the skill at their command. These pieces are called "Sunros" or "trunk pieces" from the elephant's trunk shape and they form strong support for the main front cross beam under the roof of the cottage as well as for the eaves board, and each bracket invariably bears two grooves into which these structures fit. One of the most remarkable features of these "Sunros" is the total absence of any superfluous material, which is a high quality in art representing economy of material. Over the head of the elephant there is usually another motif of either an attacking tiger (as in one of the illustrations given here) or lion or a woman in a pose and these latter often form the most beautiful portion of the whole piece; as for example in the figure of the fairy poising herself



Wood-carving—A bracket figure

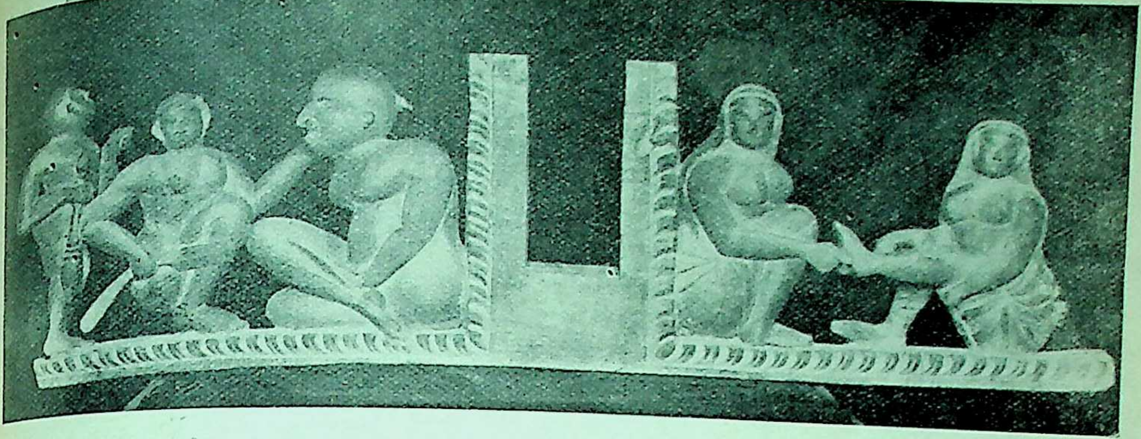


Bengali Wood-carving—Elephant's head and winged figure

on the elephant's trunk. The beautiful chiselling of the eyes, nose, lips and chin of the fairy, the fine balance of her poise, the exquisite rhythm and beauty of the details of her drapery and above all the chaste expression of her face are particularly noteworthy.

In the figure of the elephant supporting the mahout on its trunk, the manly feature and attitude of the mahout are of striking beauty; while the impression of resistless strength and force of the beast depicted by the strikingly forcible rendering of his left ear marks the work out as a masterpiece.

In the bracket representing two women joined arm in arm performing a Raibenshe exercise, the sculptor, while deliberately neglecting the anatomical features of the arms, has concentrated his skill on the wonderfully lifelike representation of the agility of attitude of the two girls, the expression of concentration in their fixed look into another's eyes, their compressed lips attendant on the effort required for the exercise and on the beautifully executed curve of the legs of the upper figure. The figure of the woman in the attitude of swinging in a hammock is of great artistic merit alike in the pure and serene expression of the eyes and face, the curv of every limb, especially of the fingers of the le hand, and the exquisite balance of the figur In all the female figures although nudity of th breast and other parts has been indicated wit rare artistic skill, there is an extraordinary inhibition of all sensuous feeling. This is an invariable and striking characteristic of the Beng



Bengali Wood-carving—The Pundit, Pundit's wife and the barber

school of sculpture as well as painting. But perhaps the most striking piece of wooden sculpture which I have so far discovered in the villages of Bengal is the inimitable work depicting the shaving of the Pundit and the colouring of his wife's feet with *alta* (a red dye) by the barber's wife. The characteristic figure, attitude and pose of everyone in this group, including the Pundit's servant bringing the *hooka* and the *kalke* (chillum) with prepared tobacco for the master to smoke while being shaved and blowing the chillum with his mouth, have been executed with exquisite skill. It will be noticed here that the genius of the rural sculptors of Bengal anticipated the remarkable feature in the art of such advanced modern sculptors as Rodin in leaving parts unessential to the main theme of the work completely unexecuted (*e. g.*, the left foot of the Pundit's wife in the last mentioned sculpture) while executing the essential parts in their completest detail.

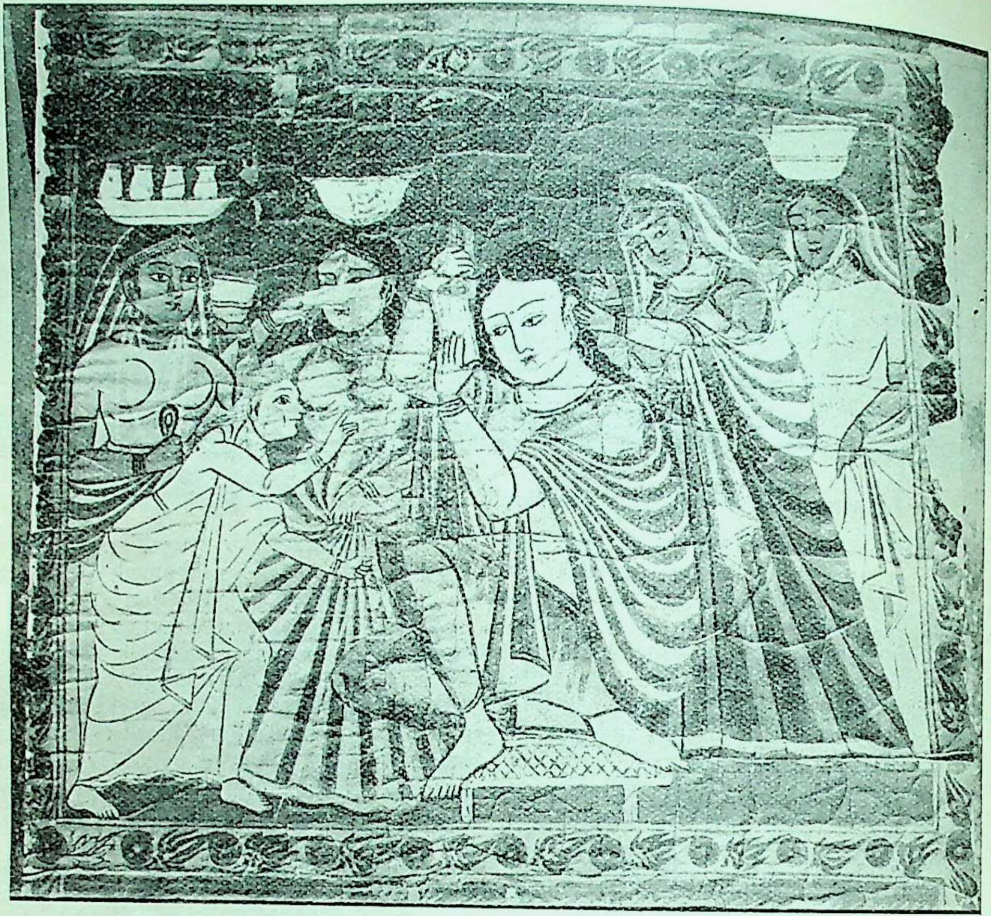
Two Figures in carved Wood

We now come to the subject of painting.

I would divide the folk art of Bengal in the sphere of painting into three main sections, *viz.*, (1) *Pats* or multiple scroll pictures drawn by the hereditary race of *patuas*, (2) mural paintings (brush paintings in *tempera*) in beautifully bright colours practised by the rural women-folk in Western Bengal, a beautiful art of the existence of which we were hitherto completely unconscious, but which I had the good fortune to discover during the last twelve months; as well as floor *alponas* practised by rural women all over rural Bengal and (3) pictorial wooden and earthen dolls.

These will be a revelation to us of the extraordinary genius for "colour music" and rhythmic expression which marks our Bengali race and which is still preserved intact by the unlettered men and women in our villages who have yet remained unaffected by the modern education in our towns and cities—a "colour music" which is one of these subtle refinements which have moulded Indian character and elevated the national culture of India in the past, which the vulgarity of the life and the pseudo-culture of our cities brought about by modern conditions has completely killed among our educated and semi-educated classes; but which yet survives in the remote parts of rural Bengal beautifying the village homes. It still constitutes a precious national heritage forming an elevating and refining influence in national life and furnishing a medium of self-expresssion of the beauty and loveliness of the mind and character of our simple rural men and women.

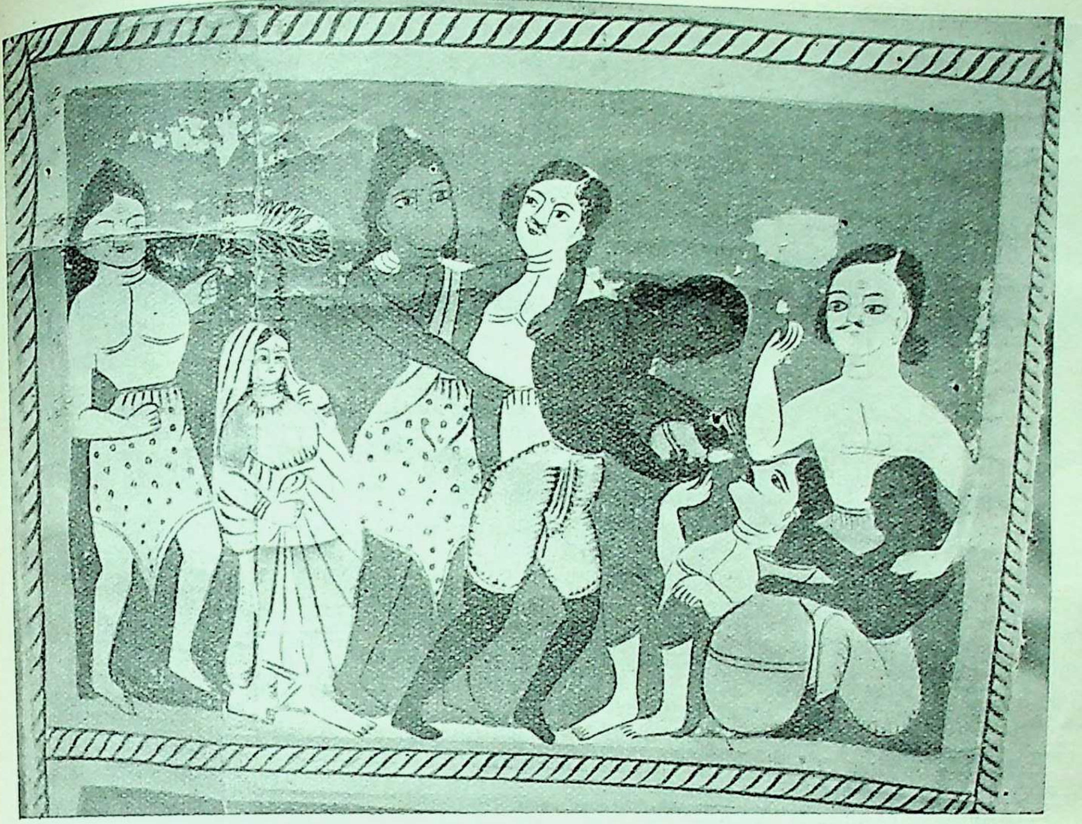
Of the three forms of the pictorial art still practised by our rural men and women, however, by far the most important is the multiple scroll paintings or *pats* painted by the *patuas* or folk painters of rural Bengal. Hitherto, we have had some knowledge of the strength, vigour and stylistic beauty of line-drawing of the *pats* of Kalighat, the traditions of which have however been at last completely corrupted by town



Radha's Toilet (Old Bengali *pat*)

influence and the last notable representatives of which are dead and gone from amongst us. But so far our artists and art lovers have had an inadequate knowledge of the multiple scroll paintings of the *patuas* of rural Bengal and an inadequate appreciation of the value of their art and of its place in the hierarchy of the art of India and of the world. It has been my good fortune to have been able to make a representative collection of these multiple *pats* painted both by living *patuas* and their ancestors and to have studied at first hand the life and work of the living representatives of this school; and to me these multiple *pats* of rural Bengal appear to be of the highest artistic importance not only from the history of their origin, their relation to the art currents of other provinces of India, as well as their intrinsic merit from the point of view of art; but also from their significance from the point of view of the history and development of art in general throughout the world, and the movements and impulses of the new art of Europe and America of the present day. Although this art is now practised by poor and neglected folk artists it would be a mistake to regard them as merely belonging to the humble description of folk art in the sense of being of a primitive and crude character. For, although it is now undoubtedly in a state of decline owing to generations of neglect and want of understanding on the part of the educated classes of modern Bengal, it has had a classic stage of excellence of its own as represented by some of the *pats* of the old masters of this school which have fortunately survived and which will stand very favourable comparison with the classic stage of any other school in India or elsewhere.

From the point of view of their subject matter these Bengal *pats* may be divided mainly into three classes representing three main principles. Those depicting the Ram-lila may be described as representing the heroic aspect of life, the aspect of *Karma* and *Purushakar* or in other words action and manliness; they also portray the details of domestic life. Those representing the Krishna-lila may be described as representing the aspect of *bhakti* or spiritual devotion as well as the romantic aspect of life, the aspect of love and beauty. They also portray the idealized pastoral or rural life of the villages of India. A third class of *pats* may be described as dealing with the aspect of *shakti* or power or the metaphysical aspect of life and the *tantric*

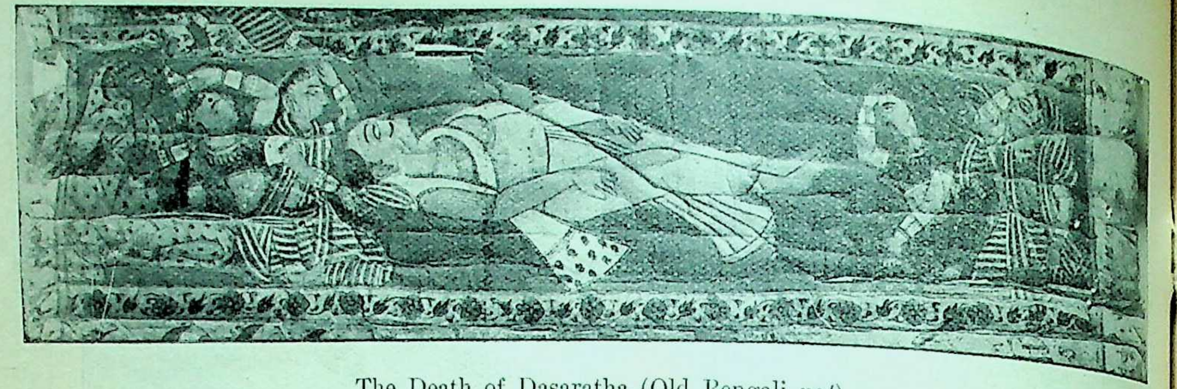


Ramchandra and Guhaka (Old Bengali *pat*)

philosophy of Bengal ; while there are others depicting stories either from the Mahabharata or episodes from the life of Chaitanya. Thus the range of expression is very wide, covering every phase of human emotion and every department of human life known to the artists or coming within the scope of their imagination.

The story of the *patuas* forms a strange and almost incredibly romantic but sadly humiliating chapter in the history of our country and furnishes a tragic commentary to the present social, educational, religious and artistic degeneration of our race. The exponents and inheritors of an art tradition of the highest order of excellence, they have been persecuted through centuries by the Hindus of Bengal, to whose religious and highest spiritual needs their art catered in the past and still caters, and compelled *to* go out of the bounds of orthodox Hindu society ; but yet these men cling to the pursuit of their beloved art of Hindu religious painting and sculpture. For, strange to say, these men are not only mere painters, but in their hereditary profession they continue to combine the four arts of painting, sculpture, poetry and song and there are features in their art which strangely remind us of the Naga school of Dhiman and Bitpalo which is mentioned by the Buddhist historian Taranath to have flourished in Bengal in the 9th century under the Pal Kings. Even to this day they make figures of Hindu deities in strict keeping with the directions of the Hindu Silpa-sastras and most of them still maintain their Hindu names but owing to the social contempt on the part of present day Hindu society they have been driven to the border line between the Hindu and the Mahomedan religion, and as the result of the apathy and the ignorance of the educated and wealthy Hindus to their hereditary arts they have been reduced to the verge of starvation. But in spite of the fact that in the case of the great majority of them their active practice of the art of painting has been in abeyance for more than one generation, many of them still retain in a marked degree their wonderful hereditary skill in line-drawing and in colour and figure composition.

Each of the *pats* or roll of multiple scrolls is like a moving picture gallery consisting of a series of pictures coming one after the other in which the development of a complete story from its beginning to its end is depicted with wonderful force and vividness and the story of each picture used to be chanted and is still melodiously chanted by the patuas in lyric compositions of their own. The moral basis of art was always, and is, indeed, even now, kept



The Death of Dasaratha (Old Bengali *pat*)

constantly in view. Each *pat* ends with a picture of the court of the king of Death and of the Last Judgment, and the artist, after chanting the story of each picture one after the other, invariably ends up by chanting the eternal law of the ultimate triumph of virtue and the defeat and punishment of vice.

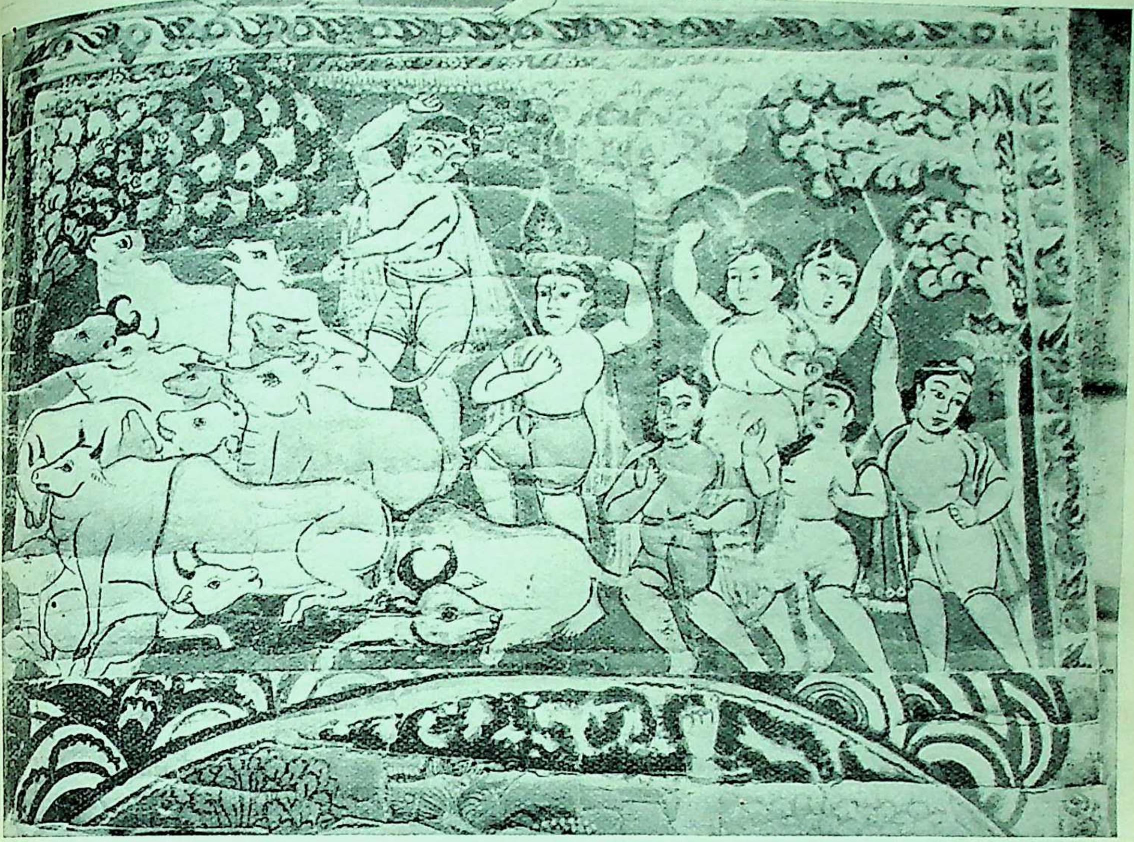
This custom, which formed an admirable institution of spiritual and moral instruction as well as art education in ancient and medieval India and which survived in an almost unimpaired form until about 50 years ago in the rural areas of Bengal, has suddenly fallen into desuetude during the last two or three decades, owing to the inroads of industrialism and the new education of our towns and cities, the attendant changes in social and religious customs and the vulgarization of taste in matters appertaining to art.

Historically the art of the Bengal patuas as depicted in these *pats* represents, I venture to think, the oldest school of the national art of India. They appear to me undoubtedly to belong to the pre-Buddhistic and pre-Ajanta school of art and to constitute the pristine school of the art of India—the art of the wonderful "Chitralekhas" so frequently mentioned in classic Sanskrit literature of the hoary past of India.

It is a most interesting and significant fact which helps to establish the lineal descent of these men from India's pristine painters, that in spite of incredible social persecution by the Hindus, these *patuas*, as they are now contemptuously termed by the latter, still adhere to their classical Sanskrit appellation of *Chitrakar* and they invariably use the traditional Sanskrit term "*Lekha*" (writing) in describing their brush painting of pictures *(chitra)* instead of the common Bengali expression *anka* (drawing or painting). Unlike other schools of Indian art, the school of art represented by these Bengal *pats* has remained completely unadulterated by influences extraneous to India throughout its long evolutionary history from the primitive stages of Indian art. It expresses the inherent Indian spirit in art in a greater degree than any other school in any other part of India and in this sense it will not be inappropriate to regard it as representing the truest national art tradition not only of Bengal but of India. But it is not the mere fact of its ancient origin and unadulterated evolution but the remarkable quality which it has derived from these circumstances that gives the art of this Bengal school its unique value to the world of art in general on the one hand and to the Bengali people in particular on the other.

Let us first consider its value from the point of view of general artistic interest.

If it is a fact that the world of art in its desperate effort to rid itself of the paralyzing hold of an over-refined, over-sensuous, over-elegant insistence on mere '*rupa*' or the beauty of objective representation is today hankering for the vitamin qualities of directness, simplicity, strength and robustness, for the primitive power of graphic story-telling and for the power of representing the *rasa* or the emotional language of the spirit; and if it is a fact that in the pursuit of this desperate quest it is even deliberately rejecting objective beauty and seeking inspiration from the art of the primitive Negro and the caveman, then it will be found that this art of the Bengal multiple *pats* has a great and inspiring message for the world. For it will reveal to the world that it is possible to retain and confine the primitive qualities of freshness, simplicity, directness and robustness and the power of vivic story-telling with the most exquisite delineation of objective beauty. Incredible as it may at first appear, the art of the old masters of this school combines in itself in a remarkable manner some of the best qualities of primitive art with those of a highly developed system. It has the vivid story-telling power, the virility, robustness strength, directness, spontaneity and the subjective and expressive power of primitive art without its crudeness. It has the chastened beauty, grace, rhythm, grandeur and sublimity of conception, strength of line-drawing, faultlessness of figure and colour composition and charm of objective effect of classical art without its over-refinement or mannerism. It has the capacity of portraying the finest type of manly beauty of figure, form

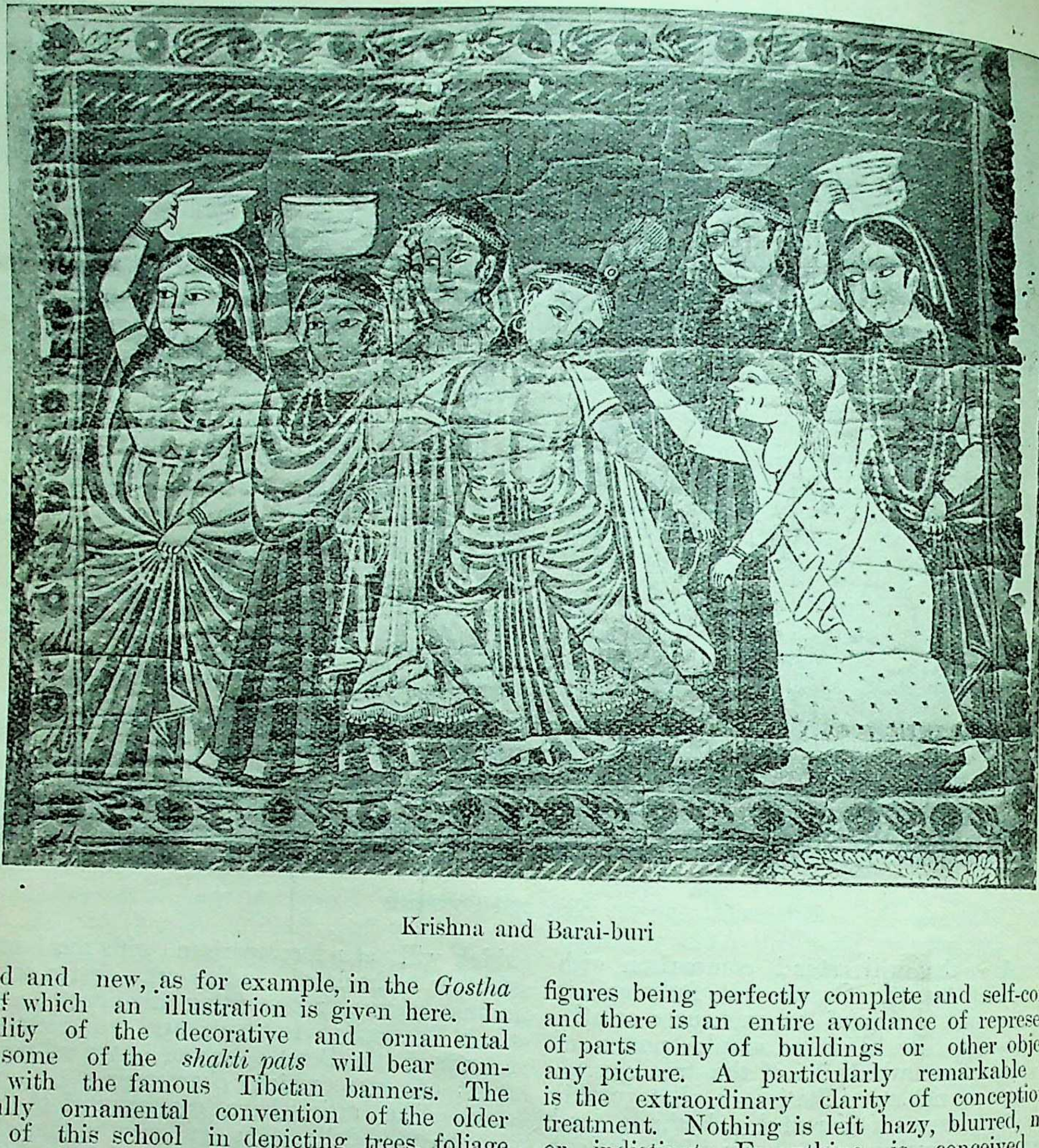


Krishna among the Kine and Cowherds

and expression that will stand comparison with the best art of Ajanta, Greece and Italy and is yet free from all touch of sensuousness or effeminate elegance. It has an ample power of realistic delineation which is of the true expressionist type and not an initative or photographic realism. Its power of forceful, rhythmic and expressive line-drawing and harmonious colour composition is unsurpassed by any other school of art, ancient or modern.

From the point of view of conception as well as technique it will be found that the basic characteristic of the art of the patuas is the one which the post-impressionists of the West have been striving to attain, namely, the elimination of all unessentials and a dependence on fundamentals, so that the full impression on the mind of the soul quality of the picture and the inmost character expression depicted by the wonderful strength and force of line-drawing and colour scheme is not interfered with in the least degree by any distraction caused by such unessentials as the time factor and the introduction of a third dimension.

The old masters of the school combined the power of vivid story-telling in a most remarkable manner with the most consummate art of beautiful miniature painting and character delineation which will stand comparison with the best work of other schools of Indian art, as for example, in the picture representing the death scene of King Dasaratha. But perhaps the most unique feature of the Bengal school is the all-pervading spirit of *rasa* which characterizes it at every stage. The artists have concentrated their attention on the delineation of *rasa* rather than on merely bringing out the beauty of form, although, as some of the illustrations given will show, they have ample power of delineating rhythmic beauty of form when they choose to do so. The figure of Krishna, as indeed the figures of all other characters, has been depicted with a delightful freedom entirely devoid of all artificial conventionalism in style and a charming freshness which is characteristic of the work of the school; as for example, in the *Gostha-lila* picture. The exquisite character of Barai-buri, representing the kindly, sympathetic and witty old grandmother of the Bengal home, has been represented and perpetuated with consummate skill (see the picture of Krishna and Barai-buri). A specially striking feature of all the artists of this school is the extraordinary ease and power displayed by them in making wonderfully lifelike and sympathetic animal studies and this feature will be found in an exceptional degree in all the



Krishna and Barai-buri

*pats*, old and new, as for example, in the *Gostha* scene of which an illustration is given here. In the quality of the decorative and ornamental details, some of the *shakti pats* will bear comparison with the famous Tibetan banners. The beautifully ornamental convention of the older masters of this school in depicting trees, foliage and flowers bears extraordinary affinity with that of the famous Western India schools of art. Nowhere in the whole sphere of art in the world do we find the figure of human beings depicted with greater manly grandeur or womanly grace and sweetness—as for example, in the picture depicting Radha's toilet drawn by an old master of this school on the one hand and in the picture of Ram and Sita at Guhak Chandal's house drawn by a living patua on the other. While the principal appeal in these pictures is subjective, there is ample objective loveliness and rhythmic beauty of form and colour. A characteristic feature of this school is that all its pictures are invariably and deeply impregnated with this life of the spirit. The colour composition and the figure composition are uniformly perfect in all the pictures and in every one of the pictures there is a uniform quality of completeness and a wonderful economy of space, its figures being perfectly complete and self-contained and there is an entire avoidance of representation of parts only of buildings or other objects in any picture. A particularly remarkable quality is the extraordinary clarity of conception and treatment. Nothing is left hazy, blurred, mystical or indistinct. Everything is conceived boldly and drawn and coloured vividly. A unique feature of this school is a sweetness and homeliness which is peculiar to the character of rural Bengal and is Bengal's very own. Finally, it has that wonderful capacity to make use of the simplest technique of line and colour without any adventitious aid to express, not only all the varied emotions of humanity, but its supernal aspirations, which the ultra-modern art of the West is yearning to acquire.

But whatever position this old national tradition of Bengal art may ultimately hold in the hierarchy of art either of India or of the world generally, it has a significance and a value for Bengalis which is entirely independent of its comparative worth in relation to other schools of art. For the art of this school is pre-eminently the art of Bengal; and to us in Bengal the art tradition of the rural *patuas* of our province, be it ever so humble, represents nothing less than our mother language in art, just as much as the primitive Bengali of Chandidas and of the Vaishnava poets, nay, even of the *Baul* and *Bhatial* singers of rural Bengal represents the mother tongue in literature of the Bengali people. It would be unwise on the part of our Bengali artists, under the influence of a misleading cosmopolitanism, to refuse to embrace this ancient and still living art tradition of Bengal as their own mother language in art—as the only art language in which their creative genius can find proper scope for its growth and expansion. Our artists may and will undoubtedly enrich this old art language with new beauties and powers undreamt of by the old masters, just as Rabindranath has enriched the language of Chandidas with beauties and powers undreamt of by the latter, but accept this ancient and indigenous art tradition they must as their basic art language, if all our efforts at artistic expression are not to end in national barrenness.

Unlike the other schools of Indian art, the Bengal school is still a living one. A great deal of the brilliancy of the old masters has undoubtedly been entirely lost by their modern representatives but much of the hereditary skill of hand and eye, of the instinctive faculty for correct art idiom, of the genius for line-drawing, figure compositon, colour scheme and for sympathetic animal studies and of the sub-conscious spiritual faculty for purity and dignity of conception still survives among many members of the present generation of the *patuas* who sat at the feet of some of the old masters of thirty or forty years ago and the skill of these living exponents of this school even in its decline constitutes a most precious national heritage of Bengal. But if we are to recapture and preserve what is still left for the race, there is no time to lose,—for one more generation of neglect of our own art mother language—and the whole living tradition of it will be completely extinct, leaving only the dead skeleton behind, as in the case of Ajanta and the other schools of Indian art; and we shall be cursed by untold generations to come for our blindness.

Applying therefore the advice which Havell gave to Indians generally before this old art language of Bengal was discovered, I would say to my fellow-countrymen in Bengal in Havell's words:

"Learn to know your own art language before you seek to know what other provinces of India and other countries of the world think and do; let your own artists and craftsmen—those who have not forsaken the tradition of Bengal art—be your artistic Gurus."*

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* *The Basis for Artistic and Industrial Revival in India*, by E. B. Havell, p. 15.

Japanese Soldiers in the Trenches

*See article on page 561*

# BOOK REVIEWS

**B**ooks in the principal European and all Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

SATYĀ-KĀMĀ (or "True Desires"): *By S. E. Stokes, published by S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras. Pp. xii + 416.*

The author is 'a Philadelphian of Quaker extraction' who came to India in 1904, married an Indian lady and has now settled as a farmer in a Himalayan village. At one time he took an active part in the political life of the country of his adoption, even became a member of the All-India Congress Committee and suffered imprisonment during the first non-co-operation movement. It was in jail that this book was written.

History knows of many a good book written in jail: Bunyan wrote his *Pilgrim's Progress* and Tilak his *Arctic Home of the Vedas* in jail. Our author also has written an equally good book in similar circumstances.

He has said in more than one place that his is not a systematic philosophy—that he has allowed himself to "think upon paper." But it must be said to his credit that he has thought well and thought vigorously and courageously and his exposition is exceedingly happy and refreshing.

He attempts to interpret Indian thought, specially that contained in the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta, without being committed to any particular school of interpretation. As we went through the book, however, we detected some very striking similarities between his system of thought and that of Vijñāna-bhiksu and of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas like Jīva Gosvāmī. But in view of the fact that he does not appear to have any close acquaintance with these writers, this similarity is all the more interesting. He is a philosopher of Love like the Vaiṣṇavas, and it is no wonder, therefore, that he has read the same meaning in the Vedanta as the Vaiṣṇavas have done. In addition, he is deeply versed in Christian teachings and this enables him to appreciate the Indian philosophy of love better than many.

We have not space enough to attempt a summary of his philosophy. But we can say unhesitatingly that his book provides excellent reading and gives in the most lucid manner the very cream of Indian thought. All may not agree with his conclusions and with his interpretation; but no one who reads the book carefully can deny the author credit for earnest and clear thinking. In Mr. Stokes we have the happy combination of a devoted husband, a loving father and an inspiring thinker—an ideal *Gṛhastha*, who, "true to the kindred points of heaven and earth," keeps a house, founds a family and yet has set his heart upon "God who is our home."

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

## EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY IN JAPAN

*Extra-territoriality in Japan and the Diplomatic Relations Resulting in its Abolition of 1853-1899: By F. C. Jones, M. A., published by Yale University Press, New Haven. (U. S. A.) 1931. Pages 231.* [*Price $*

Diplomatic history of Modern Japan is of very great interest to all those who wish to get a thorough understanding of world politics of today. During the nineteenth century, Japan, like all other oriental States, did not enjoy full sovereignty and was a victim of western domination. After the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1853-54, Western Powers encroached upon Japanese sovereignty through the imposition of extra-territorial jurisdiction. During the period of 1853-1899, Japanese statesmen in succession tried their best to remove the limitations on Japanese sovereignty through negotiations and by bringing about necessary changes in the internal condition of the country, especially by introducing various forms of judicial reforms. Japan's efforts to remove "extra-territorial jurisdiction" forms the most important part of the diplomatic history of the country during 1853-1899. Mr. Jones, in his work on "Extra-territoriality" has very admirably covered the subject of diplomatic history of Japan in relation to the abolition of extra-territoriality.

The first Europeans to reach Japan were the Portuguese in 1542. The Spaniards came during the latter part of the sixteenth century; whereas the Dutch and the English appeared on the scene during the early seventeenth century. In 1638, the Japanese Government, suspicious of westerners who were fomenters of a rebellion, issued an edict declaring "total exclusion of foreigners" from Japan. During the period of 1542 to 1638, there was a form of extra-territoriality in Japan. The legal status of foreigners during this period is explained in a letter of patent of October 8, 1613 issued by Iyeysu to Captain John Saris, representative of the English East India Company. By its fourth clause, the English in Japan were to be amenable only to the head of their factory for all offences they might commit in Japan, while the same official was to have cognizance of all questions affecting the property of his countrymen. The Spanish and Dutch were accorded the similar privileges (p. 6). The above-mentioned concession was a favour granted by Japan to the foreigners and this was not extracted from Japan by force or by any treaty right.

In 1854 the United States signed the treaty of Kanagawa by which several Japanese ports were opened to U. S. ships and the United States secured rights to trade with Japan. The treaty included, however, a most-favoured nation clause which secured to the United States any future privileges granted to other nations (p. 12). Following the examples of the United States, Great Britain and other nations concluded similar treaties. The nature of limitation of sovereignty of Japan, imposed by these treaties, can be well understood from the following :—

(1) All questions, in regard to rights, whether of property or of person, arising between citizens of a Treaty-Power residing in Japan, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the authorities of the said Treaty-Power. In like manner the Japanese shall not interfere in any question which may arise between the citizens of a Treaty-Power and the subjects of any other Treaty-Power. (2) Citizens of a Treaty-Power, who may commit any crime against Japanese subjects or the subjects of any other nation, shall be brought before the authorities of the country of the offender and punished according to the laws of their country (p. 27).

By the Tariff Convention of June 25, 1866, concluded between Japan and United States, Great Britain, France and Holland, the Japanese Government was prohibited from demanding more than 5 per cent tariff on the majority of foreign articles. This certainly limited Japanese economic independence.

Until 1871 the Japanese Government did not take any decisive step towards the abolition of "extra-territoriality." In December 1871, a Japanese diplomatic mission under the leadership of Prince Iwakura, left Japan for the United States and to visit Great Britain and other countries of Europe, with the purpose of inducing the important Treaty-Powers to revise treaties and to abolish extra-territoriality. The mission was unsuccessful and returned to Japan in 1873. The main argument of the Powers was that they could not consent to the removal of "extra-territoriality" unless Japanese laws were modified to conform with the practices of the civilized nations. The Japanese Government at once in 1873 appointed a committee to revise the Penal Code, following the Code of Napoleon, under the direction of a French expert M. Boissonade. Steps were taken to reform the Civil Code in 1875 and in 1876-1877 steps were taken to reform the Japanese police and prisons. After adopting these measures Japan called for a conference of Powers in Tokyo and demanded a revision of the existing treaties. In July 1878, U. S. Minister to Japan (Mr. Bingham) and U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Everts agreed to Japan's rights to tariff reform and a new treaty, which really became ineffective because other Treaty-Powers refused to consider it. Great Britain was the bitter opponent of any proposition involving treaty-revision.

After the completion of the work of various committees on Judicial Reform in 1880, Count Inouye as Foreign Minister of Japan asked the Treaty-Powers for treaty revision, guaranteeing Japan full judicial autonomy. Japan made a special representation to Great Britain which has considerable interest in Japan. However, in the conference on judical autonomy held in Tokyo in 1882 Japan presented a modified proposition that she may attain judicial autonomy and tariff autonomy within five years. Although the United States and Germany supported Japanese claims, the convention was a total failure due to British opposition to the Japanese proposition. Possibly the reason for British opposition was that the British Government was afraid that the concession of judicial autonomy to Japan would have unpleasant repercussions on the British position in China and India (p. 101). In spite of the failure of the conference, the Japanese statesmen in successive governments—particularly Count Inouye, Viscount Aoki, Count Okuma, worked unceasingly for recovering Japanese sovereignty. Obstinacy on the part of the Treaty-Powers gave rise to anti-foreign agitation in Japan. Marquis Okuma was the victim of a bomb outrage in 1889, because the populace were infuriated with the suggestion that Count Okuma would agree to the establishment of mixed courts in which the foreign judges would be in majority, to try cases involving foreign interests. In 1891 an attempt was made to assassinate the Tsarevitch who was visiting Japan.

After trying various means, the Japanese statesmen decided that before making any attempt for a general revision of the existing treaties with Powers, Japan should secure British support. After considerable efforts on the part of Japanese statesmen the Aoki-Kimberly Treaty of June 16, 1894 was signed by Great Britain and Japan, and "extra-territoriality" was abolished. However, because of the existence of "favoured nation clause" in the existing treaties between Japan and Treaty-Powers, the Aoki-Kimberly Treaty did not come into operation until France, the last of the Treaty-Powers, signed a treaty in 1899 abolishing "extra-territoriality." It may be mentioned that Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) helped Japan to assert her full sovereignty.

Mr. Jones in his work, *Extra-territoriality in Japan*, gives an excellent description of all pertinent facts relating to this phase of diplomatic history of Japan. It makes clear many obscure points and presents a well-documented scholarly and authentic study on the subject. It shows clearly the continuity of Japanese foreign policy and workings of Japanese statesmen belonging to various political parties to achieve the same end of assertion of Japan as an unfettered sovereign Power. Mr. Jones' book is a very valuable contribution to the history of Japanese diplomacy and world politics.

TARAKNATH DAS

IBN AL 'ARABI : *By Maulvi S. A. Q. Husaini, M. A. (pp. 78 ; Rs 1. 4 ; published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1931).*

Here is a neat little volume of real worth and deep interest to every serious student of Islamic thought. We heartily congratulate the author on the success of this ably written biography and teachings of Shaikh Muhiyuddin Ibn Al 'Arabi in a nut-shell. We only hope that the author without any diffidence should undertake more detailed study of the works of this great saint and thinker of Islam. Ibn Al 'Arabi stands nearer to us, Indians, than many of us suspect. Prince Dara Shukoh, the greatest exponent of the Indo-Muslim mysticism, in the 17th century was an inspired student of Ibn Al 'Arabi ; and in the evolution of the Indian doctrine of *Ahimsa in religion (Sulh-i-kul, i.e.* Peace with all), Dara Shukoh is the connecting link between Kabir and Akbar on the one hand, and Rajah Rammohun Roy and Mahatma Gandhi on the other.

Ibn Al 'Arabi was born at Murcia in Spain on July 29, 1165. He had a very sound education in early life, and soon became famous as a brilliant scholar and a Sufi of great repute. The Shaikh left Seville for the East in 1202, and after having travelled long through Egypt and Arabia, at last settled in Damascus. There he passed the remainder of his life and died at the age of 78. In his lifetime as well as at this age people were and are sharply divided in their opinion about Ibn Al 'Arabi. Among his contemporaries some looked upon him as a Siddique ; others held him to be a Zindiq, nay, even a Satan because in the opinion of the Mullah, Satan is the most learned being and invincible debater against whom nothing but most emphatic assertion of faith in the Shariyat ever prevails. Some would have even his books burnt. It is said that in Damascus a neighbour of his imprecated Ibn Al 'Arabi ten times a day as sedulously as he offered his five daily prayers. But when this man died the Shaikh attended his funeral, fasted throughout the day and recited *La ilaha illa Allah* seventy thousand times till God pardoned the sin of him who cursed the Shaikh all through his life.

The Shaikh was a voluminous writer and he wrote to unburden his soul. He writes that if he had not written the *Futuhat-ul-Makkiyya,* he would have been set on fire. Twenty-five books of the saint are now extant, and among these *Futuhat-ul-Makkiyya,* and *Fusus-ul-Hikam* are most widely known. The trend of the Shaikh's teachings seems to be to follow the path of least resistance in the world, and harmonize free thought with faith and ritualism. Narrow theologians taunted his high philosophy as *Zan Din* from which they ignorantly derive the word Zindiq (Zan Din, *i.e.*, women's creed of hiding infidelity and professing faith). He was a Pantheist and condemned distinguishing between the Creator and the Creation as a sinful Dualism. He has by a very original and ingenious interpretation of "*Khatim-un-Nabi*" ("There is no Prophet after me, *i.e.*, Muhammad), he has made room for freedom of thought within the intolerant creed of orthodoxy. Ibn Al 'Arabi says that only *appellations* of 'Prophet' and Messenger *were cut off*, and not their essentials.

The Shaikh's attitude to idol-worship is expressed thus : "Gnostics ignore forms in accordance with their faith, although they realize that idolators worship one God in several forms" (p. 55). So said his princely pupil Dara Shukoh and with much more vehemence :

*Āgar Kāfir-z (az) Islām-i-majāzi gasht be-zār ;*
*Ke-rā kufr-i-haqiqi shud padidār.*
*Darun-i-har bute janist pihnān*
*ba-zīr-i-kufr imānist pihnān,*

*i. e.*, if the infidel is disgusted with the (lit. superficial) Islam, to whom has true infidelity become manifest ? There is life hidden within every idol ; and True Faith (*Iman*) lies concealed beneath infidelity. (Dara to Shah Dilruba). Ibn Al 'Arabi made a religion of Love, as Mahatma Gandhi has made a political philosophy of it. "Love' is the highest form of religion," says the Shaikh "in which God is worshipped."

The author of this biography of Ibn Al 'Arabi nowhere intrudes himself upon the attention of the reader, nor shows any bias in either direction of orthodoxy or liberalism. He has been content with letting facts speak for themselves and brought his book to a fitting close with the following couplets :

My heart is capable of every form ;
A cloister for the monk, a fane for idols.
... ...
Love is the creed I hold ; wherever I turn
His camels, Love is my creed and faith."

KALIKA-RANJAN QANUNGO

## HISTORY OF ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD, VOL. II:

*By the late R. D. Banerji, M.A. with 1 Map and 95 Plates. Price Rs. 20. Published by Ramananda Chatterji, Calcutta. 1931. Pp. 481.*

The second volume of the work fulfils the promise of the first volume in point of originality of materials and of treatment. The delay in its publication is due to that of securing certain additional illustrations and supplementary information in accordance with the author's wishes.

The present volume is in eight chapters, replete with many new facts and data, and profusely documented. The first which forms Chapter XXIII of the whole work deals with the 'Struggle between the Afghans and the Mughals.' During the short space of eight years following the fall of the last of the real *Gajapatis*, the Afghans were hardly able to consolidate their power in Orissa when the Mughal menace broke in upon them. But it required nearly thirty years (1576-1606) for the Mughals to subdue them. Though the Afghans lacked leadership after Daud was killed in the battle of Rajmahal in 1576, the length of their resistance against the Mughals was mainly due to the half-hearted measures taken by their generals for the conquest of Orissa. These Mughal generals were noted for their aversion to the provinces of Bengal and Orissa from which they always longed for transfer. The chief Afghan leaders after Daud were Qatlu Khan, Masum Khan, with their ally, the notorious Kalapahad, *alias* Kalidas Gajadani. On the Mughal side, it was left to Raja Man Singh finally to subdue the Afghans after several campaigns. One of the occasional Afghan atrocities of those days was the desecration of the temple of Jagannath. The Mughal victory was decisive at the battle of Malnapur on the Suvarnarekha in Balasore district when Man Singh changed the course of Orissan history by establishing a new dynasty of Hindu Kings under Mughal suzerainty by nominating Ramai Raotia or Ramachandra Deva of Khurda as the *Gajapati*. The author discusses in full the origin of this dynasty on the basis of Oriya sources giving conflicting accounts. These form part of Puri temple records. Up to the death of Akbar, Orissa did not figure as an independent *subah* but was included in the *Subah* of Bengal. The first independent Subahdar for Orissa was appointed in 1607 by Emperor Jahangir.

Chapter XXIV deals with Mughal rule in Orissa on the basis mainly of records brought to light by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. These give a list of the Mughal Subahdars of Orissa. The first was Hashim Khan (1607-1611) in whose time Ramachandra I. died and was succeeded by Purushottama who was troubled by Mughal aggressions, aided by Raja Keshodas, the Rajput Jagirdar of Katak who seized the temple of Jagannath beating back Purushottama who came from Khurda with a large army of 10,000 cavalry, 3 or 4 lacs of infantry and many *raths*. The second Subahdar was Raja Kalyan Singh, son of Todar Mall, who also renewed Mughal aggression against the chief of Khurda till the latter made a satisfactory surrender including a daughter for the imperial harem. But the next Subahdar Mukarram Khan again invaded Khurda which was finally annexed to the Mughal empire, driving away poor Purushottama to Rajamahendri. In the time of Shah Jahan, the Mughal conquest was pushed up to Rajamahendri which figures as a Sarkar in 1636. There was a set-back in Mughal rule in Orissa during the time of Shah Jahan's illness and the civil war in the Mughal Empire. The Hindu zamindars of Orissa asserted their independence. Of these, the most prominent was the chief of Mayurbhanj, who practically attained a paramount power in Orissa, although the nominal head of the chiefs was the Khurda house. The other chiefs of the period were those of Narsingpur, Ghatsila, Kalikot, Nilgiri and Kanika. When Aurangzeb came to the throne he had to reconquer Orissa. Orissa as a *subah* under Aurangzeb was divided into two parts, the first comprising the three *sarkars* of Jaleswar, Bhadrak and Katak. The second part was kept under the zamindars. It was during this period, too, that the first English settlement was established at Balasore.

The chapters that follow deal with Orissa under the Nazims of Bengal beginning with Murshid Quli Khan and the period of anarchy which intervened during the Mughal-Maratha struggle in Orissa, ending in its cession to the Bhonslés of Nagpur in 1751, with the spread of the Marathas over the whole of Western Bengal, from Raj Mahal in the West to Rajshahi in the North and Calcutta in the South, keeping Nawab Aliwardi Khan confined to the Bhagirathi-Ganges delta. Eventually, by a treaty between Aliwardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonslé of Nagpur it was arranged that the Nawab will pay to the Marathas the *Chauth* of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, that the Nawab will nominate a Governor of Orissa who will pay its entire revenue to the Bhonslé and that henceforth the Marathas will not invade Bengal any more for which the Nawab will pay them 12 lacs of Rupees per annum.

The remaining chapters deal with Maratha rule in Orissa followed by the British conquest and administration. There is a specially interesting chapter on medieval architecture of which the earliest examples belong to the seventh century. The value of the chapter is enhanced by the excellent plates illustrating it. There is also a chapter on plastic art similarly illustrated. Much original matter is given in the three appendices to the work, specially those dealing with the Maratha conquest of Sambalpur and Rajput origins in Orissa.

The publisher deserves congratulation on the pains he has taken in bringing to light such a comprehensive work on the basis of the papers left to him by the lamented author. We hope his pains will be amply rewarded by an appreciative public and specially by the people of Orissa with their national self-consiousness roused on the eve of their establishment in a province of their own.

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA: *By the late Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Second Edition, published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1931, pp.1111, Price Rs. 15).*

We welcome the second edition of this epoch-making work dealing with the history of the British dominion in India on the basis of original sources throwing light on many an obscure aspect of that history. The second edition is enriched with four maps of India in 1760, 1784, 1805 and 1857, and 120 illustrations, all of which are possessed of considerable historical interest, together with a full index, which considerably adds to its value as a book of reference. It is a matter of extreme regret that the talented author of this erudite work did not live to see the publication of its second edition. There is hardly any individual Indian to whom Indian scholarship owes so much in the numerous publications of the Panini office, associated with him and his equally learned elder brother, Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu. In the early stage of their literary activities, these two brothers devoted themselves to the resuscitation of ancient Hindu literature by publishing its classical texts on select subjects, Philosophy, Law, Grammar, Polity and the Puranas. It was left to the younger brother, Major B. D. Basu to strike out a new line and apply his spirit of research to modern fields of enquiry. The two most monumental works of this description are the *Indian Medicinal Plants* and the present work in which the facts and events of British history in India are viewed from an impartial though strictly and uncompromisingly national point of view which is likely to be lost in the usual citations of original sources marking the many historical works written from the purely British imperialistic point of view. For instance, the otherwise deservedly popular work of Prof. Ramsay Muir on the *Making of British India* based on select charters and documents which now holds the field in the Indian Universities is conspicuous by the omission from it of those documents which Major Basu is at pains to bring to light in order to present the other side of the picture. It must be frankly admitted that British history in India has had a chequered career through a maze of facts, events, and measures, some of which have roused the keenest controversy both in India and England, and this from the time of Clive to that of the Sepoy Mutiny and after. Major Basu's monumental work, which is so profusely documented throughout, supplies a much needed corrective to the study of British Indian history on orthodox British lines, which is not based on a complete view of all the sources that are available. It is remarkable not merely for its matter, but also for the manner of its presentation, which lets the sources tell their own tale and the facts speak for themselves, undisturbed by the subjective intrusions of the author. For the growing number of students at the Universities who are going in for researches in topics of British Indian history, this work is a *sine qua non* and gives the best possible foundation and background for such specialized studies. Along with the author, the publisher Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, deserves every congratulation for undertaking, with so much labour, the second edition of this valuable work, out of loyalty to the revered memory of the author, with whom he was bound in ties of closest intimacy born of devotion to a common cause. The get-up of the book is worthy of its contents.

Radha Kumud Mookerji

THE SNAKE POISON: *By P. Rama Kurup, B.A., L.T. Published from the Mangalodayam Press, Trichur. 133 pp. Price Re 1.*

This small book deals with the life-history of snakes in general, symptoms of snake-poisoning, and the treatment of poisoning by the different varieties of snakes. The author of this volume has taken *Jyotsnika*—an authoritative book in Malayalam language—as his text. In addition to the snake-poisons, it also contains information about rat-poison, and poisons of scorpions, spiders, mongoose, cat, etc. We have pleasure in bringing this book to the notice of those who are interested in toxicology.

Arunkumar Mukherji

THE HEART OF HINDUISM: *By Sir S. Radhakrishnan. G.A. Natesan and Co., Madras. R. 1.*

Six of the illuminating discourses, *viz.*, The Heart of Hinduism (*The Hibbert Journal*), The Hindu Dharma (*The International Journal of Ethics)*, Islam and Indian Thought *(The Indian Review)*, Hindu Dharma and Christian Doctrine *(The Madras Christian College Magazine)*, Buddhism *(The Prabuddha Bharata)*, and Indian Philosophy (Reprint from the Professor's *Indian Philosophy)* of Prof. Radhakrishnan which were previously published in periodicals and the book mentioned above are presented here by Messrs. G.A. Natesan & Co., with an introduction on the life and works of the Professor by Dr. J. K. Majumdar, M.A. (Oxon). The papers are thoughtful and inspiring, as everyone knows Prof. Radhakrishnan's discourses are, and the presentation of the subjects by their writer is inimitable in lucidity and vigour. The writer is one of those rare spirits who have made Hindu philosophy understandable to Western readers. We wish the volume had looked better in printing and get-up.

CHINA IN REVOLT: *S. K. Vidyarthi. Published by V. B. Karnik for The Vanguard Publishing Co., 41, Hanumann Terraces, Lemington Road, Bombay.*

After a lapse of two years China has again become the centre of political attraction of the world. The appearance of the book, *China in Revolt* by S. K. Vidyarthi at this hour is therefore particularly opportune. It throws a flood of light on the current events and enables the students of contemporary Chinese history to understand without prejudice the social and political character of the conflagration in the Far East.

Mr. Vidyarthi has done great service by bringing before the public the salient facts about the burning social and political problems tormenting modern China, behind the reactionary Chinese wall of the Kuo Mintang and the cunning and hypocritical imperialist censorship and net-work of lies and "sympathies." The awakening and the birth of the Chinese National Army, and the revolt and the heroic struggle of the Chinese coolie against the latest engines of destruction and warfare of the champions of imperialism had unnerved the placid calculation,—frustrating the doctrine of up-to-date gradualism. Mr. Vidyarthi, conscious of the potent factors and driving force of this historic tidal wave, has dispassionately laid bare the connecting threads that bind the forces in China. His greatest contribution towards a correct understanding of the Chinese situation, put under the scientific Marxian microscope, has his honest criticism of the wrong line of approach of the Comintern, of the blunders committed by its adventurous representative Borodin—"the modern Chengiz Khan" and of the subjectively immature character of the political vanguard of the revolution—the C. P. of China brought up to the standard of aided initiative. He mercilessly exposes the great betrayal of the bourgeoisie which was enhanced and aided by middle-class vacillation and un-Leninist tactics.

Mr. Vidyarthi has astonishingly penetrated into the fundamental nature of the revolution, particularly in China and generally in all economically backward colonial countries. He has remarkably drawn out the postponed bourgeois revolution, hampered and hindered through the intervention of a third factor—the foreign agressors in an epoch of capitalist decline overlapping with a later proletarian revolution.

Thus, on the basis of inexorable economic figures, social and political facts voicing the colonial interests of the colonial masses, Mr. Vidyarthi has been able to show the way towards the achievement of the great task devolved upon them by history. The working class through their revolutionary political party has to lead the exploited masses to the accomplishment of the double historic task of freeing the people from foreign bondage and feudal slavery and of laying the foundations of a society that will hasten the fall of the largely pre-capitalist methods and conditions of production. This great historic task, he has clearly visualized not as a dreamer but as a stern realist, while he has drawn the picture of the fastly approaching social order and its political instrument, the State. He is the first political thinker, who has substantially contributed towards the evolution of radical political thought while practically participating and leading the Chinese Revolution. The democratic dictatorship of the masses is not therefore the mechanical repetition of a phrase but has a stern reality. The reader of the book will therefore benefit immensely to get in so concise a form not only the history of the rise and dead-lock of the struggle of the Chinese masses but also a clear glimpse of the future path the fighters are destined to travel.

Gopal Haldar

BULLETINS OF THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF LABOUR STATISTICS

*Issued by the U. S. Department of Labour. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington D. C.*

NOS. 511 AND 536. PROCEEDINGS OF THE 16th AND 17th ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS *April, 1930, pp. (viii+345) and April, 1931, pp. (vii+353). 50 cents each.*

These contain papers on practical problems connected with workmen's compensation laws, and on various kinds of accidents, the legal and medical aspects being specially emphasized. The discussions on the papers are also included.

NO. 514 PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD WAGES *May, 1930, pp. 209. 35 cents.*

This gives not only details of wages but also valuable statistics with regard to the number of persons employed, number of hours worked per week, number of persons killed or injured by accidents, etc. The following average earnings will show how high the wages are in U. S. A. compared to India:

| Average earning | Coal Mining | Iron and Steel |
|---|---|---|
| Per hour | $ ·69 | $ ·64 |
| Per day | $ 5·50 | ... |
| Per week | ... | $ 36·48 |

NO. 527. SAFETY CODE FOR THE USE, CARE AND PROTECTION OF ABRASIVE WHEELS. *December, 1930. Pp. 30. 10 cents.*

For preventing the breakage of wheels, rules are laid down prescribing specification of wheels, their correct mounting, careful operation, proper speed and adequate mechanical guards.

NO. 531. CONSUMERS' CREDIT AND PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES. *February 1931. Pp. viii+150. 25 cents.*

This is an illuminating study of the activities and organization of the co-operative societies in U. S. A. for the period 1925 to 1929. The problems and difficulties discussed are surprisingly similar to those in India, only the resources and the volume of business are much greater. Thus the most thriving section is the credit union whereas productive societies are languishing. A valuable feature of the bulletin is a compendium of the laws relating to co-operative societies in the different States.

NO. 534. LABOUR CONDITIONS IN HAWAI 1929-30. *March, 1931. Pp iv+129. 45 cents.*

This contains a review of the economic and social conditions in the islands together with the hours of work and earnings in different industries, sugar and pine-apple industries being exhaustively dealt with.

NO. 538. PROCEEDINGS OF THE 17th AND 18th ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES. *May, 1931. Pp. ix+212. 35 cents.*

This bulletin contains papers on theoretical and practical aspects of public employment services and discussions thereon.

NO. 542. REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS. *May, 1931. Pp. 31. 10 cents.*

It is mainly concerned with the need of a suitable index of productivity and the construction of an index of employment national in scope.

NO. 544. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT PLANS IN THE UNITED STATES AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. *July, 1931. Pp. 385. 50 cents.*

This is a valuable report. The first part gives details of plans of three different kinds, those originated by companies, those established mutually by trade unions and employers and those maintained by labour organizations themselves. The second part is specially useful. It gives a carefully compiled compendium of the organization and operation of unemployment insurance schemes in fifteen foreign countries.

NO. 513. WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY (1929). *April, 1930. Pp. iv+201. 30 cents.*

NO. 516. HOURS AND EARNINGS OF BITUMINOUS COAL MINING (1929). *May, 1930. Pp. 63. 15 cents.*

NO. 533. WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN WOOLLEN AND WORSTED GOODS MANUFACTURING (1910-30). *February, 1931. Pp. 46. 10 cents.*

NO. 535. WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN THE SLAUGHTERING AND MEAT PACKING INDUSTRY (1929). *March, 1931. Pp. 122. 20 cents.*

NO. 537. WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN THE DYEING AND FINISHING TEXTILES (1930). *June, 1931. Pp. 30. 10 cents.*

These five bulletins give detailed statistics relating to the number of establishments in each industry, the number of persons employed, the average number of hours of work per week, the average earnings per hour or per week and similar other figures wherever available. Classified data are also given as also the values and volumes of production.

H. SINHA

## FRENCH

BERGSON ET LE VEDANTA: *By P. S. Basu, M. A. (Cal.), Ph. D. (Prague) Literairie Nouvelle, Montpellier.*

This book contains the following sections: (1) Brief summary of Indian Philosophy, (2) Philosophy of the Upanisads, (3) The Heretical systems, (4) The Carvaka doctrine, (5) The Jaina doctrine, (6) The Buddhist Philosophy, (7) The Nyaya system, (8) The Yoga system, (9) The Purva Mimansa system, (10) The Vedanta. In all these sections, Mr. Basu gives a general survey of Indian philosophy based almost wholly upon Prof. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*. To the constructive part of his thesis he devotes about 80 pages and this again is divided into three chapters: (1) The statement of the philosophical problem; (2) The method of approach; (3) The doctrines of Bergson and the Vedanta. The writer holds that Bergson's main problem is the problem of freedom and that he has sought to give a reply by analysing the ultimate nature of our life and thought. Bergson, according to the author, searched and discovered the idea of the active and the free personality which expresses itself in its own original nature unfettered by mental and physical conditions. The author admits that the conflict between determinism and freedom did not appear in such an explicit form in the Vedanta, but the problem in the Vedanta is limited to the affirmation of a free and conscious personality unconditioned by matter and mind. The object of the Vedanta is to remove all misconceptions regarding the realization of the fundamental oneness of the self. The author then follows Bergson in demonstrating the incapability of the intellect in realizing the nature of the *elan vital* which can be apprehended by mystic intuition. Sankara also distinguishes between a superior (based on the experiences of the Upanisads) knowledge and inferior (based on the Vedas and the sciences) knowledge. Sankara does not give any reply as to why *avidya* can condition the Brahman but he asserts that it is the pure consciousness, which is identical with the self and which can only be realized by the mystic experience of the Upanisads, that is to be regarded as the ultimate reality. According to Bergson consciousness is different from matter, the former being indivisible and continuous and the latter atomic. The Vedanta also admits the same from the testimony of the Upanisadic experience and of deep dreamless sleep. According to Bergson consciousness is not the product of matter, but the latter is produced for giving a field to the activity of the self. The Vedanta also holds that matter is different from the self. According to Bergson matter and spirit manifest themselves in two lines of evolution, and according to the Vedanta also the Brahman by its creative activity has produced the world as the *maya* product just as the *elan vital* has produced the mental and the physical. In Bergson the creation is an expression of joy and in the Vedanta also the world has been produced out of joy. Thus both in method and in doctrine Bergson and Vedanta followed the same path, *viz.*, the affirmation of the unconditioned consciousness through mystic experience. So far as I can judge such comparisons are largely ineffectual as they misrepresent the main emphasis of the two systems which is of supreme importance in philosophy. The tendency to emphasize casual similarities without due regard to essential differences has been the source of many misconceptions regarding the proper comprehension of philosophical systems. The conception of *elan vital* as pure activity which has produced the world by its conflict with its limitations is entirely different from the conception of the static Brahman with its incomprehensible association with *avidya*.

RAJA YOGA: *French translation of the English work of the same name by Swami Vivekananda with an introduction by Professor Patrick Geddes, Paris, Les editions Adyar.*

Raja Yoga is a popular presentation of some of the notable features of the system of Yoga described by Patanjali in his *Yoga Sutra*. It does not take any notice of the philosophical and psychological background of Yoga but treats only of breath control and the different stages of meditation. The translation seems to be fairly good.

INITIATIONS LAMAIQUES: *By Alexander David Neel, Les Editions Adyar, Paris.*

It treats of Tibetan mysticism, the nature of the spiritual guide, the choice of the teacher, instruction, the different kinds of initiation and their object, the growth of the mystic doctrine, the different significations of the mystic formulae "*Om mani padme hum*," the gymnastic of respiration, spiritual meditation, contemplation of the sun and the sky, the Hinayana and the Mahayana, and the different types of morality. It does not contain anything that is philosophical but is an interesting book which gives some of the particulars of Tibetan initiation in a rather random manner. Its chief value consists in the fact that it deals with certain practices (which are little known to people in general) from first-hand experience. The book would have been very much better if the author had any insight into or the requisite study of Buddhism.

S. N. DAS-GUPTA

## PORTUGUESE

ORIENTE PORTUGUES: *Nova Goa, 1931.*

This is a review published by the Archæological Department of Portuguese India, containing interesting accounts of work done in the matter of exploration of records and relics of the past. It has for its motto the beautiful lines from the Lusiad which are translated into English as follows:

> Thou dost not bid me tell a foreign story,
> Thou biddest me to praise my people's glory.

The enterprise is thus backed by an appeal to patriotism which may well find an echo in our hearts. His Excellency the Governor-General of Portuguese India, Craveiro Lopes was kind enough to extend his patronage to the work. There are four articles: the first is on the old capitals of Goa and has been written by Professor Pissurlencar; the second is "Churches, Convents and Chapels in the old city of Goa" by Ricardo Micael Teles; the third, "Goa in 1777—an attempt at reconstruction," is by Captain A. Delduque da Costa,—and is preceded by an interesting plan of the city in 1831, just a century ago; and the fourth is "The capitals of Portuguese India" by A.B. de Braganca Pereira, the distinguished President of the Department, who gives an account of Old Goa and New, profusely quoting various impressions recorded by many visitors, beginning with Linschot (1583) and coming up to the 19th century. This last article is admirably set off by very well-looking photos of the Mandovi, the Port of Mormagao (repeated twice evidently by mistake), the palace of Cabo, the Council Hall in Panjim, the church of Panjim, the Municipal Hall in Ilhas, the Republican avenue in New Goa, etc. We do not know why a photograph of His Excellency the Governor-General is also printed here, we hope His Excellency has not yet been made an object of antiquarian interest, except his sponsorship of the idea on 10th October, 1831. Anyway, the accounts are both instructive and well-expressed, having been printed beautifully, and we echo the words of the poet Ribeiro, as we see in our mind's eye the past glory of Portuguese India,—"An immense glory sleeps!" "Imensa gloria dorme!"

PRIYARANJAN SEN

## SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA (Southern Recension.) *Critically edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B. A. (Oxon.) M. A., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, Editor, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library. Vol. II—Adi Parvan Part II. Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras.*

The second volume of this work has appeared in close succession to the first (reviewed in the *Modern Review* for January, 1932) and completes the first book—the *Adiparvan*. The commendable rapidity with which the two volumes, covering about fifteen hundred pages, have been published seems to augur a bright future for the work.

There is nothing new of note in this volume save the introduction in which several points of highly controversial nature are found to have been raised. These are with respect to the relative antiquity and authenticity of the different recensions of the Mahabharata; the extent and stages of development of the text of the work, etc. The Southern Recension was the only recension available before the 10th century A. D. (p. vi). The text of the Mahabharata, as we have it now, according to Suta's final narration, was substantially the same as was originally composed by Vyasa, the differences, though only slight, being the additional connecting links supplied within the *Adiparvan* itself (p. xiii)—these are some of the most important theories that Mr. Sastri has sought to propound.

It must, however, be confessed that the conclusions of the learned editor appear to have been a little hasty and premature. They require to be substantiated before they can claim acceptance, by more definite and conclusive evidence than has actually been adduced.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

## GUJARATI

PICKETING NO PRABHAV: *By Lallubhai Bhimbhai Desai, Retired Revenue Officer, Sirohi State. Printed at the Lohana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover: pp. 81. Price Annas Six (1931).*

Four ladies, belonging to the best families of the Hindu, Musalman and Parsi inhabitants of Bombay, took to picketing a liquor shop in what is called the White Lane—street of prostitutes of Bombay. They did their work so well that the owner of the shop closed his business, and a wealthy prostitute became converted to their creed and joined their band. The story is graphically told, and furnishes one of the best instances of woman's beneficial work on this side of India.

BAL DARSHAN: *By Premyogi of the New Era School, Bombay. Printed at the Borsad Printing Press, Thick Cardboard. Pp. 60. Price Annas Eight (1931).*

The writer has studied the infant and juvenile mind for a long time, and has given the result of that study in this book. He tells parents and teachers how to behave with children, and draw out their good qualities, and correct their defects. He also advocates co-education as a corrective to erring children.

FANSI (THE GALLOWS): *By Pinakin Trivedi. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover: pp. 80. Price Annas Four (1931).*

This is a translation into Gujarati from the Hindi version of Victor Hugo's *Sentenced to Death.* The original depicts the mental state, perturbations, fancies and fears of one under sentence of death: the translation brings them out very well.

JALIM JALLAD: *By Ambalal N. Shah. Printed at the Khadayta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover pp. 69. Price Annas Twelve (1930).*

This play is written with a view to showing how Indians have been dazzled by the lustre and flashes of the West into imitating it to their prejudice. Mr. Chapsy V. Udeshi of Calcutta thus sums up the merits and demerits of the performance: "The plot is unfortunately not so vigorous as it should be and therefore no other character except Jnananand has been drawn in a manner which could impress: ... In spite of these drawbacks, as the play has been written with an inner object, it should be read by every Indian of the present day." We are afraid one cannot go further than this.

ASHA NI IMARAT: *By Chapsy V. Udeshi. Printed at the Gurjar Prabhat Press, Calcutta. Thick Cardboard. Pp. 131. Price Annas Twelve (1931).*

As the able editor of the Navchetan, a monthly published at Calcutta, Mr. Udeshi is well known to Gujaratis. He has essayed novel writing successfully, Rajput chivalry having specially appealed to his finer feelings. The present short novel also is one in that direction. In it he has tried to read the heart and inner workings of the mind of a Rajput woman (Anupa). We find that this work is in every way in keeping with its two predecessors.

K. M. J.

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# OUR MISUNDERSTANDING

By DHIRENDRA N. ROY, Ph. D.
*University of the Philippines*

THERE seems to be but little divergence of opinion that Asia bears the nucleus of all the world's civilizations. The tree that has its roots in some land may grow into a gigantic stature overshadowing other lands, where its numerous branches shine in an exuberance of life; but it will be a fatal blow to it if due regard for safety be not bestowed upon the land of its birth. If the dawn of human history begins, by common consent, in Asia and if history has its all-pervasive influence upon the succeeding time, it is impossible to conceive of our world's future apart from its bearing upon Asia. It will be a sad mistake on the part of the West, if it conspires to strangulate the source of inspiration, which has been oozing out imperceptibly into the vein of the Western civilization and preserving its vitality through all its dire moments, from the rude analogy of Darwinism laying axe to all our reverence for the past. The youthful West, proud of its superfluities of life, may fail to notice the under-current that supplies a kind of elixir for moral and spiritual health, but wisdom will discover the truth that from Asia's inexhaustible fountain flows that which keeps erect the structure of all institutions humanity has designed.

The Western vanity may deceive itself by relegating such ideas to Oriental imagination, but vanity is not the whole of the West, nor even the most important arbiter of the facts of the world. The West, in spite of itself, has produced men of impartial judgment,—men who have been able to extricate themselves from the grip of the narrow egotism of race and geography, who have not felt shy to bare open the historical facts which reveal the causal relation of the Occidental culture and civilization to the Orient.

It is unfortunate that the world had to lose the great library of ancient Alexandria; for, it might have shown beyond all possible controversy, the most intimate relationships between the East and the West. Asia carrying behind its back the wisdom of so many a thousand years, could not be so self-conscious as to blow its own trumpet throughout the world. It could not possibly make a record of how it helped other countries to acquire the various factors of civilization. So the vast mass of ancient literature which Asia preserves in the centres of its civilizations, both living and dead, tells us but little of what it gave to the West. But the history of the West gives us the clue, and the impartial mind delves out the truth. Such ancient writers of the West as Pliny, Strabo, Herodotus, Porphyry, Ptolemy, Megasthenes, Plutarch and the like gave us a good many precious hints by depicting the facts of Asia's relation with ancient Greece and Rome,—the two countries which admittedly formed the cradle of the most important elements of Western civilization.

In recalling some historical facts adduced by Western scholars, to maintain the relation of the Western civilization to Asia, I should like to confine myself to only those peoples of Asia who still proudly represent their ancient civilizations. These are the peoples who have pretty good reasons to be proud of and be faithful to their own cultures and traditions. By these peoples I mean those who represent the three distinct civilizations,—Indian, Chinese, and Muhammadan. Of these the first two are unquestionably the oldest, while the Muhammadan civilization is comparatively very young. These three civilizations are the living forces that may fairly represent what we generally understand by the East. The unfortunate misunderstanding that is going on between the East and the West refers most particularly to the peoples representing these three civilizations.

The civilizations of India and China are the natural products of the lands, although China may be said to have acquired and assimilated Buddhism into its own distinct culture. They did not seek to build themselves upon the grave of any other civilization and consequently they did not grow with any aggressive principle. They have seen the birth and death of many civilizations from outside and have successfully stood the ravages of time. They refined themselves with the wisdom of ages. Consequently, they did not cause misunderstanding to any. They sought adjustment, not destruction. Islam arose and invaded China and India. China has found adjustment with it, and India has almost found it. Now the West is in the East and is causing so much misunderstanding to all the three: India, China, and Islam.

Can the Western civilization be adjusted to these three civilizations of the East? Probably it can, if it so desires. But it is so destructively aggressive. With Islam, India and China have cultural fellowship; but with the West, they are almost at a loss as to what to do. It is not fellowship but superiority which the West wants to establish. It wants not to adjust but to impose; which means for them gradually vanishing out of existence, for all imposition is destructive. Can the East allow it? Will it be good for the world if the refinement of life which India and China have, through countless ages, upheld, be wiped out of existence and the [illegible] forgotten roughness which they have learnt to condemn, be roused and goaded into its primitive aggressiveness? Vanity may spout forth its habitual gibes, but sanity will come out with a positive 'no.'

There lies the hope. The wisdom of the West is not quite indifferent to the awful recklessness of what is passing for Western civilization. Many Western scholars have sought to assimilate the spirit of the Oriental civilizations and interpret it to their own people in the language which they would understand. Thanks to the works of many unprejudiced historians of the West, there is now an increasing hope of working towards a good understanding. Probably the great enthusiasts of the Western civilization will begin to understand the East when they see that the fundamentals of their 'great' civilization have their source in the very civilizations which they would like to destroy. Probably they will begin to perceive that if ancient Greece and Rome have been their pride because they have received their civilization from them, then they should be more proud of those civilizations from which Greece and Rome received theirs. And what is more significant is that while the Greek and Roman civilizations are now dead, those very Oriental civilizations are still alive and holding their heads erect with all the wisdom of time and experience. Do not the Oriental peoples deserve all the more consideration for the fact that unlike the Greeks and the Romans they have successfully saved their civilizations for the benefit of mankind?

But all this may be regarded as a mere dogmatic assertion if I do not even touch upon a few salient facts which go to prove the relation of the Western civilization to the living civilizations of the East.

That India sought to inspire the Western life from the earliest time may be easily gleaned from the fact that the West had always maintained an idealistic vision of India. It was a vision that tempted the power-intoxicated Alexander to get India, that made Columbus so adventurous, and that led Schlegel to call her "supremely romantic" and Hegel to describe her as "a fairy land," "an enchanted world." Sir William Jones and Wilson, two earnest students of Indian culture, admit with many other scholars that "the mythologies of Greece and Rome were derived from India." Professor Garbe of the University of Tübingen maintains,—and Professor Ueberweg agrees with him, that the influence of India upon the Grecian world of thought through the medium of Persia "must unquestionably be granted." According to him, Heraclitus was influenced by Indian thought, the source of the philosophy of the ancient Eleatics was in the Indian Upanishads, and the early Greek philologers were indebted to the Sankhya philosophy. Scherman, Schroeder, Sir William Jones and Colebrooke are with Professor Garbe in being absolutely certain that Pythagoras was the [illegible] of Indian philosophy and science. This Pythagoras again has, as Rémy de Gourmont [illegible] civilized the shores of the Mediterranean." Sir William Jones finds some distinct relation of the Indian Nyaya system with the Greek Peripatetic, the Vaiseshika with the Ionic, the two Mimamsas with the Platonic, Sankhya with the Italic and the Patanjala with the Stoic. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire and Roer trace Platonic philosophy to the Sankhya system. Lassen admits Indian influence, especially of the Sankhya doctrines, upon Christian Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. It has been said that Plotinus and his disciple Porphyry were faithful followers of the Sankhya philosophy. The influence of Buddhism upon the later West is now an established fact. Arthur Lillie agrees with Léon de Rosney that primitive Christianity had its source in India. Ludwig Buchner is absolutely certain of "the close relationship, in form and contents," of Buddhism and Christianity. Emile Burnouf holds that "the Indian origin of Christianity is no longer contested." Arthur Lillie has given, in his illuminating book, *India and Primitive Christianity*, many passages from the Bible that seem to be almost literal translations of passages from the Buddhistic literature.

Nor was the influence of the Indian civilization confined only to the field of philosophy and religion of the West. The mind of ancient India was quite free to fly in all directions upon the widest wings of reflective imagination causing thereby a marvellous unfolding of human faculties which fervently sought to explore all possible avenues of knowledge. While not all these branches of knowledge might have reached the West to help it to build up its culture system, it is difficult to be exact as to what aspect of Western culture was absolutely free from Indian influence, inasmuch as the Indian civilization reached the West at first through Persia and Phoenicia and later through the Arabs. It seems, however, quite certain that India's contribution to Western science, particularly mathematics, chemistry, and medicine, till the coming of the Renaissance was no less important than the influence of her philosophy and religion.

The works of such great scientists of old as Aryabhatta, Brahmagupta, and Bhaskaracharya were admittedly of inestimable value to the entire world of science. Indeed Aryabhatta (476-550) was the first to maintain "that the earth had the form of a sphere, and revolved upon its axis.. He also seems to have been the first who correctly accounted for the phenomena of solar and lunar eclipses, and consequently must have known and taught that the moon revolved round the earth and the latter round the sun. His advanced ideas of the cosmos, though totally unknown in Europe in his day and for many centuries afterwards, were accepted without question among the educated classes in India and Arabia, and probably in China...... A thousand years later, when the same beliefs were expressed by Copernicus, they were received with horror, because they were considered to be in opposition to the teachings of the Christian scriptures."* The Hindu origin of the numerals is now a universally recognized fact. It was Brahmagupta (598-660) who first used these numerals which are known to have their origin in "the old Sanskrit alphabetical forms, being the first (or other) letters of the words one, two, three, etc., in that language. ... What is important, however, is, that with this almost forgotton Hindu, the idea seems to have originated to adopt symbols for the words of the numbers from one to nine, to add the zero symbol, and finally to give all position value, by which without the use of any more symbols, any numerical quantity in whole numbers up to infinity could be expressed with ease. As a conception it ranks in importance with the invention of the wheel in mechanics."† In appreciation of this mathematical invention the illustrious scientist Laplace remarked: "It is from the Indians that there has come to us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers, in ten characters, by giving them, at the same time, an absolute and a place value; an idea fine and important, which appears indeed so simple, that for this very reason we do not sufficiently recognize its merit. ... How difficult it was to invent such a method one can infer from the fact that it escaped the genius of Archimedes and of Appolonius of Perga, two of the greatest men of antiquity."§ Bhaskaracharya (1114 A.D.) was the inventor of the decimal form of the fraction which the Arabian scientists took to Europe and was first used in 1612 by Stevin. Referring to the science of algebra Hankel says: "Indeed, if one understands by algebra the application of arithmetical operations to composite magnitudes of all kinds, whether they be rational or irrational number or space magnitudes, then the learned Brahmins of Hindustan are the true inventors of algebra." The Rasayana Shastra (chemical science) of ancient India was similarly introduced into Europe by the Arabs. Referring to Hindu medical science, Weber says in his *History of Indian Literature*, "The number of medical works and authors is extraordinarily large. . . . The sum of knowledge - embodied in their contents appears really to be most respectable. Many of the statements on dietetics and on the origin and diagnosis of diseases bespeak a very keen observation. In surgery, too, the Indians seem to have attained a special proficiency, and in this department European surgeons might perhaps even at the present day still learn something from them as indeed they have already borrowed from them the operation of rhinoplasty. ... The influence ... of Hindu medicine upon the Arabs in the first centuries of the Hijra was one of the very highest significance, and the Khalifs of Bagdad caused a considerable number of works upon the subject to be translated. Now, as Arabian medicine constituted the chief authority and guiding principle of European physicians down to the seventeenth century, it directly follows—just as in the case of astronomy—that the Indians must have been held in high esteem by these latter and indeed Charaka is repeatedly mentioned in the Latin translations of Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Rhazes (Al Rasi), and Serapion (Ibn Serabi)"* The Western classical music clearly reminds one of the music of India. "It is possible," says Larned, "that the earliest attempts at (musical) notation were made by the Hindus and Chinese and later transferred to Greece."†

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* Theo F. Van Wagenen, *Beacon Lights of Science*: 1924, p. 41.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

§ *Exposition du de système du monde.* p. 376.

It is not necessary, nor it is possible here, to go into the details of all the varied influences of Indian civilization over the West. It is only recently that India is beginning to be known rather closely to the modern West and one can rightly hope that this new interest in India will gradually reveal many other facts regarding her historical achievements. "Where has the art of sculpture," says Sir Wilfred T. Grenfell, "except perhaps in Greece, surpassed that which produced the marvellous rock-cut monolithic temples at Ellora and Elephanta, or the Seven Pagodas at Mamallapuram? It was an Indian, Panini, who by his study of Sanskrit is admitted by Max Müller to have given birth to the science of languages. It was an Indian who invented chess, the unquestioned king of of games. It was an Indian who first propounded the atomic theory a thousand years ago. It was an Indian so long ago as 250 B. C. who produced the 'Laws of Manu,' described by its translator, the Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, as 'one of the most remarkable books the literature of the world can offer, though the laws are Hindu and not ours.' Nor in medicine had we anything to boast of over our Indian cousins when Queen Elizabeth sent her deputation in 1585 to wait upon 'Echebar, King of Camboya, invincible Emperor.' Their share in the development of astronomy is best testified to by the great gnomons and erections to tell the hour angles and altitudes of the heavenly bodies that one sees at Delhi and Benares today. They well knew that the value of the Greek letter "pie" was 3.14159."§ From what we have just seen, Will Durant, the most popular of our present-day philosophical writers, is not guilty of exaggeration—and [illegible] assures us he would substantiate it in [illegible] forthcoming *Story of Civilization*,—when he says, "that India was the motherland of our race, and Sanskrit the mother of Europe's languages; that she was the mother of our philosophy; mother, through the Arabs, of much of our mathematics; mother, through Buddha, of the ideals embodied in Christianity, mother through the village community, of self-government and democracy. Mother India is in many ways the mother of us all."*

China is also a very old civilized country, if not the oldest. "Its civilization appears to have existed without change from time immemorial, and may have existed before that of the Nile valley; and the Egyptian Kings who erected the great pyramids may have lived after the founders of the Chinese mottoes upon them have been discovered in the ancient Egyptian tombs, in shape, material, and appearance exactly resembling those made in China at the present time; and the great Italian antiquary of last century, Rosellini, believed them to have been imported into Egypt from China by Kings who reigned in Egypt about the time of Moses or before. ... China and its institutions have outlived everything else in the world. Ancient Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Judea, Greece and Rome, have all risen, flourished, decayed and died; but China, probably more ancient than any of them has remained the same to our day. ... At the time when the Egyptian Kings were building their pyramids, China had a settled government and a high state of civilization, from which, if it has not materially advanced, it has not receded.'†

One naturally feels disposed to think that such an ancient civilization must have its greatness both fundamental and relative. There must be something truly great in its foundation or it could not resist time and defy history. Nor could it continue its long existence without having exerted its influence over others. Some writers might try to prove that China was somewhat influenced by some of the ancient civilizations, especially Chaldea, but that she has been maintaining the foundations of her civilization intact for more than forty centuries at least goes to prove that the fundamentals of her civilization were purely of native origin or she would have invariably followed the way of the dead civilizations. Time will slowly reveal, on the other hand, as it has already done to a certain extent, her gifts to the world both old and new. During the period of European history which is popularly known as the Age of Enlightenment, China was indeed Europe's great inspiration. "Voltaire and Christian Wolf," says

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* pp. 270-71.

† *The New Larned History*, Vol. VII, p. 5955.

§ *Labrador Looks at the Orient*, 1928, pp. 127-128.

* *The Case for India*, p. 4.

† Israel Smith Clare: *Library of Universal History*, Vol. II, p. 665.

Professor Tonnies of the University of Kiel, both pointed to China in this spirit of admiration, while Montesquieu and others emphasized the high sociological and historical interest of the Celestial Empire. More recently, Comte and his followers took up the argument of rationalism, which made China appear to be a model of spiritual and moral government.... What had long been despised or pitied as heathen ignorance turned out to contain profound wisdom from which Christians had to learn anew, as they had always learned from Greece and Rome. Thus the West turned its eyes back to the East and China soon gave it an overwhelming impression of a long-settled and at the same time a highly refined and rational civilization."

If we are to put in a nutshell what have been universally recognized as China's important contributions to the Western civilization, we may notice that these have been mainly on the practical side of life. The Chinese are by nature a very practical people and as such her contributions have not been largely along the line of India's. The West has taken such things from China as printing, magnetic needle, gunpowder, silk fabrics, china-ware, and porcelain. The system of civil service examination, assignment of office for merit and tested capacity, trade unions and organizations, local responsibility in municipal administration are also said to be the gifts of China.

The indebtedness of the Western civilization to Islam cannot be overestimated. Nicholson, the reputed English author of *The Remaking of Nations*, says, "Europe forgets too rapidly her obligations to Arabic science and medicine, while it is difficult to exaggerate the stimulus which her imagination received, at the crucial time of the Renaissance, from Moslem literature and art."* "They (Arabs) merit," said M. Libri, "eternal gratitude for having been the preservers of the learning of the Greeks and the Hindus, when these people were no longer producing anything and Europe was still too ignorant to undertake the charge of the precious deposit. Efface the Arabs from history and the Renaissance of letters will be retarded in Europe by several centuries."† Indeed as soon as the Arabs evolved into a powerful civilized people, they like the ancient Persians, took a good deal of Hindu science, particularly astronomy, mathematics, chemistry and medicine, worked on them extensively and then carried them in their enriched forms to the European people. Had it not been for their genuine love of culture most of the precious gifts of the ancient Greeks would have been lost for ever. It was the noble Moslems who carefully preserved the treasures of the Greek civilization that was dead and fervently cultivated them in all their flourishing educational institutions. And this certainly has a greater significance to the West than any other part of the world, inasmuch as it still receives, as it has always received since the passing of the Dark Ages, its best inspirations from Greek sources. "While the rest of Europe was, for the most part, in intellectual darkness, priest-ridden, and under the stifling influences of authority and intolerance, the Khaliphate encouraged learning, founded important universities and libraries from Bagdad to Granada, and did everything possible to apply scientific knowledge to the purposes of everyday life, so much so that the crusaders were astonished at the magnificence and splendour of the civilization with which they were confronted."* The Muhammadan people were considered to be "so superior in knowledge to the Christian nations of Europe that many Christians of all nations went to be educated in the Arabian schools of Cordova."†

Europe up to the fifteenth century showed no creative enthusiasm in her study of science. Those European authors who sought to interest themselves in some branch of science from the examples of the Moslem savants, were doing no better than copying the works of some Arabian authors or merely attempting to enlarge upon them. The introduction of scientific learning from Spain where the Saracens had already established their guardianship, was the most important condition, if not the sole cause, of the historic Revival of Learning. The first step towards this movement was marked by the translation of Alfergan's *Elements of Astronomy*. "That famous Spanish rabbi, Aben-hezra (or Esdra),...had been a disciple of the Arabs in astronomy. He spread his masters' lessons throughout Europe. It was from Albategnius, more than from Ptolemy, that Sacrobosco (John of Holywood) had drawn the materials for his book *De Sphera Mundi*; it was in Albategnius, too, that the commentator on that great astronomer, Ragiomontanus (Johann Muller of Königsberg, Regious Mons) had found the first notion of tangent. It was from Alhazen's *Twilight* that the illustrious Kepler took his ideas of atmospheric refraction; and it may be that Newton himself owes to the Arabs, rather than to the apple in his orchard at Woolsthorpe, the first apparception of the system of the universe; for Muhammed ben Musa (quoted in the *Bibliot, arab, philosophorum*) seems, when writing his books on the movement of *The Celestial Bodies* and on *The Force of Attraction*, ~~to~~ have had ~~an~~ inkling of the great law of general harmony."§ Such great Arabian historians of the ninth century as Tabari and Masudi, such an eminent geographer of the fourteenth century as Abulfeda were the silent inspirers of the submerged intelligence of Europe. Achmet's works on astronomy, Ben Musa's algebra, Alhazen's physics, Geber's chemistry, Avicenna's medicine and Averroes' philosophy—these were all pouring into Europe through Spain to guide her to a new vista of life which she, with the solitary exception of Greece, was totally ignorant. The school of Salerno, the first great medical institution in the whole of Europe, to teach higher medical science was "the legitimate offspring of the Saracens." Indeed the Saracens were so advanced in this science that "the Christian princes used to come to the court of the Khalif to be cured of disease."

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* p. 129.

† Quoted in *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. VIII, p. 276.

* H. Buckley, *A Short History of Physics*, 1927, p. 9.

† Israel S. Clare, *Library of Universal History*, Vol. V., p. 1870.

§ *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. VIII, p. 279.

The influence of Islamic art and architecture was no less significant. There is a famous monument in the archives of the chapter of Toledo, which tells of the Arabic influence on modern music. The lute of the Arabs was taken by the West as model for its stringed instruments, while the Arabic Kitara (Spanish guitarra) has become the Spanish national instrument of music. The famous buildings of Europe seem to show a great influence of Muhammadan architecture. "Thus," says Viardot, "I have found the multilobar arch of the Mezquita at Cordova in the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral, and the delicate colonnette of the Alhambra in the church of Notre Dame at Dijon. This resemblance was, then, not merely casual and fortuitous; it was general and permanent. Nothing further is needed to prove the thesis. If Christian and Arab art resembled each other, and if one preceded the other, it is evident that of the two one was imitated and the other the imitator. Was it the Arab art which imitated the Christian art? No; for the priority of its work is manifest and incontestable; for Europe in the Middle Ages, received all its knowledge from the Arabs, and must also have received from them the only art whose cultivation the law of religion permitted."

Nor are these all. They were the first to teach the West, through Spain, how to cultivate rice, sugar, and cotton and how to manufacture silk, woollen, cotton, linen, plate and various kinds of jewelry. They introduced a good variety of Eastern vegetables into Europe and taught the people the method of planting them. They "instructed the Franks in the art of weaving before Charlemagne's time" and showed them how best to make carpets, gold and silver embroidery, steel and leather goods. It was the Muhammadans, who, although they were not the originators of paper and clock, first introduced into Europe the art of manufacturing them in an efficient manner. Similarly, while they did not invent compass and gun-powder they were the first to propagate their use in Europe. They invented tournaments which were later introduced into Italy and France.

Meredith Townsend, who wrote his fa book, *Asia and Europe* after a long study of the East and the West, said, "The people of the "setting sun" (Europe)... derived from Asia their letters, their arithmetic and their knowledge of the way to guide boats out of sight of land. The expeditions in which early Asiatics must have reached the islands of the south Pacific and America, and by which early Hindus conquered and civilized Java and Bali, and early Malays conquered and thenceforth governed Madagascar, and early Arabs reached China could have seemed to both Greek and Roman absurd audacities."*

It will, therefore, be quite pertinent to quote an American mulatto with a maximum of Anglo-Saxon blood, who seemed to have shaken off his traditional timidity and become throughly candid in expressing what he thought. Thus he wrote, "Can you name a single one of the great fundamental and intellectual achievements which have raised man in the scale of civilization that may be credited to the Anglo-Saxon? The art of letters, of poetry, of music, of sculpture, of painting, of the drama, of architecture; the science of mathematics, of astronomy, of philosophy, of logic, of physics, of chemistry, the use of the metals and the principles of mechanics, were all invented or discovered by darker or what we call inferior races and nations. We have carried many of these to the highest point of perfection, but the foundation was laid by others. Do you know the only original contribution to civilization we can claim is what we have done in steam and electricity and in making implements of war more deadly, and there we worked largely on principles which we did not discover. Why, we did not even originate the religion we use. We are a great race, the greatest in the world today, but we ought to remember that we are standing on a pile of past races and enjoy our position with a little less show of arrogance. We are simply having our term in the game, and we were a long time getting to it. After all racial supremacy is merely a matter of dates in history. The man here who belongs to what is, all in all, the greatest race the world ever produced is almost ashamed to own it. If the Anglo-Saxon is the source of everything good and great in human race from the beginning, why was not the German forest the birthplace of civilization?"†

This is Anglo-Saxon hot blood running in the vein of the oppressed. An oriental could not express it more plainly. But he knows these things; he reads all such literature supplied by the Western people themselves, and then wonders why there could be still so much misunderstanding. He wonders why all these facts could not make the Western enthusiasts give up the chronic itching for such fetid activities just a while and think and search their hearts to see if they are quite all right.

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* pp. 20-21.

† *Autobiography of an ex-coloured Man*, pp. 158-159.

For, while the scholars in the West are supplying the world with such facts, their family folks in the Orient are very busy playing at ducks and drakes with the glories of the Orient and the self-respect of the Oriental people. It is an entirely different West—a very powerful one that seems not to have assimilated these essential gifts of civilization that make people see things from every point of view and consider more the spirit than the surface appearance. It is still working hard to arrogate to itself an undisputed permanent authority over the Oriental life in all respects—material, moral, cultural, and spiritual. It is trying to expand itself further and further that it may succeed in destroying all the cultural individualities of the East.

The tradition from which it draws inspiration does not seem hostile to such spirit. The Greeks, notwithstanding all their borrowings, were intolerant of the contact with the 'barbarians.' The Romans followed a principle best expressed by Virgil: "Make slaves of all who submit, exterminate all who resist." The iconoclastic policy of the early Christians tolling the funeral bell of the splendid Roman civilization is not unknown to lovers of history. The treatment meted out to an unfortunate race driven from place to place, with the alleged sanction of God, has made those followers of Jehovah a homeless people on earth. Their principal crime is that they choose to preserve their distinct racial individuality. Children of the land which still rears such traditions in its dealings with other lands, cannot be expected, unless a higher ideal exerts itself over them, to grow a habit of tolerance and peaceful adjustment when they come in contact with things foreign to what they have grown to love. It seems, therefore, natural that the Western people should maintain a supercilious attitude towards the different peoples of Asia. What deeper truth lies behind the scene is not the subject of their studies; but how far does it conform to their own. Difference is degrading and must be done away with. Western civilization is the eternal sun round which the world must move; all other civilizations are but petty luminaries shining with borrowed light to sing the glory of the sun. Either they must admit it or make room for those who would.

With this psychology our Western civilizers begin to live in the East. When they go back to their country, their imagination becomes pregnant with thoughts, their tongues become extremely active, and their pens produce volumes on Asia and her people. There is a vast mass of old literature describing very vividly the people of Asia. So successfully does this literature cater to the native prejudice of the Western people that it is carefully preserved in almost all the famous libraries of Europe and America. Ask some innocent children of those countries if they have read anything about Asia, they will forthwith quote charming stanzas from Kipling and describe in playful fancy the mud-houses and the half-naked snake-charmers and jugglers of India. They will talk about the funny Chinese queues, the concubines, and the foot-binding custom of the Chinese women. They will snarl at the 'big harem' of the polygamous Muhammadan. Ask again if they have read of anything good in Asia and they will start to describe with great curiosity, about the wonderful Fuji Yama, the great Everest, the flora and the fauna, the coal, gold and oil mines.

They gather all this from the literature, the major portion of which is prepared by the Western missionaries. These missionaries with their inexhaustible zeal for "saving the benighted children of God," the poor heathens of China and India, make very humiliating caricature of all that relates to the non-Christian people. I have seen that many of these pious enthusiasts, when they first crossed the ocean, entertained noble ideas of helping the unfortunate people of Asia. But as they joined with their veteran colleagues in the field, they became readily infected with the usual superiority complex and looked with disdainful eyes upon everything East. It is obvious that they fail to realize the view-point of the people, the spirit of their things. They keep fascinating records of their experiences and when they go home on a long furlough, they simply stupefy the Church audience with thrilling incidents alleged to have been witnessed by them with their own eyes The truth is that this class of people who have spread themselves at the "call of God" all over the non-Christian world receive their means of subsistence from the home-land; unless they satisfy the public by showing reasons as to why they think they should work among those people, they cannot retain their easy profession for lack of money, and it is the amount of money together with the natural curiosity of seeing the world that gives sweetness to the "call of God." I have heard, in many church assemblies in America, long lectures by missionaries from India and China, in which they described so successfully the darker side of the Asiatic life that the people appreciated their noble work by contributing handsomely to the mission funds.

The inevitable consequence of such activities is that in the West the innocent public, even many distinguished scholars find it hard to rid themselves of the prejudice against the Asiatic people. From their early childhood they learn about nothing but the rotten facts of Asia; and when from the missionaries they receive much "first hand information" in support of their old ideas, their prejudice develops into hatred. What are those humiliating immigration laws in America, Canada, Australia, and South Africa, barring the Asiatic people including their best from the rights of citizenship but an eruption of that volcanic hatred pressed on by the organized method of missionary work! Is it not too late to preach love for those people against whom the seed of hatred has been carefully sown in the well-cultivated soil of the curious minds, regularly watered by sensational news till it has assumed a demoniac form suppressing all the finer virtues that are necessary for international amity ? Religion which brings heaven on earth seems ready to make hell of it.

What good does it bring, I wonder, to those who spread the weak side of a people or to those among whom it is spread ? Those who make themselves responsible for propagating the evils, true or false, of the life of other people, create a mental environment highly detrimental to their own moral and spiritual health. The mind by continually dwelling on such an unhealthy stuff unconsciously gives free scope to the lower propensities and renders it very difficult to keep the higher virtues unaffected. The same may be true of those who gain such knowledge from the former. On the other hand, such policy creates suspicion in the mind of those people who are thus spoken of, inasmuch as the things which the native people entertain as harmless, if not good, seem to them to be misinterpreted with evil intentions.

How, again, do those Christian enthusiasts take to the profession of attacking and criticizing the things of the non-Christian which they do not understand because they cannot see them with the spirit of the non-Christian ? They boast of their Christian life and Christian principles. Do they live Christian lives, follow Christian principles ? How can they, then, violate one of their professed principles not to judge others ? "Judge not that ye be not judged," is undoubtedly a noble principle, and yet, who on earth have taken upon themselves the absolute prerogative of judging everything and everybody with an unrelenting intellectualism that defies all humble protests and prayers not to misunderstand and humiliate ! Should they not think, if they would apply what they their 'golden principle' to mankind, that [illegible] like them, have equal rights to demand [illegible] from them ? Those who do not respect [illegible] certainly do not deserve to be respected. [illegible] not evil," says another principle. Yet, [illegible] the people who make evil of the in[illegible] and then set themselves against it. [illegible] not seem to understand that 'good' [illegible] are relative terms and no absolute [illegible] universally recognized in the ways of human life. They do not feel that of their own [illegible] things what they naively hold as positively [illegible] may turn out to be quite different in the estimation of others if they are allowed [illegible] freedom to give their opinion. Thus, if [illegible] by one we consider the so-called Christian principles of which they speak with an air [illegible] superiority, and the kind of life they actually live, we fail to understand what they mean [illegible] calling them as Christians. Many of them [illegible] not seem even sensitive enough to the glaring inconsistency of their profession and practice.

Would it not be better, then, to give [illegible] that old method of forming hasty judgments and to adopt a new angle of vision so that [illegible] East and the West can approach each other with a spirit of mutual understanding ? It may pave the way of our moral and spiritual excellence by discussing and living in the good side [illegible] life and may make true Christians of the missionaries. Then the missionaries will not have to grumble against their own people [illegible] home, for enacting unchristian laws as they will slowly learn to remove their old prejudices, be respectful to the peculiarities of other people and welcome their fellowship for a broader view of life. The non-Christian East will, on the other hand, slowly remove their old suspicion and openly receive them to their own secret [illegible] life. Religion has made, no doubt, a very unpleasant history, but I believe it is capable of achieving good-understanding among all the peoples of the world if our life becomes a faithful representation of our belief.

# KING CHHATRASAL, CHAMPION OF HINDU INDEPENDENCE, AND QUEEN KAMALAVATI, THE DEVOTED WIFE

### BY K. P. JAYASWAL

THAT large tract of Hindustan which is the southern half of Aryavarta, situated between the Jamuna and the Bina and known in Mughal times as Bundelkhand, and is known now as Central India (with a parcel of it now included in the Central Provinces), which has managed in all ages to remain a strip of Hindu India, both socially and politically, was resounding with the name of Chhatrasal between the years 1670 and 1700 A. D. and had become a moral force in politics, just as in Western India 'Shivaji' about the same years became a magic name. Both Shivaji and Chhatrasal between the same years stood out for the ideal of Hindu independence against the mighty Muhammadan power which reached its zeni thunder their contemporary, the Emperor Aurangzeb. Both these Hindus rose from the dust ; both founded independent Hindu States ; both defied Aurangzeb ; both were inpelled by patriotism for Hinduism and both succeeded. As between the two, Chhatrasal had a more successful career. Yet it is strange that the name of the one is on the lips of every school boy throughout India, while that of the other is hardly known beyond Bundelkhand and the silent society of historians. Shivaji has been rightly raised to the plane of supermen by Ranade, while for lack of a Hindu Carlyle Chhatrasal has remained uninterpreted. A Sanskrit poet has well said that without the biographer Valmiki Rama would not have occupied his position in popular memory. It is also a question of luck. Fame-personality owes its life to the accident of the existence and the success of the wielders of that mighty power called the pen.

The contemporary political bard of Hindustan who linked together Maharastra, the field of the fame of Shivaji, and Bundelkhand, the theatre of the prowess of Chhatrasal, described them both. Bhushana, who summed up before his contemporaries the life-story of Shivaji by a line—"If there were no Shivaji, every Hindu would have been forced to be a Muhammadan," "*Shivaji na hotyo tau sunnati hoti sab-ki*"—summed up Chhatrasal also in one line :

> 'Should I admire and praise Shivaji or should I admire and praise Chhatrasal.'

It was impossible for him to decide between the two heroes, as to who was greater of the two. Nor could any one decide in the matter, for there was unity, not duality ; the two represented one and the same spirit, one and the same energy, one and the same achievement—Hinduism stood liberated at the hands of the either, conscience was taken out of imprisonment, mind and body were made free, the Mughal Bastille of fanaticism and oppression was laid low by the assertion of the right of man in India. And this was achieved by a force which was represented by the joint spiritual personality of Shivaji and Chhatrasal, though physically they were separated by about 1000 ~~miles.~~ Bhushana saw the twins in virtue and he could not distinguish the two—the twins were illusion, for the underlying energy, the spirit, was the indivisible one, the immortal sovereignty of the right of independence of human conscience and human individuality. It was the same force which liberated France in the end of the eighteenth century, it was the same force which was exhibited in the fourth century in the Vakataka-Gupta India, it was the same force which is innate in human nature and which has been and will be seen again and again in every clime and age.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says :

> "Under Champat and his son Chhatrasal, the Bundelas offered a successful resistance to the proselytising efforts of Aurangzeb."

The contemporary witness Bhushana says :

चाक चक चमूके अचाक चक चहूं ओर,
चाक-सो फिरत धाक चम्पतके लालकी ।

भूषण भनत पातसाही मारि ज़ेर कीन्ही,
काहू उमराव ना करेरी करवालकी ॥

"The army divisions with suddenness, cover every quarter, the circle of the prestige of the son of Champat is swinging. Bhushana records: the son of Champat (Chhatrasal) has defeated Mughal Imperialism *(padshahi)*; not a single man of Mughal aristocracy (Umrao) has succeeded in measuring his sword with Chhatrasal."

Yet there is no modern book on the life of this great hero. While pictures and statues of Shivaji have become a household furniture, the present writer has not succeeded in seeing a picture of Chhatrasal.

The descendants of King Chhatrasal rule to-day over several principalities and states. We shall be gratified if some painting of Chhatrasal is offered to the public. There was a Bundela school of painting about the time, and it is unlikely that no picture of the founder of the Bundela States was painted.

Chhatrasal was born in 1648 A. D.; he was ruling in Samvat 1735—1678 A. D. when he was 29; in that year a stepped well (*báoli*) at Sangrampur in the district of Damoh is dated under the rule of Raja Chhatrasal. In Samvat 1757 (1699 A. D.) he is described in an inscription in a Jain temple at Kundalpur (Damoh) as *Maharajadhiraja* Chhatrasala. Chhatrasal ~~died~~ in 1731 A. D.*

His father Champatrai was a descendant of the Bundela House of Orchha. The small jagir of Maheba was allotted to the predecessors of Champatrai, and the share of Champat came to be Rs. 350 a year. The income of Chhatrasal's father was thus '15 annas a day' (to quote the words of the historian of Damoh, Rai Bahadur Hiralal).

The Hindi poet Balabhadra, speaking of the glory of a self-made man, cites the example of Chhatrasal as a moral to his readers:

> "~~Reader~~, mark on the tablet of your heart the career of Chhatrasal. Without father, brother, and friend, without a single particle of money to begin with, without any army, without equipment, without any paraphernalia and without the slightest political help from anyone, only by virtue of his own courage, Chhatrasal won back the country and raised his majesty."

Chhatrasal was an adept in Hindi po When he was taunted at his name—*Chhat* ('Wielder of Paramount Sovereignty'),

> "You are a Paramount Sovereign on the a of your own tongue, without an inch of ter

he replied by a verse of his own comp

> You, Sir, Teacher of Wisdom, forget right path is not pride but one to see whose emblem is Garuda. He alone and easily transmutes his devotee. Fo turn the pauper Sudama into a ruler, born Vidura into a raja, and the hunch-woman a beauty? Did He not protect Draupadi, I say, did He not keep His promise by which He is bo to His devotee, *e. g.*, in case of Prahlada, by destroying (the Mlechchha) Hiranakusa?

This solid belief in Vishnu, like that of the Gupta empire-builders, this reliance on the promise of Vishnu of saving His devotees and Dharma, this vision of his own transmutation into an agent of the Divine Solution, explains the career which was to be of this political Sudama of Bundelkhand, the eighteenth century Hindu Cromwell. Chhatrasal dreamt that he was his God's Servant and that Vishnu was to essay rescue of Hinduism through his humble self. Chhatrasal had to fight from the age of sixteen as an orphan.

When in his old age the hero was attacked by the huge imperial army (80,000 horse along with other arms) under Bangash (172 A. D.), he wrote a letter in Hindi verse to Bajirao Peshwa, who stood at the time for the tradition founded by Shivaji—the protection of Hindu dharma or civilization. The sentiment and language of the letter were the sentiment and language of the believer in Vishnu's promise to protect His devotee. In spite of his age, the old lion kept the imperial forces at bay and with the reinforcement from the Peshwa turned them into prisoners at Jaitpur, where the Mughal army had to buy flour at the rate of Rs. 80 a seer. A six months' siege and successful manoeuvres destroyed the Mughal army. Chhatrasal saw the fulfilment of Vishnu's promise and his righteous cause victorious.

Chhatrasal had the good fortune of being continuously rewarded for his devoted chivalry. He was more fortunate than Shivaji, for he never agreed to bend his head to Aurangzeb. He bent his head to Vishnu alone.

Chhatrasal on one side and Aurangzeb

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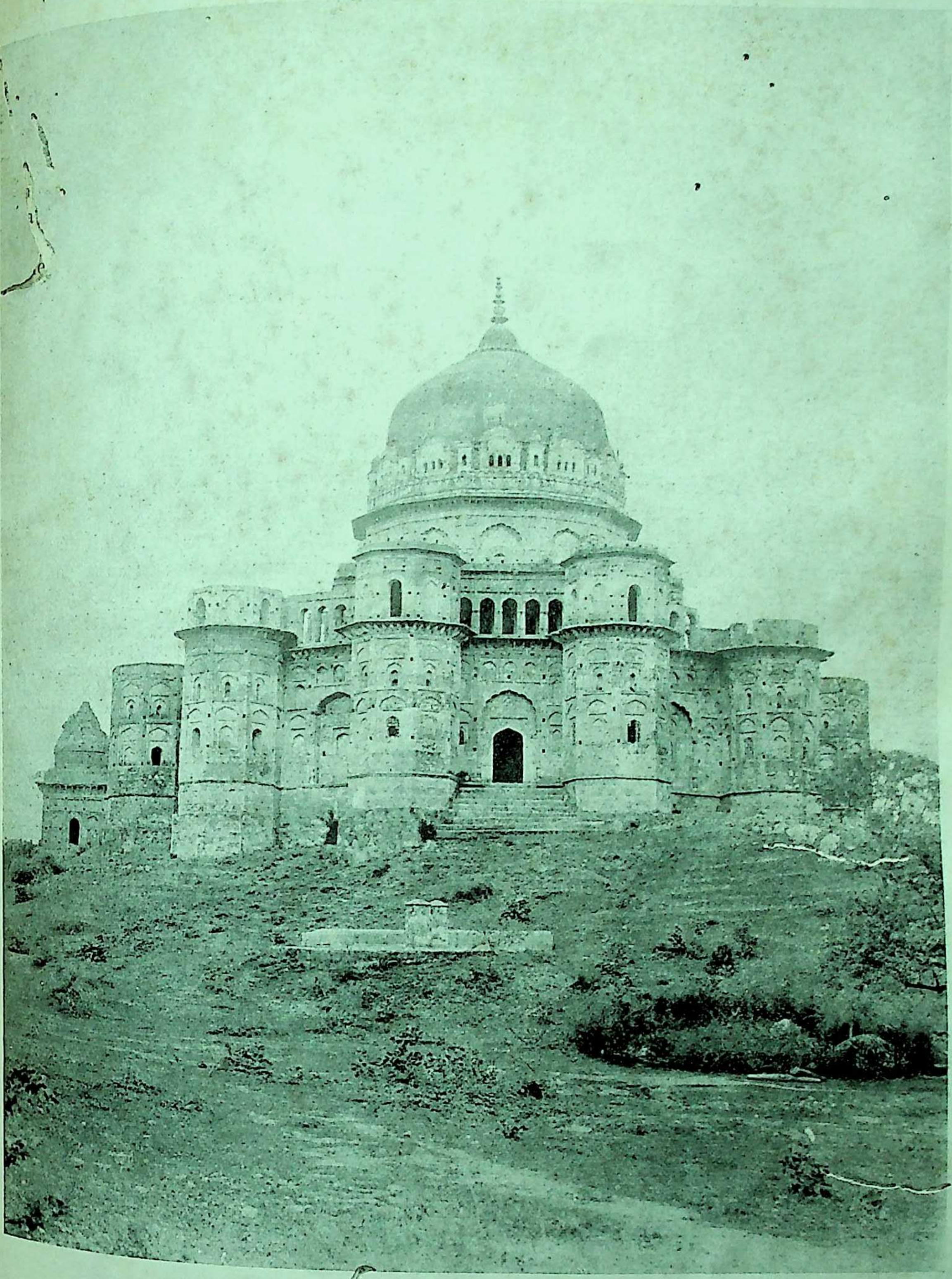
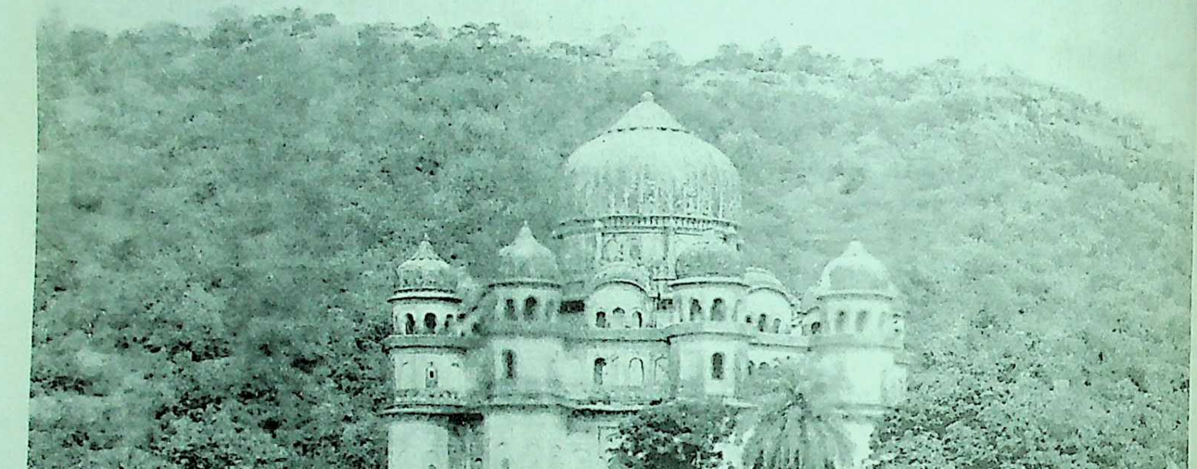
* Rai Bahadur Hiralal's *Damoh-dipaka*, p. 25.



Cenotaph of Maharajadhiraja Chhatrasal, the Shivaji of Central India



Cenotaph of Queen Kamalavati, built by King Chhatrasal (about 1700 A.D.)

n the other! What a contrast! The mightiest monarch of the age was opposed by a fly—but, a fly inspired with the promise of Divine order, a fly who resolved to cover the Sun,and with Vishnu's energy (called courage) the fly did succeed.

Such a wonderful superman enriches humanity, adds glory to the name of God and to the cause of virtue.

Yet the superman has no modern biographer. What did this servant of God do to deserve this oblivion at the hands of his countrymen? Let his countrymen answer.

Great in bravery, Chhatrasal was greater in gratitude. He called Bajirao Peshwa his adopted son, who stood by him in the hour of need like a true son. He, to carry out to its conclusion a word uttered by a true Hindu, treated Bajirao as a son born of his loins, for at his death-bed when he was dividing his kingdom amongst his sons, he gave one part of his kingdom to the son of his lips, making three divisions of Bundelkhand, two for the sons of his blood and one for the son of his word. The latter are the districts of Saugar and Damoh, which are now in the Central Provinces and the British Districts of Bundelkhand now in the United Provinces. As Bajirao was the eldest in age, he got a little more than his Bundela brothers. So true to his word was king Chhatrasal—a king amongst heroes. He had the virtues of a commoner, a gentleman of his word, dividing his self-acquisitions equally like a commoner.

A new photograph of the Mausoleum of Emperor Sher Shah, Sahasram, built by a Hindu Architect (c. 1550 A. D.)

Chhatrasal's material prosperity was added to by his discovery of the diamond mines near his seat at Old Panna. He believed in an army strong in horse, which alone can operate in the Vindhya Hills. The Bundela horse of Chhatrasal moved with lightning rapidity. His hill-fortresses were made impregnable.

In folklore Chhatrasal's wife is more famous than Chhatrasal. For virtue and queenly beauty she is the paragon. Every woman from the United Provinces up to Bihar and from Gwalior up to Malwa repeats the line:

> "Amongst queens the Queen was Kamlapat, the rest are bearers of load of honour; as amongst kings, the king was Chhatrasal, while others were kinglets; as amongst lakes the lake is the Lake of Bhopal, while others are ponds."

Queen Kamalavati (*vulg.* Kamlapat) became a *sati* in the lifetime of her husband due to a mistaken joke of her lord, who sent his blood-stained clothes ahead from his hunt. She waited not for confirmation of the news which she misread for herself and put an end to her life to meet her lord at once in the promised abode of the heroes. King Chhatrasal built a mausoleum (*surai* सुरई) for his beloved and faithful wife on a beautiful spot—in front of a large lake with a most charming background near the scene of his *shikar*. He planted the lake with lotus in memory of the name of the Queen. The cenotaph is so beautiful that my eyes were riveted to the building at the Man lake without knowing what it was. Once you know the name, made sacred by the monument, you begin to read the virtue of Kamalavati in the chaste edifice, and the tribute of a worthy husband in a most noble architecture of the Bundela lord. Chhatrasal willed that his cenotaph be built by the side of his wife's. The unfinished mausoleum of this Hindu Shahjahan, built by his son, compares in serenity with the tomb of Sher Shah built by the son of the latter at Sahasram, while the one built by himself to the memory of his Queen Kamalavati has the tenderness of the Taj.

Here I must add a word of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Chhatarpur, in whose territory the monuments lie. The Maharaja does not belong to the dynasty of Chhatrasal. But with great care and considerable expense, he has repaired a maintained these buildings, for which deserves the thanks of the whole countr The revenue of the State of Chhatarpur not large, yet every historic monument, e.g. the beautiful Bundela Palace (at Rajgarh o the Kiyan), the temples of Khajuraho, and t numerous temples which adorn the capit (Chhatarpur)—a town founded by Chhatras are preserved with an admirable care whi should be a guide to other Indian States.*

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* Just while going to the Press, I hear w regret that the old Maharaja, after a reign of 65 ye died last week.—K. P. J. 15-4-32.

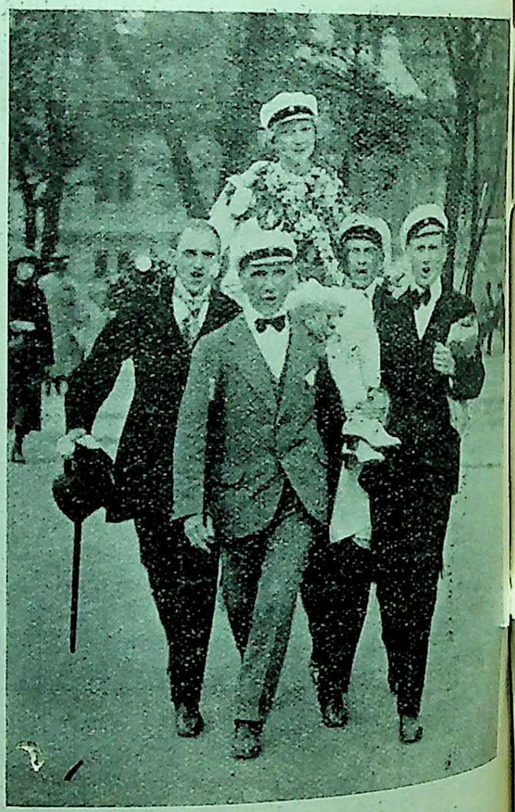
# STUDENT-FESTIVITY IN SWEDEN

## By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

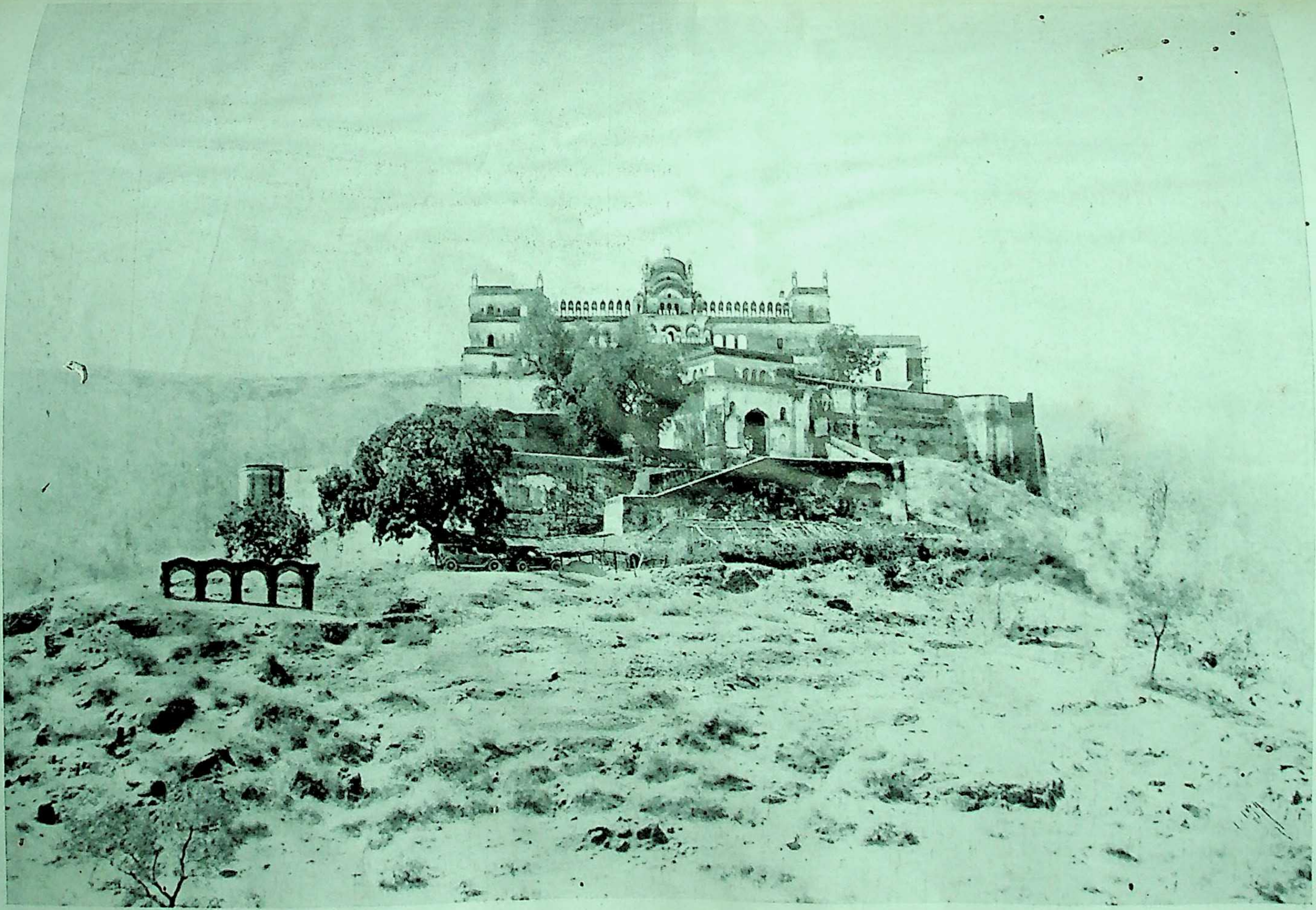
[The Matriculation Examination of some Indian Universities was held recently, and the results will also be published at no distant date. The successful candidates and their friends and relatives will rejoice. But there are no public rejoicings in India to mark these occasions. In Sweden there are.]

ONE of the most celebrated festivities of Sweden, the country of the Mid-Summer-Night, is the Students' Festival which is held twice a year on different occasions.

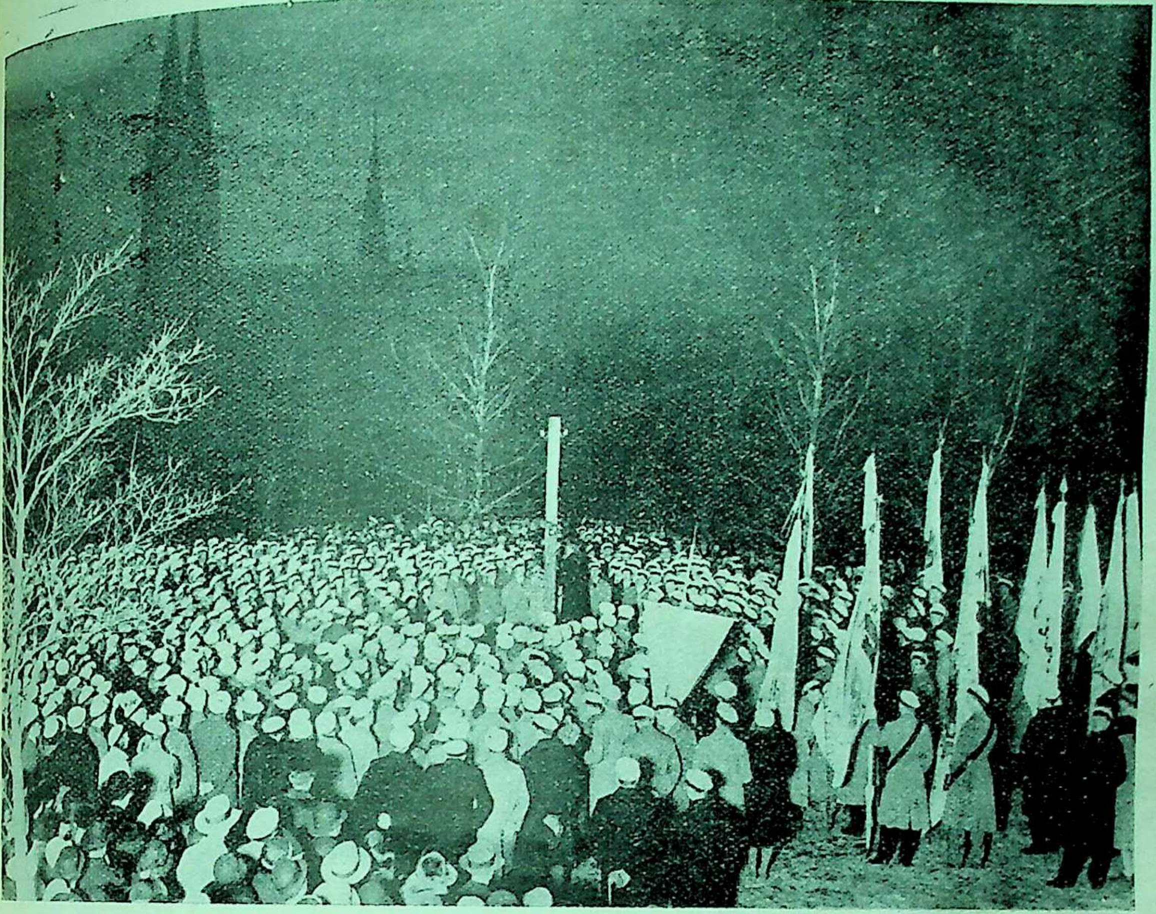
On one occasion the celebration is observed in a very gorgeous and lively manner almost in every town where there is a high school, and when the school students pass their Matriculation Examination. It is joined by all. "Sing the Students' Happy Days," is the first line of the most popular Swedish student-song sung by the old and the young—men and women—all alike taking part in that ceremony. The guardians or the parents with all their relatives and friends stand outside the hall where the announcement is made, awaiting the successful candidates. Enthusiastic cheers then follow, when the students come out of the hall. This is the way they crown 'Matriculation Examination.'



Carrying a White Cap on shoulders



Hindu Palace at Rajgarh on the Ken built by Maharaja Hindupati, descendant of King Chhatrasal, Eighteenth Century



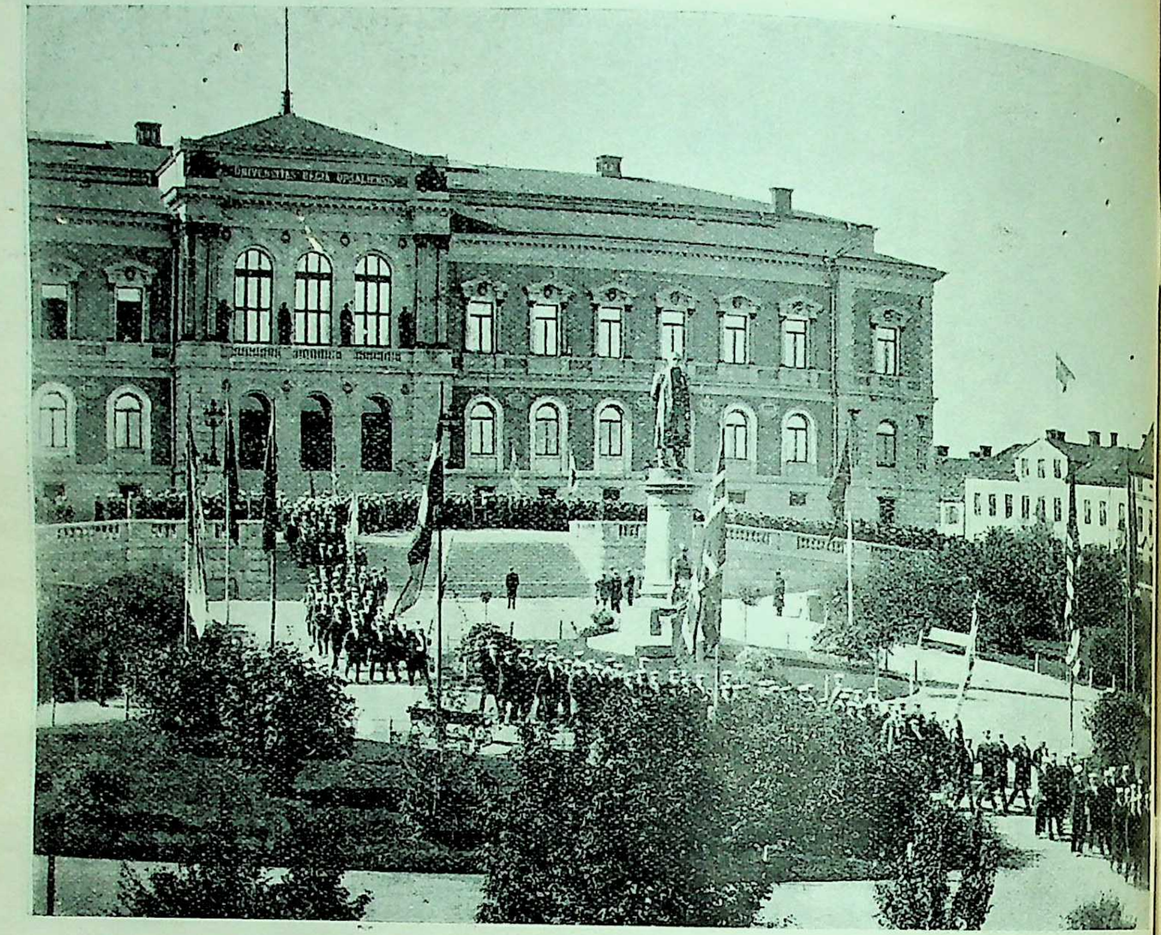
A striking scene of the White Caps gathered together outside the historical Vasa Palace of Upsala to greet the long-cherished Spring

"The White Caps" (as the successful candidates are designated, so long aspiring after the 'Walking Stick'—a previlege of 'success,' and now honoured with it),—the "walking stick" decorated with flowers, and bunches of flowers hanging round the neck in long red and blue ribbons, and friends carrying the students on their shoulders,—all these are just as essential as being grasped at the school porch, and being also flung into the air several times to be caught hold of again by the long chain of outstretched arms. This is the typically Swedish way to celebrate a 'new-baked' student.

The second ovation more ceremonial, full of pomp and unique in its character, is generally celebrated only in the university towns, such as Upsala, Stockholm, Lund and Gothenburg in every year on the 30th April at 3 P. M., by all the White Caps, and this is the first day they begin to wear such caps and use the same all through the 'Gay Summer'. This is their 'spring festival.'

A few pictures are given to show how, after the long and dark winter of Sweden, the spring is heartily welcomed by the students of Upsala, the centre of gravity of the cultural Sweden as it is known. At nine o'clock, night, there is a traditional celebration, as it were, on the arrival of long-cherished spring, outside the old historical Vasa-Palace which, situated on a hill above the town, dominates the surroundings. From that famous spot one can have the view of the down with their Walpur gis-Fires (fire-works displayed by the Swedes on that occasion).

All this clearly indicates how the peace-lover Swedes enjoy the life from its various aspects and why they command, as it obviously seems to-day, such a high esteem of the world outside.


UNIVERSITAS REGIA UPSALIENSIS

White caps in procession just in front of Upsala main University Buildings

# INDIA IN ENGLAND

### By JOHN EARNSHAW

IT has been said at Oxford, that if one announces that one will lecture on India, one is certain to lecture to a nearly empty hall. This may be an exaggeration, but yet it contains a certain amount of truth. In ordinary times India is rarely in the newspapers, and the result is that the people in Great Britain know very little about India. For example, when Mahatma Gandhi visited Oxford in October 1931 he was asked at one of his meetings a good many questions about the Hindu-Moslem problem. After the meeting a certain lady asked one of my friends, "Who are these Moslems that Mr. Gandhi has been talking about?" My friend explained as clearly as he could all about the Mahomedans, and the communal problem. "Oh," said the lady, "if I had only known that the Moslems were the same as the Mahomedans I should have found Mr. Gandhi's talk much more interesting." This ignorance, and lack of interest about India, has certain advantages, as the Indian Empire Society finds it more difficult to carry out its imperialistic propaganda. As the present times in India are not in any way normal, one might have expected to find the newspapers putting a certain amount of Indian news in their columns. That such is not the case, is possibly due to certain factors in the situation, which they may not be generally realized.

## I

When Lord Beaconsfield began writing his political novels some eighty odd years ago, he named one of them *Sybil, or The Two Nations*, as he maintained that there were in England at that time, two nations leaving in one country,—the rich and the poor. To-day these two "nations" are more nearly allied, but there is still the distinction, due very largely to the differences in education. The "classes" from whose ranks the Indian Civil Service is usually recruited, aim at a Public School and University education, one of the features of which is the insistence on a veneration of "tradition," and a great respect for "law and order." The instincts and education of the "classes" are therefore opposed to changes in the established order of things. The "masses" on the other hand, usually end their education at the age of 14, when they leave the Primary School, and begin their life-long struggle to obtain work. As a rule this latter class, who are the most exposed to the danger of starvation, suffer more than the "classes' from the hands of the police,—although the police force in England is far better and more trustworthy than the police force in India. As the "masses" suffer more, therefore they are more ready than the "classes" to try the effect of a change. Speaking generally therefore one finds that the "classes" look at Indian problems from the view-point of the Government, and talk mainly about the benefits British rule has conferred on India. The "masses," on the other hand, understand, and sympathize more readily with the Nationalist programme.

All this however is speaking generally, and the situation is complicated by the existence of the "middle class." Industrialism and the rapid progress of mechanical invention has very greatly increased the number of retail shopkeepers, and the increase of secondary education has enabled the "middle class" to rise above the "masses," and in certain cases also, to invade the hitherto privileged domains of the privileged "classes." Being closer to the "masses' the "middle class" is always afraid of being again submerged, and of having to exchange "The Laurels," for "179 Paradise Row." As a result they are terrified of any change, and usually form the backbone of the Conservative Party, indeed the defeat of the Labour Party at the last General Election was due more than anything else to the stampeding of this class. This fear of being forced back once again among the "masses" causes the "middle class" therefore to emphasize as far as they can their "superiority" to the "masses," and from this it is but a step to the full Imperialistic "superiority complex."

Then besides the "classes," the "masses" and the "middle class," there is the numerically small, but by no means unimportant section usually termed the "intelligentsia." The "intelligentsia" come from all sections of society. Some of them are the heirs of the old Parliamentarian-Whig-Liberal tradition in English history who have broken through the "traditions" of the Public School, and University, and go back to the old tradition of fighting on behalf of the "underdog." The present Earl Russell (better known as Bertrand Russell) is an outstanding example of this type. Then there are also men from the "masses" such as Mr. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Mr. Fenner Brockway, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, to mention but a few names. The "intelligentsia" are almost unanimous in their sympathy with Indian Nationalist aspirations.

To sum up then, the "classes" are unsympathetic, and are unlikely to change their views whatever happens, on account of their veneration for "tradition." The "middle class" tend to follow the lead of the "classes," on account of their "fear complex," but they may change their views, as, provided their "fear complex" is not roused, they have strong ideas of "fair play." But if their fears are roused their feelings about "fair play" disappear all too quickly. At present, however, though they are inclined to suppose that "the Government must be right" they have not been stampeded by the Imperialists, and if they once move away from the Imperialist position they would sweep the country.

Thirdly there are the "masses" who are more naturally ready for change, and understand "law and order," as it appears in the prisoner's dock. They generally sympathize with the Nationalist movement, but there is a danger that they may be stampeded into adopting the official position. If they once begin to believe that "Purna Swaraj" means unemployment in England, they may become the most thorough-going supporters of the present repressive policy, as being the best means of securing their daily bread. Finally the "intelligentsia" with their wide humanitarian outlook are strongly sympathetic towards India.

## II

Such then is the general position of the different sections of society in Great Britain. Turning now to consider the present day situation, there are one or two points which may not be clearly realized in India. The first is the feeling of absolute horror caused by political assassination. In India it is true that political assassinations are condemned by all sections of society, but the feeling is utterly different from the sheer horror which such acts cause in England. Previously in this article, mention has been made of the fact that the police in this country are better than the police in India. The reason for this is that the pay of the ordinary police constable is good, there is security of employment, and the knowledge that when he retires he will be entitled to a pension for the rest of his life. The result is that it *pays* the police to be trustworthy, whereas in India it does not. Thus it is not surprising that there is keen competition to enter the police, and also it should be remembered that no one can join the police force without first serving his time as an ordinary police constable. Thus there are several young men, at present acting as ordinary constables in London, who have been educated at a Public School, and University! How different is the position in India! Thus, in England the police, though they may be disliked, are not regarded with the same inimical contempt as is often the case in India. Another point one must remember is that the English law regarding the use of firearms is extremely strict. Roughly speaking one may fire only in self-defence: thus one may fire if one literally has one's back to the wall, but one may not fire so long as any line of retreat remains open. The result of this is that the police are *unarmed*, and therefore any attack on a policeman appears to be an attack on an unarmed man, and the "fair-play" complex often causes people to side with the policeman who is attacked. Public opinion in England, therefore, is more ready to tolerate an attack on the crowd by the police, than to tolerate an attack on the police by the crowd.

The result of this feeling of sympathy for the police, which people in other countries sometimes find it hard to understand, is that Public Opinion in England does not feel that anything much is the matter when the newspapers announce that a crowd in India was dispersed by the police. Political assassination, on the other hand, is something so utterly outside the comprehension of the ordinary man in England, that the news of any such event makes a wholly disproportionate mark on his mind. Having no idea of the size of India, the ordinary man reads of some case, such as the murder of the late Mr. Stevens, and knowing nothing about India, the one fact he remembers clearly when India or the Indian problem is mentioned, is that Indians are people who indulge in murder for political reasons. Knowing nothing he has not got sufficient sense of proportion to realize that whereas the population of Bengal is numbered in millions, the "terrorists" are only numbered in tens, and hundreds. The propaganda of the Calcutta Royalists in India, and the Indian Empire Society in England, indentifying the Congress with the Terrorists appears therefore so far as people in England are concerened, to be based on fact. The point to be remembered therefore is that Public Opinion in England is apt to be prejudiced against Indian aspirations on account of incidents like the Stevens murder. Such incidents are not counterbalanced by occurrences such as the Hijli Detention Camp Shooting, and the Chittagong Riots, since these events occurred during the last General Election campaign, and were scarcely reported, the newspapers regarding them as not having sufficient "news value."

The second factor which has profoundly influenced Public Opinion in England in regard to the present situation in India, is the way in which the outbreak of the present Civil Disobedience campaign was reported. It was reported in such a way as to make it appear that the Congress Party tried to dictate to the Government, and the Government tried all the time to avoid a renewal of the Civil Disobedience campaign, but were compelled by the Congress to take action. It is not possible in England of course, to discover how many people in India noticed the extremely clever way in which the *Statesman* reported the events leading up to the present position. Most Europeans in Bengal read the *Statesman*, and most Indians do not, therefore the Europeans would become confirmed in their views that the Government did all it could to maintain peace, and while Indian Public Opinion may not agree, it is not in a position to realize why European sentiment is so strong in support of the Government. So far as England is concerned, the Press in England, either assumed, or were informed that it was the Government and not the Congress which adopted an aggressive policy. The Gandhi-Willingdon Correspondence containing the telegrams which were exchanged between December 29, 1931, and January 2, 1932 was published in the *Gazette of India* about the middle of January, and by the time it reached England too much time had elapsed for the actual facts to be appreciated at their proper value. Only by comparing the actual telegrams, and the account given by a some paper like *The Times* can the full importance of this be realized.

## III

So far therefore, the general attitude of Public Opinion regarding India has been discussed, and the two factors which have most influenced Public Opinion regarding the present situation. It is now possible to see what means exist for influencing Public Opinion in England, so that it will be roused to take a more intelligent interest in Indian affairs. First, one is compelled to face the fact that there is a strongly rooted tradition that India has greatly benefited from English rule. For the perpetuating of this tradition in its present blind form the English Press must take its share of responsibility. For one thing, all people are susceptible to flattery, and the general public in England is flattered when it is told that the Englishman is superior to the Indian, who could not manage his affairs without the help of the British. This particular tradition or belief is so firmly rooted, that people who would normally feel that it was bad taste to pat one's own back, seem to see nothing wrong in retired Provincial Governors, and other I. C. S. officials talking grandiloquently of all the good they have done! Another point to be remembered is that the vast majority of the daily newspapers are "middle class" in their outlook, the weeklies are more usually the organs of the "intelligentsia," and the monthlies and quarterlies cater for the "classes." The *Daily Herald* is not a paper for the "masses" but is essentially "petit-bourgeois." In England there is really no paper which could be said to take the place of the American publications such as *The Nation* or *The New Republic*. The best of the English dailies is the *Manchester Guardian*, but even the *Manchester Guardian* has certain correspondents who are distinctly pro-Government.

The Press then in England is not of much assistance in rousing Public Opinion to the state of affairs at present existing in India. Another method of rousing Public Opinion, is to have a series of Public Meetings. But here at once one comes into conflict with the general apathy regarding India. The public is not interested in India in the first place, and also it naturally prefers to be told that all is well, and that it need not worry, than to be told that India is being turned into a "desert" that "peace" may be firmly established. A purely Indian organization therefore has little or no chance of attracting attention, its meetings will not be reported in the Press, and its meetings will be sparsely attended. If Public Opinion is to be roused some organization, not solely interested in India, is needed. The various missionary organizations are not inclined to take up the question, as they feel it is no concern of theirs. Certain individual missionaries have however sent private "round-ribbin" letters to their friends expressing themselves fairly strongly regarding the present situation. In one such letter the following passage occurs:

> "For the moment there is a deceptive calm. Deceptive it must be: for repression can have done nothing to conciliate the body of opinion in India that was hostile to Britain. It can only drive it underground into the path of assassination and conspiracy. The (often grave) abuses of police rule from which we are now suffering are inevitable once war is declared. I therefore pass over the examples which have come within my knowledge. They are shocking enough."

Missionaries such as the above are not too common unfortunately in India. Usually missionaries fall into two classes, the first are those who suffer badly from a "superiority complex" and can never forget that they are British,—(though I have often noticed that such people are unware of the fact, and genuinely believe that they are scrupulously fair to all sides). Naturally they do not know, nor do they understand Indian aspirations, and unfortunately they meet Indians who flatter them by saying how well they understand India. Secondly there are those missionaries, who are so absolutely other-worldly that they do not realize the difficulties of the present life. They are entirely and sincerely "apolitical." Finally there are some like the one quoted above, but who are expressly forbidden by their societies to "interfere in politics," and who can only express themselves privately.

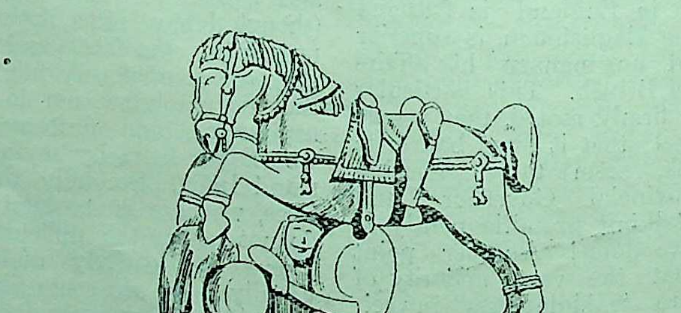
The first two "P's" of propaganda—"Press" and "Pulpit" are, if not hostile, at all events indifferent, with one or two possible exceptions There remains the third "P," namely "Politics." At the present time in politics in England there are first of all the Consesvatives, whose political and economic ideas would have done credit to the eighteenth century. Secondly there is the Labour Party. The Labour Party in England was founded on Trade Unionism, and therefore has a correspondingly narrow outlook. With certain exceptions its members are Trade Unionists first, and Socialists second. As a rule, the efforts of the Labour Party are in the direction of what may be termed "ambulance legislation," that is to say, legislation to alleviate the present hardsips and inequalities of industrialism. Unfortunately it seems unable to look sufficiently far enough forward to imagine a complete reorganization of society. It strives therefore to get the cream of the milk for the labouring classes, rather than for the nation as a whole, and therefore is not sufficiently ready to take necessary risks. Beside this backbone of Trade Unionism, the Labour Party has a sprinkling of the "intelligentsia" such as Sir Norman Angell, and Mr. Fenner Brockway, but at present they are too much outside Parliament. The present Parliament is overwhelmingly Conservative, and the Labour Party in Parliament can do little. Speeches in Parliament criticizing the Government are as a rule poorly reported in the Press, and the Government side is put in its most attractive form. The information concerning India which is offered to the public as a result of a Parliamentary debate, is often one-sided. Over and above this, there is also in the present Parliament a larger number of Imperialists than usual. A typical example of what goes on during an India debate may be gathered from the following excerpt from a speech by Mr. Molson :

> "I want to refer to the treatment of the detenus in gaol. I myself at Mandalay Gaol have seen them enjoying themselves playing tennis and with an unlimited number of books. I have no objection to their enjoying some of the amenities of life there, but the allowances which are at present being made to them are totally excessive. It is in many cases profitable for these people to be interned. Far more serious however than the fact that their allowances are excessive is the extremely slack discipline which obtains in these camps." (House of Commons, February 29, 1932).

Comment would seem to be superfluous!

Summing up the whole position, therefore, one is driven to the rather unpleasant conclusion that the general public in Britain is ignorant and apathetic so far as India is concerned—and is likely to remain so. The chances for changing this attitude do not at present seem too bright. The newspapers and other organs for attracting public attention are generally speaking hostile to Indian Nationalism, and politically everything is hopelessly lopsided. Sooner or later it is almost inevitable that the non-Conservative members of the "National Government" will retire and when that occurs it may happen that a central Progressive Party may be formed which would be a rallying point for those who are opposed to the Conservatives, and who are disappoinied with the Labour Party. I have tried to estimate the actual position at present in England, not because it is pleasant, but in the hope that the above analysis may explain matters, and help people to form an opinion of the actual position.

*Note.*—The Indian Empire Society claims to be a non-party organization. The Council of the Society consists of twenty-eight members, nine of whom are peers, and of the remainder only five have not got titles of some sort or other. Many of the members have been in India, either in the Indian Army, or in the Government.



# INDIANS ABROAD

By C. F. ANDREWS

For nearly four years since July 1928, I have been wandering over the world in different foreign lands visiting some of the chief centres where Indians live abroad in great numbers. During these years I have had affection poured upon me, which I can never repay and the love which has greeted me in every part of the world has deeply touched my heart. I had already been many times to South-Africa and came there like an old friend returning to the home where I had been loved. But British Guiana, Trinidad and British Colombia were quite new places to me, and in those new lands I found myself made no less welcome as a friend than in Fiji or Malaya or Kenya or Natal.

In this article, I shall not attempt to be chronological or give an account of all that I experienced, rather I will take some incidents and relate them just as they occurred. also I shall try to explain the extraordinary difficulties under which Indians suffer in almost every part of the world.

In 1928 I was obliged to leave my Gurudeva—the Poet Rabindranath Tagore—very ill in Ceylon. He had reached Colombo on his way to Europe, but was obliged to return again without effecting his purpose. He sent me on to Europe on his own behalf and also urged me to go to the United States of America if any opportunity occurred. While I was in London I met Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who was on his way from the Gold Coast of West Africa to British Guiana. He was ill at the time and knew that he was suffering from a fatal disease. His record on the Gold Coast for upholding racial equality was one of the finest in the colonial service. No one had done more than he to break down colour prejudice. He asked me to come out to British Guiana and help him to understand the problems of the 'East Indians' (as they are called) in British Guiana, who form there nearly half the population. I knew under what severe health conditions he was going out and how brave he was to go at all. The country was nearly bankrupt and the plight of the East Indians owing to the crisis in the sugar market was very - bad indeed. So I told him that after I had fulfilled lecture engagements in the U. S. A. and Canada which were intended to counteract the Miss Mayo propaganda, I would come to him in Georgetown, British Guiana.

During the winter of 1928 to 1929 I was in the United States and Canada giving lectures at different centres about Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian national movement and also contradicting Miss Mayo's slanderous statements. The subject of Indian citizenship in the United States came prominently forward and I met leading Senators at Washington both on this question and the Indian Opium question. Senator Porter had been the leader of the United States Deputation to the World Conference on Opium in 1924. He was very keenly interested also in Indian citizenship as he was in charge of the Foreign Relations Department. He took a great affection to me and I had many long interviews with him. He was immensely pleased when I told him that his action in leaving the Opium Conference in 1924 under protest had done more to bring the Government of India to its senses on the opium question than anything else which had happened for twenty years. In many intimate talks with him he discussed with me every possibility of Indians becoming admitted like any other nation into the United States. The Asiatic Exclusion Act hurriedly passed in 1924 against Japan had shut the door. Some of the Indians in the United States were seeking to claim a White citizenship as Aryans and therefore belonging to a White race. This claim of White citizenship had been refused by the Supreme Court. It did not seem to me that it was right or proper to seek as Indians to renew that claim by getting the law altered. First of all it would divide Indians themselves, because Dravidian India could never make the claim valid. Secondly, it would separate Indians in their claim from Japanese and Chinese on the one hand and the Africans on the other; for none of these could be included under the title of the White Race. But far more serious than that "White" claim itself would put Indians in a wrong position of arrogance as distinct from the rest of the world. Since I personally hated this White arrogance I did not feel it my duty to support it.

On the other hand Senator Porter with his wide knowledge of foreign relations pointed out to me a method under the "quota" system whereby both Indians, Chinese and Japanese could be treated in the same manner as Germans, French and English without any racial discrimination. It is true that the Indian quota would be a small one because the proportion allowed for each nationality were based upon the proportion of immigrants in the year 1895, nevertheless this repeal of the obnoxious Asiatic Exclusion Act and the recognition of India, China and Japan on an equal basis would form a new step in racial equality.

It seemed to me after talking over the whole subject with Senator Porter and other members of the United States Government that this would be ~~not~~ only a more rightous but also a more practical course than that of claiming special privileges.

On the opium question I made it clear in my speeches throughout the United States that its influence was of paramount importance to India because only when pressure came for America was there any chance of effective progress being made in India on the opium question.

In the month of February, 1929, I went over into Canada and lectured there on Miss Mayo's slanderous book and also on Mahatma Gandhi. Little by little I passed on westward and crossed this great continent until I reached British Colombia. In various cities I met small groups of Indians or single individuals with whom it was a very great delight to come into touch and to speak of India again. One of the largest of these groups was at Chicago University in the Middle West; where I met Haridas Mazumdar a biographer of Gandhiji and many others, both men and women, who were passionately devoted to their mother-land. I remember specially one Bengali lady, who gave me a diary with Bengali days of the month and texts from Brahmanand Keshav Chandra Sen's writings which I kept with me and often used throughout the year.

When I arrived at Vancouver in British Colombia at last the Sikh community gave me the warmest and kindliest welcome and took me to their *Gurudwara* where I found pictures of all their martyrs and saints. They had formed gradually round the *Gurudwara* an *Ashram* and *Dharmsala*. Many of them were living with their families in this little settlement. On the day of my arrival these had been busy preparing a feast for those who had come in from the country and we had a love feast together after the prayers in the *Gurudwara* were over. It was clear to me that their religion had been the mainstay of the community and it was a great joy to me to share from time to time in their religious services with them.

When the poet Rabindranath Tagore came from across the sea to lecture at the great educational conference that was held in Vancouver in April that year, he received a wonderful welcome.

The most beautiful thing of all I felt was at the time of his landing while he walked about a hundred yards to the motor which was waiting for him. At this time instead of rowdy cheering and hurrahs such as often are given to a celebrity every head was uncovered and bowed with reverence when his saintly figure appeared. There was an instinctive silence which marked his spiritual greatness. This was far more impressive than any cheering.

On the day when he spoke at the great hall which was close to the hotel it was pouring with rain and chilly at the same time. The lecture was to begin at 8 P. M. I went out at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and I saw a long line of figures wrapped in overcoats and mackintoshes waiting in the pouring rain and standing hour after hour in order not to miss the one chance of their lives when they might see the poet of Asia. The hall was crowded to the very doors long before the lecture began and at the end of it the whole audience stood with the poet in the middle of the platform and sang together "O God our help in ages past." It was one of the most moving scenes I have ever witnessed in my life and the tears came into my eyes as I looked at the poet standing there in silence.

On such an auspicious occasion as this it would have been quite easy to carry forward the claim for citizenship on behalf of the Sikh community in British Colombia. It formed the subject of all my own addresses and newspaper articles and it gained remarkable support from leading statesmen in the country, but there was little or no response from the Indian Government to my appeal to press the matter home. In this way a golden opportunity was lost which has not yet been restored.

After the poet had left for San Francisco I hurried back across the continent travelling five consecutive days and nights on the train in order to reach Halifax, Nova Scotia on the Atlantic border in order to travel quickly by sea to George Town, British Guiana. Before I left I met a dear friend Richard Gregg, who has written the *Economics of Khaddar* and has been a devoted friend of India. He was in New York. He gave me the happy news that he was married and his home has been my home ever since, whenever I have visited the United States.

On the way to British Guiana we passed some of the most lovely islands in the world. At the Bermudas I found many Indian traders especially from Sind. In St. Lucia and Grenada there were the remains of an old Indian population. Men had almost lost their Indian mother tongue and the population were rapidly becoming part of the islands by inter-marriage. On the other hand, in Trinidad, where I next stopped, the East India community (as people for India are called in this part of the world) is so strong that it forms very nearly half of the whole population and also has by far the greatest educational facilities. About this I shall write later. We only stopped one day at Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad, and then went a thirty-six hours journey by sea to George Town, British Guiana. Here I had a right royal welcome from the Indian community. A cable had been sent by Pandit Motilal Nehru asking the Indian community to welcome me on behalf of the Indian National Congress. This gave me a standing with the East Indians which nothing else could do, for they are very loyal to the Congress. Pandit Sukh Deo Prasad became my friend and secretary and Dr. Jung Bahadur Singh, the President, did everything for me which could be done. His family made a home for me and Mrs. Bahadur Singh was like a mother to me. For many weeks I went up and down the country living in Indians' homes and cottages. It was a great joy to me to do this once more and I was able on many occasions to wear the Indian dress while I was living among the East Indians. It was very difficult to get from place to place owing to the incessant rains and we had many adventurous journeys. Large rivers had to be crossed from time to time, and floods of rain poured down because it was the rainy season. In some places, the whole country seemed under water and it reminded me of East Bengal at the time of the monsoon. The mosquito plague was very bad in several places and everywhere it was absolutely necessary to have a reliable mosquito net at night. On the plantations there were East Indians who were living in great poverty and under miserable conditions so long as the wet weather lasted. In Georgetown also the number of Indians who were beggars in the streets was very noticable indeed. They flocked round me and came even from long distances to see me. At one time the very sad work of listening to their stories took up most of the morning. On the other hand, there were many advantages such as I did not meet among the Indians in South Africa, for instance, there was no colour prejudice and no racial discrimination. This gave an air of freedom which was of great value in the building up of character. I felt at once, however, that the climatic conditions had made it much more difficult for the Indian community to prosper in British Guiana than they have done in Trinidad. This was confirmed by my own later experience of both places.

I can never forget the extraordinary kindness which I received from every one from first to last in British Guiana. This was of course most marked of all among the members of the Indian community, whom I met in the different places. But it was also very noticeable with many of the Europeans who were really sympathetic towards the Indians and they also welcomed me very warmly. Among them was the Governor himself whose illness was rapidly growing worse and worse. It was a great joy to me to be able to help him during the last days he spent in British Guiana.

The Bishop was also a very true friend. Beyond these marked friendships which I have mentioned there were others which I valued very highly indeed among the Africans who were the descendants of the negroes brought over as slaves from West Africa. These Africans formed the second largest portion of the population and are nearly equal in number to the East Indians. Among them are very highly educated persons, and one of these was the Attorney-General of British Guiana, who was on the Governor's Executive Council. Another, Mr. Webber, was the editor of the leading Georgetown paper. On the whole, the Press was very kind to me, and the African community gave me a special welcome in their own national way. It was remarkable to see how deep their love was for Africa, the home of their forefathers.

The East Indians and the African citizens of British Guiana get on very well together. There is practically no race feeling between them. At the same time, I could see very often that the Africans would resent it if the East Indian population was very largely increased by immigration. There is room in British Guiana for Indian of the right type to come over and settle if only a steamer service were made available, but if thousands came over as agricultural labourers it would immediately upset the numerical proportions between the two communities and would undoubtedly lead to friction. This point will have to be very carefully considered in any future scheme of land settlement and colonization.

While British Guiana is a very large colony with only a population of 11 to the square mile, yet this figure does not truly represent the facts of this case, for the interior is hardly at all developed as yet and it is doubtful whether it will ever be able to bear a large population. Mr. Keatings, I. C. S., referred in his minority report to a large uninhabited area in the N. W. corner of British Guiana, but more careful investigation has proved that the soil in this part of the colony is very thin and that, for colonization purposes, it has not got the advantages which Mr. Keating imagined. On the other hand, a large area of alluvial soil on the banks of the Essequibo river which was once covered with sugar-cane has now gone out of cultivation. It has been bought back by Government at a very low figure and an admirable scheme of settlement has already begun and proved remarkably successful.

The East India rice-growers, who are already resident in British Guiana, have been offered the first plots and houses on very easy terms. These plots of ground suitable for paddy were eagerly taken up and have proved a very successful bargain for the cultivation. Little by little the whole of these sugar estates will thus be turned into paddy fields and the East India cultivator rapidly out-distances the African Negro in such a form of agriculture. Indeed many of the Indians now have African Negroes either as their labourers or as their tenants. This is forming a new capitalist problem and it may lead in time to racial friction.

Probably the most important work which I was able to accomplish in British Guiana was the uniting of all the Pandits together in a common movement forward to raise the age of marriage among East Indian children to fourteen for the girls and sixteen for the young men. This was absolutely necessary in a land where the African negro children marry at an even later age. The Indian girls were losing their school education owing to early marriage and they were also finding the death-rate of their young children in excess of that of the Negroe families.

Thus, from all points of view, it was necessary to bring about this change of marriage custom. After a very long time we got complete unanimity among all the Pandits without exception. It was a great triumph and now the marriage ordinance has been changed with strong religious public opinion behind it.

After British Guiana I went to Dutch Guiana and saw the condition of the people there. They suffer from greater disabilities in Dutch territory than in British territory owing to the presence of a third race which is coming in large number from Java.

Here there is a real danger of racial conflict and many of the East Indians in Dutch territory have already crossed over into British Guiana. As the Javanese enter Dutch Guiana in greater numbers this exodus to British Guiana is likely to continue. The Dutch Governor was delightfully friendly and promised to do all he could to help the East Indians in his colony.

In Trinidad I noticed with great encouragement the very rapid progress that has been made in education owing to the Canadian Presbyterian Mission. This Canadian work literally saved the Indian community in its early days of indentured labour. It is impossible to speak too highly of the past at the same time it is necessary to state that in future much more liberty ought to be given to East Indians by the Mission in order to manage their own affairs.

Strangely enough although educational advance has been so rapid yet in the country districts the old early marriages of young girls continue. I asked the Pandits to meet me as they had done in British Guiana and explained to them the success which had been achieved there, but in the end I was defeated and these early marriages in the country districts are likely to go on as before.

One fact needs to be mentioned which forms a flaw in the legal aspect of repatriation. Every Indian who came out under indenture has the right on the payment of a certain sum to be repatriated. In addition to this, there is a clause that the Government is bound to repatriate free of charge any men who are incapacitated or infirm. Under this head of free repatriation many have gone back both from British Guiana and from Trinidad, who are utterly unfit to travel. Dying people have insisted on taking the voyage and even lepers, who are very well looked after in Trinidad have been tempted by the free passage to go back to India. Thus a charitable provision in the law has become more a curse than a blessing and the numbers who die on these boats coming back from West Indies by the long and difficult voyage round the Cape is not due so much to carelessness in medical arrangements as to the carelessness of the authorities in allowing these decrepit people to undertake the voyage. This does not exonerate the Steamer authorities from making careful provision, but it does account for the very high death-rate on the voyage.

When I returned to North America extremely important work was awaiting me both in Canada and the United States. All that I had done on my previous visit in 1928-1929 had to be repeated and certain things which I had then begun had to be carried further. I went again and again to Ottawa in order to see the Ministers of State about Trinidad and British Guiana. A very close connection is maintained between Canada and the West Indies. I hoped to be able to get a steamer service which was already running from Canada to Cape Town to call at British Guiana on the way and the then to go on to India in order to pick up a return cargo. If this round trip had been made effective it would have solved many very important problems: (*i*) It would have linked up the East Indians in British Guiana with the Indians in Natal.

(*ii*) It would have given the Indians in British Guiana a chance of regularly visiting their mother-country, India. It is literally true that the most important factor in the East Indian problem of British Guiana and Trinidad is the provision of an adequtae steamer service connecting India with the colonies. If this is not effected soon the link between India and British Guiana will become weaker and weaker.

Kartar Singh met me in Canada and we went further into the question of British Colombia citizenship for the Sikh community. Though I introduced him to the ministers and we did our utmost to carry the matter a step further forward, we had very little enconragement from India and the matter in the end proved abortive. I found also that the Congress was not really interested in the matter, although I wrote almost all about it to the Committee. I sent at the same time a cable to Pandit Motilal Nehru pressing for an Indian agent or representative to be sent to Ottawa who might be able to deal with these and other matters. But the Government of India has been at all time sparing in the extreme about sending out ambassadors abroad and we have suffered terribly in consequence.

# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## Persia and India

The visit of Rabindranath Tagore to Persia has raised considerable interest in Persia as well as in this country. Professor Aga Md. Kazim Shirazi has contributed an illuminating article on the cultural connection of Persia and India in *India and the World*. In it he writes :

> Nearly a thousand years ago, India and Persia came to be connected through the epic creation of our Firdausi and the political exploits of his patron, Sultan Mahmud. Since then, the enlightened Muhammadan rulers of India have throughout shown the greatest admiration for the Persian language, literature and art, as will be seen by anyone who would care to study the careers of Amir Khusru, Zahuri, and Faizi, (the brother of Abul-Fazl) who translated the Sanskrit story of Nala Damayanti. and others adorning the court of the Great Mughals, where Persian and Indian scholars collaborated in a most friendly and fruitful manner. Prof. Dr. Abdul Ghani, M. A., of Nagpur has recently published a highly interesting study on the subject "History of Persian Language and Literature in the Mughal Period." Before the advent of the British, even down to the end of the 18th century, Persian was the court language and was, therefore, cultivated with great assiduity by the Indians, not only the Muhammadans but the Hindus as well.
>
> Persia and India was very intimately connected also through commerce and I shall illustrate this point by referring to my own family history. My revered father, Muhammad Ali Shirazi (1822—1877) was attracted by India ; he migrated from Shiraz to Bombay while very young, and finally settled in Calcutta where he found a large colony of Persian merchants. His commercial adventures did not end there and he went as far as China. But in his old age, he returned to his country and died in his native city of Shiraz. I have spent most of my life here in India and I had the rare privilege of learning my mother-tongue and its rich literary treasures from my learned brother-in-law, Shamsul-Ulama Shaik Muhammad Gilani, who belonged to the learned aristocracy of Persia and who was brought to India by Lord Dufferin, a Persian scholar himself. I came also in touch with Jalaluddin Hosaini, Editor of *Hablul Matin*, a Persian journal published from Calcutta which for nearly half-a-century connected India and Persia. This journal and another weekly *Miftah-uz-Zafar* rendered yeoman's service to the cause of vernacularization of modern knowledge by encouraging us to adapt and translate heaps of scientific things from English into Persian. I sincerely wish that this cultural collaboration between India and Iran would be widened and accelerated by the personal contact of Tagore with the enlightened officers of His Majesty the Shah's Government. I hope that Aga Dadgar Adlul Mulk, the Prime Minister, Aga Mizra Yahya Khan, the Minister of Education and other members of the *Majlis* will take prompt steps to stimulate the cultural and commercial relationship between India and Persia. My friend, Mr. Rahimzadeh Safavi, of the Ministry of Justice, has published this year two very important volumes on the latest developments in the economic life of Persia. The book is entitled *Irani-i-Iqtisadi* which is a mine of information on the achievements of the Persian Government in the departments of manufacture and trade, banking and communication, etc., which I shall review in a future number of *India and the World*. Up-to-date information on other creative activities of the Persian nation is available from *Sal-namah*, the year-book, which tells us that there are about 2,309 primary schools and 332 high schools of the traditional type and over 1,200 modern schools in Persia, the Government altogether spending 18,594,500 Krans (three times as much in rupees) which was allotted to the education budget in the year 1930-31.

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## The Blessings of Club Life

Club life in Paris, especially in her academic circles, is a boon to the students, inasmuch as they find in them a meeting place and drop each other's prejudices, assimilating the best in all. The powers that be in France and Germany are antagonistic ; but this club life is bringing about cultural cohesion and social amity between the students of both the countries—the would-be members of both the States. The following extracts are taken from "From 'Foreign students' to 'Guest-students'" which Mr. Gordon Troupe has contributed to *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

> The corporate life of the Club produced two important results which, while not actually religious, were definitely of spiritual value. The first was the interpretation of foreign cultures to French students, and of French culture to foreign students. The case of German students may serve as an example, though it is by no means the only one that could be given. At the beginning of the year there were a thousand German students in Paris alone, eager to make the most of their experience, doubtful as to the reception that was in store for them. When would they at last meet a real Frenchman, was the question most of them asked in their first few days in the wilderness of Paris. The club organized a large Franco-German gathering in the first week of the term, borrowing the room of the women's *foyer*, for over 100 French and 150 German students responded to the call. A young German graduate opened the proceedings, speaking in French on the life which German students are accustomed to in their own universities, and

the expectations with which they had come to study further in France. In half an hour, he succeeded in interpreting a great deal of the aspirations of German youth in a courteous and dignified form. To him replied a young French graduate, who gave an *aperçu* of French student life, and of the spirit animating it, thus showing what France offered to seekers from across the Rhine. After a discussion and some orchestral music, all repaired to the supper room, where, amid lively conversation and snatches of student songs, midnight stole unawares upon a happy family gathering who were beginning to know and appreciate one another and build up mutual confidence on that knowledge.

The second result arises out of the first, and may be called, in the words of our World Chairman "spiritual cross-fertilization." To carry on with the German experience, for a moment, for the sake of continuity, early in the new year a German member of the Club attended an All-France Biennial Congress of the Student Christian Movement. He entered very fully into the life of the Congress, and being asked to write his impressions for the Movement's paper, he felt moved to write a confession of faith as a German patriot and a Christian. Perhaps his tragic death by accident shortly after lent a special significance to his words, which appeared as a testament, but in any case the result was a very searching and frank discussion of the Franco-German question from the Christian point of view in succeeding numbers of the paper, and an orientation of many branches of the Movement to the study of the problem of peace in the coming year. Thus did one small seed, cast in a moment of faith, multiply and produce the promise of much fruit. Still more significant was a small international camp held at Easter time near Paris, to discuss the Universality of Christ and of the Gospel. French students who were there received a new zeal to serve the Movement and the Christian cause in their own country; foreign students received similar impetus for theirs. And in the peace and beauty of the countryside in spring, all felt as if a new world were coming to birth, where the walls of partition were being broken down, where there was no longer Jew nor Gentile, Frenchman nor foreigner, and where "foreign students" had become "guest-students" through the influence of Him "Who can do exceeding abundantly beyond all that we can ask or think."

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## Insurance and Rural Reconstruction

Mrs. Priyambada Devi, B.A., has presented a scheme of rural reconstruction in the pages of *Insurance World*. Insurance, she says, can help the realization of the scheme greatly:

> The scheme which we will call "Rural Reconstruction Scheme" may be sketched roughly in the following manner:
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> An insurance company of good standing looking out for fresh fields of investment for its extra surplus opens a department to which is entrusted the management of the above scheme. This department starts its work by acquiring tracts of fallow land from zamindars who will be quite willing to let them have it at the barest possible premium in the first instance. They will of course entertain hopes of getting some regular revenue after a few years when the tracts are colonized and developed. Then comes the question of initial expenses. These will be
>
> 1. Costs for the clearing of jungles.
> 2. Providing agricultural implements including draught animals.
> 3. Some arrangement for the supply of the necessities of life at least at the preliminary stages.
>
> Every colonization scheme would of course attract its usual quota of persons who would be willing to look after their own requirements but there would be many others to whom everything would have to be provided. All these items of expenditure are to be included in the capital sum laid out on the scheme. Then there is the matter of fixing upon a rate of interest which the insurance company will expect from the funds thus employed. This as also the capital value per acre would naturally vary according to the quality of the soil distributed among the colonists. Some standard like that adopted in the revenue assessment can be taken for determining the interest yield and the capital value of each distinct piece of land. This part of the scheme is most important from the insurance company's point of view and has to proceed side by side with land reclamation work.
>
> The colonists will be settled on the reclaimed lands on a contract that they will have to repay the capital sum spent on their lands by a certain number of instalments. The instalments will be fixed by mutual agreement between the company and the colonists and must include a proper interest yield. At the end of the last instalment a colonist will himself become the owner of his lands and company will have no further interest in them. This method of settlement will be an additional incentive to the cultivators for the improvement of their lands and for the regular payment of the company's dues.

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## Sectarianism in Education

The object of education is baffled by the introduction of sectarianism into it. At the present moment, Indian educational system is vitiated by the sectarian spirit. Prof. Jwala Prasad, M.A., PH.D., writes on the "Evils of Sectarianism in Education" in *The Indian Review*. After discussing the various evils that arise out of it, the professor continues:

> The sectarian spirit in education has also been responsible for the presence of what now may safely be called certain academic prejudices. These exist in various forms according to the history and the nature of the controlling authority of the institutions. One instance of such prejudice was to be found, for example, in the life of the great Cambridge and Oxford Universities with regard to the status of women as students. They had no place in the life of these distinguished academies, and at Cambridge even now women students are not members of the University, and their two colleges there are not affiliated institutions. They cannot become members of the University Union, and they attend its meetings as visitors like any outsiders. Now, at all this, I am sure, one would feel like crying out 'What an absurdity' and still it is there; and should one ask why the only answer is: It is there simply because of a deep-rooted influence of religion and all that is

means to the life of an educational institution—yes, even to the life of a distinguished British university whose very name inspires confidence in respect of sound learning and ideal sportsmanship, and the work of whose scholars is justly associated with some of the most important developments in the various branches of science and arts. That everywhere women have been very inadequately represented in educational institutions and facilities for intellectual advancement have been denied to them is in no small measure due to the effects of an old alliance between religion and education. What is true of women in this respect is also equally true of the members of the so called depressed classes in India. One hardly needs to be reminded that they too have been the victims of serious sectarian prejudices in education.

As I have said already, sectarianism in education might also be other than that of the religious type, although it is true that it is usually and mainly due to the influence of religion. As matters stand at present, very few educational institutions in India are perfectly autonomous and, therefore, free from the sectarian spirit. Undue restrictions imposed upon academic bodies from political motives as much hamper the growth of their intellectual life and prevent them from fulfilling their function as nurseries of healthy citizens as the religious prejudices do. That a certain amount of control over education by the State is indispensable will be admitted by all, but to carry it to the extent of entirely regulating and constantly watching the academic life of an institution down to its minutest details is certainly preposterous. Such a policy, as is well known to all educationists, produces a very unhealthy reaction and generates a state of suspicion between the authorities and the students which does more harm to the cause of the State and the institution concerned than, for instance, any number of political debates of the extremist type that might be held in behalf of its members.

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## The Foundation of National Life

In an article on the "Foundation of National Life"—appearing in *The Morning Star*, Principal D. N. Sen puts in a nutshell the basis of the foundation of national life. He says:

The foundation of national life consists in the racial vigour which like a solid rock bears and sustains the organization and the culture of a race. On the pedestal of matter Nature raises the edifice of life; on the firm foundation of Life, Mind is built up. The animal furnishes the material on which is built the rational and on the rational, the moral and cultural attributes which go to the formation of the crest of the pyramid of human civilization.

An ill-fed, ill-protected, unorganized mass of men each eking out his own miserable existence as best as he can, with activities entirely unco-ordinated and chaotic cannot form a nation. Among the primitive forms of life, three stages are well-marked, free-swimming, colonial and organized, each representing a higher and stabler form of existence. The highest and the best-developed types of men are thoroughly organized and are fit for the battle of life. For carrying on those activities which during peace build up a nation or offering effective resistance to enemy groups which threaten races with destruction, the strongest and the best organized groups are the best fitted to survive. The first lesson that we have to take from history is that we must organize ourselves. A friend had once asked me to sum up in a few words what I found to be the secret of the success of the Western countries I had visited. I said, "They have life and they are well-organized."

Our political integrity is not due to internal formative influences but to the cementing force of an external power, and it cannot survive if that cementing element is suddenly and violently withdrawn. I know how difficult it is to keep ourselves together ~~even~~ in small matters, how the disintegrating forces, more often than otherwise, overwhelm those that tend to keep us within the orbit of our social and national influences. The most fortunate nations have organizations which are world-wide in their scope. How few organizations do we possess which take us beyond our ocean-bound and mountain-barriered frontiers! It is natural for us to love and be drawn towards one another, to live as kind and brotherly neighbours, to make sacrifices for the welfare of our fellow brethren; but these forces slacken as national disintegration advances. The strongest bond among us is the family tie, which though certainly protecting us, very often cripples us and narrows our horizon. We lose sight of and neglect the larger family ties of the race and the nation.

The forces set free by the Buddhistic illumination and culture enabled India not only to organize her internal affairs, but also to carry her banner of culture to countries all over Asia. And at the basis of the Buddhistic illumination there is one thing which no nation can even ignore or has ignored with impunity. Five and only five simple virtues formed the foundation of Buddhistic culture, *viz.*, refraining from destroying life, refraining from taking things which have not been given to us, refraining from breaking the rules of social morality, and refraining from taking spirituous liquors. These still hold good for the strength and longevity of a nation. Love and truth are the two great weapons with which we must fight the battle of our life. That is what all great teachers have tried to impress upon our minds. There cannot be any salvation personal or national through crime or untruth. Our way is the way of Truth and Love. We must hold to them even if we perish. If we pursue this path, our journey may be arduous and may cost precious lives. But we shall have all the moral and spiritual forces at our back. It is the way of Providence.

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## Constitution of the Armies in Bengal

The same paper is publishing the readership lectures delivered by Sir Jadunath Sarkar at the Patna University. The learned historian begins his fourth lecture with a discussion on the constitution of the armies of the Muhammadan rulers of Bengal:

A year of peace followed the extermination of Bhasker Rao and other Maratha generals, and then in 1745, a domestic revolution turned Alivardi's strongest allies into his bitterest enemies and the divided and weak condition of the province resulting from this internal dissension lured the Marathas to renew their raids with a prospect of easy success which would have been otherwise impossible. Bengal has no indigenous race capable of the long continued exertion, the ready submission to discipline, the concerted action in large bodies, and the cool and steady fighting that are required in resisting the hardier races of invaders coming from the south or the west. War, as distinct from the mere guarding of palaces or convoys and the police protection of revenue-collectors and custom-officers, had not been the profession of any class of its people since the imposition of Mughal peace two centuries ago. Therefore the army of the Nawabs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, after they had become independent of the central Government at Delhi, was filled entirely with Afghans (both infantry and cavalry) and Hindu foot-musketeers of Baksar, with a sprinkling of Sayyids of Barha and other foreign settlers in upper India and *Bihalia* musketeers from Oudh. Of these the Afghans were by far the most numerous and efficient element. Their proud consciousness of superiority, inborn martial habits, and strong clannish cohesion made them quite irresistible if they could be only united under one great leader.

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## Conciliation and Industrial Dispute

Conciliation is preferable to all other methods in settling industrial disputes. Dr. B. V. Narayanaswami has summarized the conciliatory methods adopted in many a country in the West in an article on "Towards Industrial Peace" which appears in *The Indian Labour Journal.* He says:

> "Conciliation" is far superior in settling industrial disputes, for the strength of agreement arrived at by conciliation lies in the fact that it is arrived at voluntarily on both sides for the fulfilment of the agreement in spirit as well as in letter.
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> Italy (Italian Act of 3rd April 1926), Belgium (New Royal Order, 1926), Norway (The Compulsory Arbitration Act, 1919), New Zealand and Australia have all introduced some sort of compulsory methods in bringing about industrial peace. In Germany also much pioneer work has been done in this sphere and the Whimer Constitution (Article 145) provides for the establishment of regional Workers' Councils, regional Economic Councils, a Federal Workers' Council, and in the end a Federal Economic Council. "In this gigantic all-German Trust," says Mr. Farnham, "Germany has crystallized the tendencies of the industrial world for the past decade—the destruction of the ruinous competition, the consolidation for efficiency of operation, workmen's representation in management." These new Councils have not yet been given a fair chance owing to the abnormal political and economic conditions of Germany since 1920, and also owing to the hostile attitude of the employers. But once the employers accept it as they are now doing and give whole-hearted co-operation and support and mutual concession, then the spirit of opposition between Labour and Capital will die down and a favourable development can be expected.

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## Frederick Smetana

We take this opportunity to offer our tribute to the memory of Frederick Smetana, the great Czech composer, by quoting the sketch which Mr. Leland J. Berry has contributed to *The Calcutta Review*:

> To-day we hear but little of the once popular Frederick Smetana. He does not deserve the oblivion into which both his works and his name have fallen during the last few years. He was one of the greatest musical pioneers of the last century; for, being a national composer above all other things, Smetana worked to broaden the whole aspect of Bohemian music. He is reckoned to be the finest Bohemian composer on national subjects; his writings are Bohemian to the very core. On every page of his music we find the unmistakable marks of nationalism, really beautiful music written in various peculiar rhythms, which are the essentials of Bohemian music.
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> Smetana was born in an obscure little village at the corner of Bohemia on March 2, 1824. As is the case with most musical geniuses, the love of music was apparent in Smetana at a very early age. He studied first under Proksch, becoming eventually a pupil of the renowned Liszt. Rapidly advancing under the capable tuition of this great man, he became a clever pianist. Following upon his immense success as a pianist, Smetana opened an academy of his own at Prague, where, later, he married Katherine Kodar, another celebrated pianist.
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> Smetana was not a prolific composer; he was apt to believe more in quality than quantity, but there is, of course, ample material from which to judge his musicianship. In common with many other composers, it was Smetana's ambition to write opera scores above all other forms of music, but there is no doubt that the standard of his symphonies and his chamber-music is very high indeed. We occasionally hear of the celebrated "Bartered Bride" to-day, chiefly by reason of the fact that the overture to this work is performed frequently by different orchestras and bands. It was, and still is, Smetana's most popular work. It was composed in 1866, the same year that he obtained the post of conductor at the National Theatre. It aroused much enthusiasm both in Germany and in Vienna, where it was played for the first time six years after its composer's decease. It received two public performances in England, in 1893 and 1907, but failed to attract much success.
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> The music of the score of "The Bartered Bride" is coloured occasionally with the slightest addition of Beethoven, Cherubini and Mozart, but for the most it is typically Smetana and truly Bohemian. Whilst conducting at the National Theatre, Smetana, it is interesting to note, formed a friendship with Dvorak, who was at that time a young man in the orchestra. This friendship had a marked effect upon the composition of Dvorak, as will be seen in some of his composition, which are quite Bohemian in style.
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> Then came a bitter blow, and, like the immortal Beethoven, Smetana became gradually deaf. Tortured by the loss of his hearing, Smetana lost his reason and died in an asylum at Prague at the age of sixty.. · But before he was overcome by this tragic affliction, and after composing the "Bartered Bride" he wrote six more operas; these later six, unfortunately, are little known outside the composer's own country, where I believe, they are frequently performed. Although of great melodic beauty and full of originality, neither of the six are of the high standard of "The Bartered Bride," the work by

which Smetana will always be remembered and revered! His best comic opera` is written in the national spirit also, and is entitled "Der Kuss;" whilst for originality his two historical operas, "Dalebor" and "Libusa" are to be highly commended. Smetana wrote a very fine symphonic poem, "Mein Vaterland," which is cast into six sections, each of which contains some excellent musical writings and orchestration. It is probably the best of his four symphonies in this class. Of his two string quartets, in E minor and C major, the former appears to be the most popular composition of the two, partly because of its beautiful effect and partly because it is a melodic construction, and partly because it is a composition by which Smetana describes an important event in his career. I am sure that the earnest student of music would be well rewarded by a close study of Smetana's compositions.

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### Image Worship

Reproaches are heaped season in and season out on image worship. Religion apart, it has got at least some meaning so far as its artistic side is concerned. "The Call from the Divine" is a dissertation on art in which its author, the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, has some good words for image worship. He lays special emphasis on its artistic side :

What do the image worship and many symbolisms in Hinduism signify ? Would we be wrong if we say that there the saint and the artist have been made into one ? 'Uma' is called the daughter of Himalaya, the great mountain whose sublime beauty and solemn grandeur take us away from things mundane and elevate us to the abode of God. In India the Himalayas, where the Aryan civilization had its birth, have been not a little source of inspiration to Hinduism ; so much so that one great religious teacher when asked as to why the religious sentiment in India is so very strong replied, "Because we have the Himalayas." This great mountain has ever been the object of great attraction to all the Sadhus, Sannyasins and religious men of the country. It has supplied many of the symbolisms in Hinduism. The great Shiva is called a mountain-god. Is it because Shiva with closed eyes and concentrated look signifies the Himalayas in eternal meditation ? Perhaps a Sadhaka once fell into ecstasy by seeing the snowy expanse in that mountain region, lit up by the golden hues of the morning sun—and we have the conception of the "Arddha-Nariswar." Every autumn, the great national goddess Durga comes down from the Himalayas to her children, becomes the source of the country-wide joy and festivities, drowning all thoughts of sufferings and misery, and then goes back to her Himalayan abode.

The bold mind of the Aryans has sought God not only in good but also in evil—not only in the beautiful, but also in the terrible. If the morning sunshine be the God's smile of blessings upon humanity, why should the darkest night cease to have any divine relationship ? If the peaceful beauty of the autumn be the cause of great national festivity in the shape of worshipping the great Mother, why should we reject Her when She comes to us with anger and frowns in storms and cyclones ? So a few days after the Durga Puja comes the day of worshipping the goddess Kali, the Mother in Her destructive mood, and finding beauty in the Terrible.

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### The Patriotic Poetry of Iqbal

Today the Pan-Islamism of Sir Muhammad Iqbal has run off with his patriotism. In good old days he used to write poems of very high order. The following fragmentary pieces tell the world that once Sir Muhammad was an Indian first and a Muhammadan afterwards and that nationalism was, in his opinion, the only virtue most covetable in life.

सच कहदूँ ऐ बिरहमन गर तू बुरा न माने,
तेरे सनमकदह के बुत हो गये पुराने।
अपनों से बैर रखना तूने बुतों से सीखा,
वाइज़ को भी सिखाया जंगो-जदल ख़ुदा ने।
तंग आके मैंने आख़िर दैरो हरम को छोड़ा,
वाइज़ का वाज़ छोड़ा छोड़े तेरे फसाने।

Shall I tell the truth, O Brahman ?
The idols in thy Temple have long since ceased to be worthy of worship !
They teach thee to hate those who are thy kith and kin.
And as for the Mulla, well, he too has been taught by God to wage war on infidels.
Sick of both, I have bade good-bye to the Temple as well as the Mosque ;
I pay heed neither to the preachings of the Mulla, nor to thy fictitious stories.

पत्थर की मूरतोंमें समझा है तू ख़ुदा है,
ख़ाके वतन का मुझको हर ज़र्रा देवता है।

Thou thinkest that thy God is in the image of stone;
As for me, every particle of the dust of the Motherland is a god to me.

सूनी पड़ी हुई है मुद्दत से दिल की बसती,
आ इक नया शिवाला इस देश में बना दें।
तीरथ वो सबसे ऊंचा हो अपना तीरथों में,
दामाने आसमां से उसका कलश मिला दें।

Long has the City of our Heart been desolate:
Come, let us build a New Temple in it !
A Temple which would be the Holiest of all Holy places;
A Temple which would touch the skirt of the firmament with its lofty spire.

हर सुबह उठके गावें मंतर वो मीठे-मीठे,
सारे पुजारियों को मै पीत की पिलादें।

Every morning shall we chant melodious *Mantrams* in the Temple ;
Every day shall we distribute the wine of Love among the *Pujaris* (priests).

**शक्ती भी शान्ती भी भगतों के गीत में है,**
**धरती के वासियों की मुकती पिरीत में है।**

In the songs of a devoted Heart there is both Peace and Power :
The Salvation of the children of the Bharata depends on Love.

## A Christian View of Ahimsa

India has found an interpreter of her culture in Father Verrier Elwin. He is an ardent advocate of *Satyagraha* in spirit. What he has got to say on *Ahimsa* deserves attention. The following appears in his article on "The Religion of Adoring Love" in *The C. S. S. Review* :

Christians are generally supposed to care little for the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. It is indeed a curious paradox that vegetarian India should have a reputation for cruelty to animals, while from non-vegetarian Europe have come most of the movements for their better treatment. It cannot, obviously, be claimed that *Ahimsa*—in the strict sense of the word has ever been observed by the Christian Church. It is not enjoined in the Bible, and Christ Himself ate both fish and meat. But what is to be found among the Christian mystics is a deep sense of the unity and solidarity of creation, a great love of natural beauty, and a kinship with birds and animals.

The poets have always emphasized the unity of nature and its beauty. But so also have even the most ascetic and cloistered mystics. Even S. Bernard who has been unjustly blamed for being blind to the beauties of nature was far from being so in fact. "Believe me, for I have proved it," he says in the very manner of Wordsworth, "you will find something more in the woods than you do in books. The rocks and the trees will teach you what you cannot learn from masters." A new vision of the world, and sense of kinship with it, is often regarded as part of the blessedness of the Illuminative way. After George Fox's "conversion," he says, "All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell to me than before, beyond what words can utter...the creation was opened to me." This "opening" of the creation so that we can see "the hidden unity in the Eternal Being," is the basis of any real philosophy of *Ahimsa*.

## Light and Heat

The following occurs in "The Heat of Life" by E. Bennett, appearing in The *Theosophist* :

The light and heat in a beam of sunlight can be sorted out by a prism into the different wave-lengths which comprise it, the visible part spreading into a band of coloured light. Beyond this extend invisible waves registering as heat and as chemical effects. The visible spectrum is crossed by many dark lines and bands which represent blanks, missing wave-lengths, which have been absorbed by the atmospheres of Sun and Earth as the light passed through these layers. Each element has the power to absorb a set of waves of special lengths, peculiar to itself alone. In the invisible part of the spectrum these bands of absorption grow more frequent, so that there can be no direct measurement of the heat found there.

At four times the length of the visible octave of light waves, travelling into the infra-red, is found a clear part of the invisible spectrum. From the amount of low intensity heat, which passes through this section of the spectrum, the total amount is estimated. In this section may be found the solution of the problem.

Our atmosphere stops all these waves of low intensity heat save those over the one section. May there not be some element of the giant planet's atmosphere which cuts off those rays that would pass through ours in that one clear section? It is already known that there is some element common to this group of planets, and to those alone of the planetary family, which element creates heavy absorption bands in the visible spectrum. May it not also cause the fault in the low temperature readings? It is possible in theory; it is hard to prove, as that element is unknown here.

If there be this interference, these planets can be semi-suns, hot to more than 1200° C. and there will be moons heated to the right degree. This is what we should expect if the principal work of the logos was the evolution of the various kingdoms leading up to Man. It is the only view which suggests a good use for the other planets.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Opium and the Sino-Japanese Conflict

That the Japanese commercial interests in China are mainly responsible for the Sino-Japanese conflict is quite well known. A note in *The Living Age*, in which some Chinese authorities are quoted, asserts that one of the most important of these trades whose interests are threatened, is the Japanese drug, particularly opium, trade in China. It is so vitally interwoven with the present war that this Sino-Japanese conflict, like the Anglo-Chinese war of 1842, may be called a opium war.

Just as England fought China in 1842 in order to force that country to purchase opium, so the Japanese of to-day are heavily interested in the Asiatic drug traffic. Some months ago, Garfield Huang, general secretary of the National Anti-Opium Association of China, revealed that Captain Nakamura of the Japanese Army, whose assassination was one of the excuses for the Manchurian invasion, was carrying heroin at the time he was killed, and now the same authority diagnoses the whole Japanese attack on China as a new opium war. Writing in the *China Weekly Review*, he says:

"To turn to the narcotic situation in Manchuria and China proper. no less than seventy-five per cent of the Japanese nationals residing in South Manchuria are directly or indirectly connected with the drug traffic, according to the estimate of the secretary of the Association for the Prevention of Opium Evils of Japan. According to statistics issued by the Shanghai customs authorities, for the past three years, beginning January 30, 1929, and ending April 6, 1931, a total of 80,132 ounces of opium were discovered in forty-one Japanese steamers passing Shanghai, and these huge shipments were believed to have Dairen as a final destination. Immediately after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria the first thing the Japanese did was to establish an opium monopoly in the territories under their military control, a repetition of the process of conquest that was applied to the island of Formosa and actually bore fruit. Now in Mukden, Changchun, Tsinan, Tientsin, Amoy, Foochow, and so on, numerous 'dope' huts are operated under Japanese consular protection in open defiance of Chinese suppression acts. In the Japanese concession in Mukden, these huts number some two hundred, the owners of which pay regular cumshaws to the Japanese police in return for protection. Some one hundred morphine shops are also found to be in existence, and these are situated either in the neighbourhood of Japanese dispensaries or in the rear of Japanese residences. In a single shop about forty to fifty persons come to receive injections per day, the number of morphine addicts in the Japanese concession alone being found to be in the vicinity of five hundred."

From 1928 on, the National Anti-Opium Association of China has published a *China Opium Year-book* of which Mr. Huang says:

"Aglance over these year-books will convince one of the amazing extent of Japanese narcotic penetration into China. Judging from the disclosures made in connection with the Nakamura case and the international drug ring, we are safe in saying that the Japanese are active agents for the spread of narcotic drugs throughout the world in complete disregard of international covenants and humanitarian considerations, and therefore are the common enemies of civilized nations, whose duty it is to foster the progress and welfare of the human race."

—

## Lytton Strachey

The death of Lytton Strachey, the author of *Eminent Victorians* and biographer of Queen Victoria, takes away from the circle of British men of letters of to-day one of its most distinguished figures. In paying a tribute to his memory in the *Observer*, Mr. F. L. Lucas says that "behind Strachey the Olympian, lay a character rich in all the best qualities associated with the world 'humanism'—not only a sense of beauty, but a sense of restraint and intellectual honesty, a hatred of shams and fanaticisms, which showed itself not only in that quiet and deadly ridicule lying in ambush throughout his biographies, but also in a reticence about feeling that was very different indeed from a lack of it." But both his feeling and irony had characters of their own. As Mr. Lucas says:

> But unlike some enemies of fanaticism, such as Voltaire, he never became himself a fanatic. The gassy and gorgeous bubbles of human folly he approached with a pin, not with the sledge hammer of Carlyle; the result was a great gain in artistic economy.
>
> Thus, at Pontigny, once, after he had listened in silence to some foolish discussion, with examples, of the latest mania, the cult of whimsical behaviour and '*actes gratuits*,' his still, small voice was heard asking: 'Est-ce qu'un acte gratuit est *toujours* désagréable?' But he was interested in human beings rather than in principles. As a biographer, he succeeded above all because he knew what was of living interest in a man, and because he knew how to write. He did not denounce his characters; he let them speak for themselves. The resulting laughter was usually

deserved. No doubt with many of his readers, as with almost all his imitators, that laughter acquired a touch of vulgarity; but whatever wins popularity must pay that price. Minds less crude could see there was far more than mere derision in a portrait like his Florence Nightingale; and with his masterpiece, *Queen Victoria*, it became clearer still. That gaiety, that sense of the absurd, that flicker of watchful irony about things treated over-seriously which is characteristic of the French eighteenth century does not come easily to the English mind. We suspect it—to our loss. We forget how this quality has showed itself compatible, in Voltaire or Mme. du Deffand, Gibbon or Stendhal, with passion, with epic grandeur, with romantic fire. That irony Lytton Strachey made ours; it suited our post-war mood of repentance and leisure. His more romantic side succeeded less happily in *Elizabeth and Essex*; whether in some more creative form it might have found fuller expression we shall never know.

But what he has left, as critic or as biographer, will not soon be forgotten. As the past swells and bulges behind us, future immortality becomes more and more of a speculation; he who was dupe of so little would have smiled at vain attempts to prophesy. But one lesson at least that we should have learned by now is the survival value of sheer style. There he was unsurpassed, in an age of far more distinguished prose than verse. What reads with such perfect ease was, as always, written with difficulty; though like Gibbon, he perfected his whole sentence or paragraph in his head, and his page showed deceptively few corrections. But he gave to English the best qualities of French prose—its point, its clarity, its agility, its grace—to a degree which few have ever approached. Future historians of English literature and English thought will see in him as a stylist and an ironist one of the most representative figures of his generation; but where shall we find (and he would have smiled at the implications of that question) a biographer to paint him as vividly to posterity as he has painted others in the past?

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## The Bourgeois and Love

A book has recently been published in France on the subject of the reactions of the bourgeois to love. It is by M. Emmanuel Berl and is entitled *Le Bourgeois et L'Amour*. In reviewing this book in *Europe*, a Paris monthly, M. Georges Dupeyron says:

> In this book Berl has studied the bourgeois in his reactions to love. According to Berl's definition, the bourgeois is a man with money who wants consideration, and he is necessarily terrified by love, at least by the passion of love, by the anarchy that seizes him when he gives way to affectionate or sexual impulses and that tears him loose from all the regular forms of the society that he has constructed, the society that he helps to consolidate with all the strength of his police force, his morality, his culture, and his banks. Love as a passion is therefore outlawed in bourgeois society. In order to remain in accord with his world, the bourgeois is obliged to live in a state of constant war with himself in so far as his passions are concerned. He must constantly lie to himself, for the true bourgeois man or woman generally marries in accordance with a well-defined code that
>
> accentuates, not affection, but convention. Moreo
> it is clear that both the man and the wom
> especially the woman, do everything they can
> persuade themselves that these values are purely sen
> mental. This is why the daughter of a high offi
> believes quite sincerely that she cannot marry, o
> therefore, in accordance with her code, love, any ma
> who is not of the same social rank as she. Hen
> Bordeaux is the best painter we have of the
> characters when they are reduced to zero, characte
> who believe they are alive only because their epide
> mis is sensitive.
>
> Of course, the bourgeois has faint desires f
> complete love, for an affection that rises superior
> everything and thanks to which he can realize hims
> be himself, be somebody. But barriers keep stopp
> him, barriers of convention and conformity. If
> married the little shop-girl whom he has seduced or if t
> bourgeois woman united herself socially to some p
> intellectual or artist who is pleasing to her, the end
> the bourgeois order would be at hand. Better live
> lies, hypocrisy, or a complete sentimental vacu
> especially if there are children, than defy an opi
> that one has helped to create. The conjugal dra
> between Tolstoi and his wife, who was a real bo
> geois, arose in part from the fact that Mad
> Tolstoi could not admit the existence of a real nobil
> a real intellectual or moral superiority, outside a
> beyond the regular forms, which included the Imp
> Court, distinguished gentlemen and diplomats,
> idealism of the salon, the philanthropy of big bank
> and great ladies, in short, everything that was
> 'obscure,' as that great Christian lady ingenuo
> remarked.

—

## The Great Ford Myth

*The New Republic* publishes an article
Robert L. Cruden, in which the writer expl
the myth of Henry Ford as a benev
employer. Commenting on this article *The N*
*Republic* writes in an editorial:

> Additional point is given to Robert L. Cru
> article in this issue, "The Great Ford Myth,"
> events which took place at Dearborn, Mich
> after his article was in type, and just as the p
> was going to press. Three thousand unemp
> engaged in a "hunger march" and demonstr
> outside the gates of the Ford plant there on Mo
> The police, supported by Ford's own private a
> called the "special service men," began by using t
> bombs and spraying the men with water fr
> hose (in freezing weather). Then they fired, first
> the heads of the crowd and finally at them, ki
> four men and injuring many others. Press rep
> say that this was a "Communist demonstra
> describing the participants as "unemployed Co
> munists." We do not know whether this statem
> is true; but even if it is, what possible excuse
> there for shooting the marchers down? Their pa
> was peaceful till it was stopped at the Dear
> city line; the Detroit police said they saw no c
> for interference. Why shouldn't they have
> allowed to march in Dearborn? Are Mr. Ford
> his allies, the Dearborn police, so incredibly s
> that they believe shooting Communists is a wa
> discourage their cause? It will be a long
> before the superman of the cheap car lives dow

police butchery, by his own employees, in a town which, practically speaking, he owns. The great Ford myth has been washed away in blood.

—

### Germany and France in 1932

Professor, M. J. Bonn has contributed an article on the outlook for the year 1932 to *Der Querschnitt* of Berlin, an independent political and literary monthly. This article is translated and abridged in *The International Digest*. Dr. Bonn writes :

Generally speaking, the following might be said : If the European and American Governments would make up their minds to follow sensible economic and political aims, the year 1932 might become a true Jubilee Year for humanity. No doubt all have the best intentions, but all do the right thing only when it is no longer the right thing, or they permit themselves to be deflected from the road they themselves have admitted to be the right one. Most countries have been able to free themselves from the rule of blind party majorities, but in this apparent freedom they make concessions to predatory special interests which exceed all that has been done along such lines under parliamentary pressure.

For at least five years all important governments have declared in Geneva and elsewhere that a chief reason for the world-wide economic tension is high tariffs, by which markets everywhere are restricted in an artificial manner. Ever since the first international economic conference there have been no more protectionists "in principle." There are only free-traders, who against their better knowledge and intentions erect new customs barriers everywhere. For instance, in September the English Government, by lowering the value of the pound, created a condition called "currency dumping". But even with the advantages of this dumping England was not satisfied and adopted a protective tariff, as it was claimed that only a restriction of imports could bring about a favourable trade balance. In anticipation of future tariff restrictions, imports into England were forced, and this resulted again in an adverse trade balance and brought many complaints, forcing the English Government to pass an anti-dumping law. But before this law could be applied, other countries, for instance France, hurriedly adopted anti-dumping laws to prevent British dumping, and we ourselves have announced that we will reduce wages to a level which will permit us to swamp the markets with cheap goods.

Furthermore, it is clear that Europe will go to pieces unless France and Germany reach a reasonable understanding. In order to come to such an understanding, France insists that reparations have priority over private debts ; France accuses Germany of having incurred these private debts in order to endanger the Young Plan. But the Plan was based on Germany's ability to pay after these debts had already been incurred, Frenchmen feel that they are misjudged : they claim that they are being misunderstood. The great aim of their policy is security, but they do not understand that a victor, who could be victorious only with the help of his allies, has no right to security if he has failed to come to a real peaceful understanding with the vanquished. Only he is secure who neither threatens others nor is able to threaten them. Whoever has not achieved security by a peace of understanding will have to obtain security later on by making concessions. France should listen to such reasoning. Germany today has no military security ; her very existence is endangered by the crisis and internal dissension. But, on the other hand, substantial groups within Germany furnish France the very pretexts unreasonable Frenchmen desire and reasonable Frenchmen fear. Both people lack the sense of actualities. At present, France is in no danger whatever , she has the possibility of countering all future dangers by prudent concessions. On their part, the German people have lived for a long time in hourly fear of their very existence. If they would give up their power-complex, which at present can have no tangible meaning, their possibilities for peaceful development in the future would be much brighter. But each of the two nations is doing exactly the opposite from what sound reason demands and from what would result in achieving their most favoured dreams.

Under such conditions—what can one predict ?

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### To Dr. J. T. Sunderland at Ninety

*Unity* publishes a poem by Alice Stone Blackwell on the occasion of his completing the ninetieth year.

NINETY YEARS YOUNG

[To Dr. J. T. Sunderland, February 11, 1932].
All hail, dear Dr. Sunderland !
Your birthday we acclaim.
Throughout old India's wonderland
The people bless your name.

Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore
Smile when they think of you ;
And freedom's friends in other lands
Are grateful to you too.

A noble life of ninety years,
Shines bright for all to see ;
A man whose heart is "always young
For liberty," is he.

Whenever Britain does misdeeds
(And oh, the list is long !)
Always some valiant Englishman
Speaks out against the wrong.

And here's a man of British birth,
And brave old English breed,
Who spoke so well on India's woes
He forced the world to heed.

Though he has written fourteen books,
Of value eminent,
"India in Bondage" long will stand
His lasting monument.

This book, suppressed in India,
Gave too much information ;
But all around the world it goes
Now, in a French translation.

Chicago University
This graduate names with pride,
For he has scattered golden deeds
Around him, far and wide.

A traveller in many lands,
Around the globe he went ;
On missions to the Orient
He often has been sent.

He preached the gospel of the Lord,
As grateful hearers tell,
In England and America,
And Canada as well.

Full seven Indian newspapers
He's read for many years ;
He keeps in touch with that vast land
Of hunger and of tears.

If every sweet and grateful thought,
From India far away,
Could change into a fragrant flower
To grace his natal day,

His home would buried be in bloom,
Amid the winter snows—
A hill of blossoms, breathing scent
On every wind that blows.

His heart with knightly ardour glows,
That puts our youth to shame ;
Always, dear Dr. Sunderland,
The brave should love your name !

One of your multitude of friends,
My heart-warm thanks I send
For all your work in Freedom's cause.
A fight that knows no end.

May you have many happy years,
And may you live to see,
Or soon or late, the joyful day
That finds great India free !

## The World Tomorrow" on Mahatma Gandhi

In defining its attitude towards the Indian situation, *The World Tomorrow* writes about Mahatma Gandhi :

> *The World Tomorrow* regards Mahatma Gandhi's method of non-violent non-co-operation as the most effective and ethical form of political coercion available to Indian people. If the Indians on a mass scale will follow this method, it will prove to be irresistible. Courage and suffering exhibited in a non-violent campaign will yield more constructive and permanent results than would be true of the sacrifices involved in a revolutionary war. If Mr. Gandhi triumphs over the armed might of the British Empire and wins freedom without violent hostilities, his achievement will possess universal significance. Western civilization desperately needs to discover an alternative for war in the form of an effective non-violent means of social coercion.
>
> If the movement of non-co-operation should be crushed by British steel, then India will probably turn to hatred and revolutionary violence and will accept nothing less that final separation from Great Britain. Nationalism in India is already at the boiling point and will explode unless release can be found through non-violent channels. The quicker self-government is attained, the more rapidly will India pass through the deep valleys of discord which seem to be ahead. If Indian nationalists are provoked into violent revolt, the road to tranquility and prosperity will become more and more impassable.
>
> We regard Mr. Gandhi not only as the noblest personality now in public life in any country on earth, but also consider him to be an extraordinarily sagacious statesman. He reveals the possibilities of idealism in politics. His unparalleled political influence rests upon the saintliness of his character. His religious faith in the invincibility of soul force and non-violence furnishes the vision and the dynamic which constitute the most serious of all threats to British domination in India.
>
> This does not mean, however, that we regard him as perfect and beyond criticism. Mr. Gandhi himself is most emphatic at this point. His autobiography emphasized the mistakes he has made and points accusingly at the flaws in his character. Elsewhere in this issue, Mr. Gandhi's inconsistencies with regard to war are emphasized. One of our most trusted counsellors seriously objected to our publishing this article while the Mahatma is incarcerated behind steel bars at Yervada. *The World Tomorrow* believes, however that Mr. Gandhi would be the first to insist upon the value of seeking the utmost illumination at this tragic hour of crisis. And so we are presenting Mr. De Ligt's conclusions in the hope that our readers wfll be stimulated to clearer thought and more intelligent action.

## Monotheism Three Thousand Years Ago

*The Catholic World* publishes an interesting article on Egypt's heretic king, Akhenaton, who introduced a sort of monotheism :

> Archaeology has revealed to us the life and times the wisdom and virtues of one wise philosopher and hero who sat on the throne of the Pharaohs of Egypt. Akhnaton was his name. He was King of Egypt for seventeen years and ruled his country with the charity of a saint, preaching to his people the truth of the One True God ; edifying his court and his subjects by his piety and virtue and by the example of an irreproachable and well-regulated family life.
>
> Akhnaton reigned over Egypt from 1375-1358 B.C. The sway of his rule was not limited to the land of the Nile. The Pharaoh ruled over distant tribes which inhabited parts of the Sudan and of the Sahara. In the north-east, the provinces of the present-day Syria paid annual tribute to the King at Thebes. Egypt, at this particular point of history, was *the* world power—and she had no rival.
>
> Akhnaton had a most perfect a most sublime, a most pure idea of the divinity. To him God was the supreme being, the Creator of all things, the loving Father of all mankind. To him God was the I A.M. who am the pure being, the intangible spirit, the personal God. He was the loving father of all men. He was the God of pure love and charity. He was the God of kindness. He was the "Lord of Peace." "merciful," "gentle", "tender,", "compassionate." "Thy love is great and large," says one of Akhnaton s psalms. "Thou fillest the two lands of upper and lower Egypt with Thy love."
>
> "Akhnaton taught his disciples to seek and to find God in nature. Akhnaton lived a life which was as illustrious as his teaching. He himself put into practice the principles which he professed to

others. He was not only a first class philosopher, but also a man of great moral integrity and strength: a ruler and king who lived a saintly life, and a hero, who was brave to the end.

Akhnaton now did everything in his power to spread the belief and the worship of the true God. In the new capital he built a great and magnificent temple,—a temple without a statue lest the people might be led to worship the statue instead of the true God Himself. This temple contained a beautiful altar, upon which were laid sacrifices dedicated to the true God. The King himself composed prayers and psalms which were to be chanted daily and which were master-pieces of poetical beauty and which excelled in profoundness of thought.

As in state affairs, so in his private life, Akhnaton aimed at perfection. His family life was a life of purity and integrity. The kings of old were accustomed to having their harems to gratify their passions, and in the Orient the number of wives seemed to increase with the wealth and power of the lord. Not so with Akhnaton. He was married to a lovely young girl of his own kingdom named Nefertiti, to whom he was faithful all the days of his life. He loved her with a most tender love. His wife presented him with seven children, all girls, to the disappointment of the royal court. Akhnaton, as ruler of the most powerful empire of his days, was desirous of securing a successor to the throne, and the suggestion must have been made to him, to take a second wife in the hope of obtaining an heir. Such a course was regarded as perfectly legitimate in the ancient world. However, in spite of his grave disappointment, Akhnaton remained faithful to Nefertiti. He respected her as his wife and queen and saw to it that all his people so regarded her.

A Pharaoh would permit an artist to depict him only in posture of exalted dignity, his subjects were never allowed to behold him but as the majesty on the throne. Akhnaton gave divine honours to God alone. He showed himself frequently to his people, and permitted the artists of his day to picture him in his habit as he lived: showing fatigue from the transactions of state affairs or pleasure and relaxation in the circle of his family. He frequently drove in his chariot through the streets of the city, accompanied by the Queen or showing one of his daughters how to hold the reins.

Charity characterized the rule of Akhnaton. He himself practiced this virtue in his relations with the members of the royal household. He forbade the torture of slaves or prisoners, no act of cruelty against man or beast was permitted in his realm. He aimed to win his subjects to his new religion by his kindness. He strove to conquer his very enemies by his charity. He was particularly opposed to war, and nothing could move him to order military operations against even the rebels of his rule.

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## The Legend of the American Revolution

Professor R. L. Schuyler contributes an article on "Some historical idols" to *The Political Science Quarterly* in which he shows that many of our current notions about great historical events are not true but only subjective estimates derived from the likes and dislikes of people who give them currency. Patriotism and race prejudice are two of the most powerful factors in the distortion of historical truth. In America, the former has given rise to what is known as the legend of the American revolution, which subsequent researches have rendered utterly untenable. About this legend, Professor Schuyler writes:

> For some time after the Revolution it was to be expected that those Americans who undertook to write the history of that epoch in the life of their nation should approach their task in the spirit of patriots and partisans, reflecting in their writings the fierce animosities engendered by the conflict, and indeed contributing powerfully to the perpetuation of those animosities. It is only within the last generation that the Revolution has come to be studied in a more scientific spirit, with the desire to find out what happened, rather than to justify. The revolt from England, we now know, was no spontaneous uprising of a whole people in behalf of human rights. It was, on the contrary, the work of an aggressive minority, capable in leadership and strong in organization, who managed to carry with them a more numerous body of less active persons. A large minority of the colonists, probably about one-third, detested the Revolution, remained loyal to King and Empire, and suffered loss of property and every species of indignity at the hands of their exasperated and often envious neighbours. No account of the Revolution which does not represent it as a civil war, involving confiscation of property and social upheaval, is even measurably true to facts. The nationalistic school of American history disregarded what did not suit their patriotic purposes. They slighted the arguments of the Loyalists, ignored the British official side of the case, and exalted the Revolutionary cause. In short, they gave a warped and biassed interpretation of the Revolution. During the World War, when we became associates of the British Empire, the pendulum of bias swung to the other extreme; a sudden and very amusing reaction against the patriotic interpretation of the Revolution set in and for a time enjoyed considerable vogue. We were then gravely informed by well-intentioned Anglophiles that we had never had any real ground of quarrel with the British people, but only with their German king! So far as scientific history is concerned, this was merely exchanging the frying pan for the fire. To hold George III personally responsible for all the policies and measures of the British government which gave offence in the colonies is as glaring a misrepresentation of history as any of which patriotic American historians have been guilty.

The assertion that the American Revolution was brought about by an aggressive minority is of particular interest to us in India, where we often hear the cry raised that the Congress represents only a fraction of the people in India. The obvious reply to this parrot-cry is the query—where and when in the world has a great change in society, morals and religion been brought about an inert majority? In England? In America? In France? In Russia?

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## The Political Theory of Sun Yat-sen

*The Political Science Quarterly* has an interesting article on Sun Yat-sen. At the very outset the writer summarizes the political theories of Sun Yat-sen:

> The originality in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings, the unique peculiarity which marked them out from those ~~of any~~ other nation or revolutionary movement, lay in the fact that he combined into a single doctrine three principles which do not easily harmonize and yet represent the three dominant forces in the modern world. These are nationalism, democracy and a third principle which he termed "Livelihood". This is apparently not a good translation of the Chinese term, but comes nearest to it. The first two principles prrsent no difficulties to the Western reader: but the third of the three interlocking principles of the Chinese revolution has no exact parallel in Western thinking and therefore no single term exactly covers it. In Sun Yat-sen's early writings he frequently identified it with socialism, because that was the nearest approach among Western nations to the social reform movement which he had in mind, namely a thoroughgoing protest against exploitation of the poor by the rich, of labour by capital. Now the chief contribution of Sun Yat sen lay not in the analysis of each of these principles but in the synthesis which grouped them into a single doctrine. The Western nations had linked the first two together from the days of the American or the French revolution, but socialism came into the world as a revolt against nationalism. It was also a suspicious rival of nationalist democracy. The task of harmonizing these historically allied principles of nationalism and democracy with a principle apparently hostile to them and welding them all into a single trilogy was Sun Yat-sen's contribution to political thought of the modern world as well as the thought of China. It was, however, forced upon Sun Yat-sen by the situation of China itself. The building of factories and railways was as much a part of his programme of the modernization of the country as the erection of a republican form of government or the recovery of full territorial rights from foreign nations. Indeed in his programme drawn up just after the war, economics seems to prevail over political problems. He had the vision of China rapidly taking the leadership of the world of science and industry, avoiding the blunderings and mistakes from which Western nations have suffered in the course of their evolution. He looked for China, with its vastness of resources and of man-power, to become supreme in modern age, leaving Europe ultimately far behind. It was a vast and magnificent faith, but it called for a solution of China's internal, social and economic problems along with its assertion of nationalist independence of the rest of the world. Now this internal question of social justice had been stated in the West in terms of socialistic doctrines which were not only contrary to the historical development of China, but were singularly foreign to Chinese ways of thinking. On the one hand, therefore, he had to fit in Karl Marx with Bismarck and Lincoln; on the other hand he had to face squarely the issue of communism in China.

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## Modern Persia

The latest number of *The International Review of Missions* gives a resumé of the missionary activities of the last ten years in different parts of the world. In the course of this retrospect, it gives interesting and valuable accounts of the countries in which these activities have been carried on. The account of Persia, for instance, gives a valuable account of the social and cultural progress of Persia under Riza Shah.

> Riza Shah Pahlavi who, previous to the decade under consideration had come into power as Riza Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the army, gradually acquired further influence, until he was crowned Shah in 1926. This marks the most important point in the history of the country during the last ten years.
>
> Most of the changes that may be classed as political have, on the whole, been for the good of the Church in Persia. The forceful personality of the Shah has influenced the entire country, bringing new ideas vividly before all classes of people, even those in rural districts. 'If,' writes a correspondent, 'country folk were inclined to think that the order enforcing the Pahlavi costume and hat was not to be taken very seriously, they thought otherwise when on entering the town gate the policeman smilingly cut off the skirts of their long garments, and advised them to purchase a coat in the bazaar. He probably also confiscated the little round hat and told them where a Pahlevi hat could be purchased. But it was more than a joke, this uniformity of dress. Previously the Jew and the Parsee were compelled to wear a costume that distinguished them adversely from the rest of the citizens. To-day there is no distinction between any of the subjects of the Shah—Jews, Armenians, Assyrians, Parsees, etc. are all subjects of the Shah, under the same laws and possessing, generally, the same privileges. The Shah is out for a united Persia.

Then comes the question of education in Persia:

> Similarly, the compulsory teaching of Persian as the medium of instruction contributes to the same end and the unification of dialects into a national language is a great asset in the proclamation of the Gospel. The same forces that have levelled distinctions in dress, race and rank have helped in abolishing fanaticism and creating an open mind. Allied to this is the great increase in educational opportunity. The educational budget has grown in ten years from £23,000 to £841,000. There are primary schools in every village of any size, and middle schools in all towns; the Government aims at free primary education for every boy, and is making rapid strides towards the goal. Ultimately education may be made compulsory. Schools for girls are increasing; there are seventy-six more than there were three years ago. In consequence, the reading constituency has greatly widened, and the results are seen in the increased sales of the scriptures and other Christian literature.

There has been considerable progress in improving the position of women in Persia:

> The Government has taken steps to secure greater freedom for women, and women themselves are more ready to challenge customs or laws that bear hardly

> on their sex. The compulsory use of the veil has been abandoned in the large towns, and polygamy, concubinage and child marriage are challenged with increasing frankness. One of the most widely discussed bills of recent years contained drastic proposals for the revision of the marriage and divorce laws. It was originally ,proposed that the minimum age for marriage should be sixteen for women and eighteen for men. (The present average age for marriage for women is thirteen.) While clerical opposition in the end prevented the fixing of an age limit, penalties were imposed for marriage before maturity. Wives were permitted to dispose of their own property, and (particularly significant for missionary work) a Moslem woman was absolutely forbidden to marry a non-Moslem man. The provisions of this law reflect the varied influences playing on national life.

The Government's attitude towards religion is as follows:

> The Government's attitude towards religion is not very active. It curbed the influence of the *mullahs*, and by so doing has indirectly encouraged the people in their rebellion against the former autocracy of the religious leaders, who had steadily opposed all movements for reform. The educated classes have long ceased to have any respect for their clergy. The Government, however, was not prepared to abolish religion altogether. It insists on the Koran and the Islamic law being taught in all schools, though mission schools are not required to have these subjects taught in class. Religious liberty, while not proclaimed as a law, is largely in practice a recognized principle. During this decade one convert was exiled for public confession of Christianity, but this was at the beginning of the period, and would probably not take place today. Altogether the political changes in Persia have tended towards more freedom of thought and less bigotry, and there has been secured a fairer hearing for the Christian message than it had in former years.
>
> But it should be noted that the spread of education and the increase of liberty have not been unmixed blessings. There has been an increase of atheism and materialism; prostitution has become open and flagrant and there has been a great increase in the consumption of alcohol. National sentiment has caused many even of those who have ceased to hold Islam as a religion to resent the message of the Gospel as a foreign importation. In some places it is seriously discussed whether the nation should not return to the native Persian religion of Zoroastrianism.

After this, such questions as conscription, roads and unemployment in Persia are referred to:

> Military conscription is getting a firmer hold every year; students are exempt during school years, provided they are in recognized schools, but must serve their time when they have finished their education.
>
> The revolution in transport facilities has had a marked effect on the efficiency of missionary work. Ten years ago there were only two motor roads worthy of the name; to-day motor roads connect all the large towns, and it is possible to travel easily and at moderate cost from one end of the country to the other. A journey that took eighteen days by mule takes nine or ten hours by motor-car and two hours by aeroplane. The effect of this on decreasing the bigotry that always flourishes most in outlying districts is obvious. Another obvious effect is the increased ease with which missionaries in different parts of the country can meet.
>
> The widespread unemployment that has characterized much of the world has been in evidence in Persia also, due to the fall in the price of silver, and to industrial changes accompanying the importation of cheap foreign goods. Farmers have found themselves paying more for clothing and equipment, and selling their wheat and other products at a loss. There has therefore been a movement towards the towns, and the number of unemployed in the towns increases. It is thought that this is one of the reasons for the great increase in prostitution.
>
> In 1926 the League of Nations sent an Opium Commission to Persia, and it was later decided that the production of opium should be reduced by ten per cent per annum for three years. It is doubtful whether this has really been achieved. Observers in some areas state that there has been an actual increase in the cultivation of the poppy, and the economic advantage in marketing an easily portable crop is not lightly abandoned in a time of stress. Similarly, the relief of child labour in the carpet factories, to which the attention of the International Labour Office was drawn, is slow. The ground again is economic, for it is largely due to the poverty of parents that children are sent to work at an early age.

# GOVERNMENT'S DUAL POLICY

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

FROM the Secretary of State downwards many Englishmen engaged in ruling Indians have referred to or explained the present dual policy of the British Government in India. On epart of this policy has for its object the crushing of the Indian National Congress and all who in any way further or seek to further its aims and objects. The other part has been stated to be concerned with expediting preparations for constitutional reform and advance. It has been said that Government will not think of peace with Congress unless and until that organization is thoroughly crushed and its followers sue for peace. It has also been stated that, when the campaign of repression was started, the authorities anticipated that Congress would be crushed in a fortnight or a month. But repressive measures of unprecedented severity affecting in every direction the liberties of Indians and their property and, in some cases, their lives, have had four months' trial, during which they have been enforced unflinchingly and rigorously. Some 60,000 persons have been sent to jail out of a larger number arrested. Several times more than 60,000 persons have been subjected to *lathi* charges, sometimes with disastrous results. In addition to all these steps, which are considered lawful, because they have been taken under sane law, ordinance or executive order, there have been numerous reports and rumours of police excesses which have not been publicly enquired into by any official, non-official or mixed committee. In spite of steady repression of this character and duration, tantamount to a martial law regime minus the name, there is still in all provinces an unending stream of persons offering themselves as it were for *lathi* charge or arrest and imprisonment. So, in spite of what the Secretary of State for India or men of lower rank may go on repeating, there has not been really any "improvement in the situation" from the official point of view. It is to be presumed that that functionary speaks from reports supplied to him by the Government of India, which in its turn derives its information in the last resort from the policemen and executive underlings whose efficiency in crushing Congress must be judged by the reports submitted by them to higher authorities. Under the circumstances, and also because the 'oracles' are naturally inclined to 'philippize' so long as Philip is master, the British official estimates of the Indian situation wirelessed or cabled to India, cannot but be misleading. It is also to be borne in mind that Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State has no means of testing the correctness of the offic information sent to him from here, even if h were inclined to do so. For Reuter's agen does not send full and correct news from he the correspondents of British newspapers e official opinions and invent stories, telegraph rules and censorship prevent correct news rea ing England by cable or wireless, and lett addressed to members of Parliament and eve to private individuals in Britain and in oth foreign countries are opened and sometim stopped by officials appointed for the purpo Even if, in spite of these obstacles, correct ne be somehow brought to the offices of Britis newspapers, they are, generally speaking, n published. Under the circumstances, I repeat, t Secretary of State's reading of the situation cann but be utterly unreliable.

In one of his utterances it was stated th arrests were diminishing. I do not know. B supposing they were, that fact was not d necessarily to the decrease in the number o those who were ready to be arrested b was most probably due to the want o sufficient acccommodation in jails and the paucit of funds to maintain more prisoners. Of fac which lead to this inference, only two need b mentioned. It has been repeatedly reported i newspapers that out of many 'unlawf processions, consisting even of six, seven or eig persons, the police have arrested only one or t and dispersed the rest by *lathi* charges. Hundre of prisoners guilty of non-political offences ha been released before they had served out the full term, obviously in order to make room f civil disobedience prisoners.

My conclusion, therefore, is that Congress h not yet been crushed, nor is it about t be crushed. In fact, as the spirit o freedom cannot be crushed and as Congress i the largest, most open and most active politic organization—according to so high an offi authority as Lord Irwin—embodying that spir it cannot be crushed. All Congress organization have been declared unlawful and their propert seized. The name 'Congress' may also be banne But the spirit will remain re-incarnate itself i new forms.

Men possessed of overwhelming power generall forget or do not know the lesson of history th neither coercion, nor coercion of thoroughg seekers of freedom combined with conciliation o timid or moderate political reformers has succeed in any country. Even if they are aware of th lesson, they think that a policy which failed in white men's or Christians' lands must succeed in a non-white men's and non-Christians' land. That is a mistake, as human nature does not differ according to creed or complexion.

That coercion has failed can be proved from the history of various countries. But one need not look outside the history of the British Empire for examples of such failure.

Take the case of the American colonies of Great Britain which became independent and are now the major portion of the United States of America. It is well known that Burke advocated the policy of conciliating them. Had his advice been followed, the British American colonies might have still formed part of the British Empire, like Canada, adding to its strength. They (and the world at large) have gained by becoming independent, but the British Empire has been a loser.

In his speech on conciliation with America Burke said:

> "I mean to give peace. Peace implies reconciliation; and where there has been a material dispute, reconciliation does in a manner always imply concession on the one part or on the other. In this state of things I make no difficulty in affirming that the proposal ought to originate from us. Great and an acknowledged force is not impaired, either in effect or in opinion, by an unwillingness to exert itself. The superior power may offer peace with honour and with safety. Such an offer from such a power will be attributed to magnanimity."

That at the present juncture the British Government is unwilling to make offers of peace may be due to the fact that it is suffering from an inferiority complex, that it does not feel that it is the superior power and that, therefore, it is afraid of losing prestige. Burke said in the same speech that "the concessions of the weak are the concessions of fear," and it is not impossible for the present British Government to apprehend that its concessions may be mistaken for "concessions of fear" such as are made by the weak. Its insistence on Congress suing for peace may be due to some such mentality.

One argument which the great orator used against the use of force runs thus:

> ".....the use of force alone is but *temporary*. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is to be perpetually conquered."

If India's most ardent, courageous and self-sacrificing seekers of freedom be not conciliated, she will have "to be perpetually conquered."

Burke's next objection to the use of force alone is stated thus:

> "My next objection is its *uncertainty*. Terror is not always the effect of force; and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource; for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms, by an impoverished and defeated violence."

Burke argued that the American colonists ought to be conciliated: (1) because of their love of liberty, due to their English descent, possession of free political institutions, religion, education, (general and legal) etc.; (2) because of the large and increasing population of the colonies; and (3) because of England's growing trade with America. Now, love of liberty is not a monopoly of men of English or even European lineage, professing the Protestant form of Christianity and educated according to Western methods, particularly in law. In Burke's days the American colonies had a white population of two millions and 500,000 others. The population of India or of British India is vastly larger. And as for education, in India in 1921 the persons with a knowledge of the English language numbered 2·5 millions. So their number is now greater than the total number of the American colonists in Burke's time. It is well known that of the learned professions educated Indians go in for the legal to a much greater extent than any other. In days gone by Indians possessed free political and civic institutions, of which the *panchayet* and other rural institutions are a relic, and under British rule, people have again grown accustomed to some extent to the practice of free institutions, and to a far greater extent to the *promise* of free institutions!

As regards trade, in 1772 Britain exported merchandise to the American colonies worth £6,022,132; whereas in 1927 she exported to India merchandise worth £85,004,842. Burke lays great stress upon the agriculture of the colonies having fed the mother country—"their annual export of grain, comprehending rice, has some years ago exceeded a million in value." In 1927, among articles of food India exported to the United Kingdom tea worth £24,114,864, wheat £3,184,274 and rice £506,308.

One reason why Government wants to crush Congress and make it sue for peace has been stated to be that the latter seeks to overthrow the British Government, which must refuse to yield to fear. On that point I shall say a few words later. In the meantime it may be noted that Britain gave self-rule to Canada in spite of the latter's rebellions and to Ireland in spite of the repeated armed risings of the Irish and the campaign of assassination kept up by a section of them. Burke in his speech on conciliation with America has given earlier examples of Britain's conceding political rights in spite of the armed violence of those who wanted freedom. Out of these I shall refer only to the case of Wales.

Wales was conquered by the English during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I.

> "The people [of Wales] were ferocious, restive, savage, and uncultivated; sometimes composed, never pacified. Wales, within itself, was in perpe-

> tual disorder ; and it kept the frontier of England in perpetual alarm."

During that state of things,

> "Parliament was not idle. They attempted to subdue the fierce spirit of the Welsh by all sorts of rigorous laws. They prohibited by statute the sending of all sorts of arms into Wales ...They disarmed the Welsh by statute,......They made acts to restrain trade,......and they prevented the Welsh from the use of fairs and markets,......you find no less than fifteen acts of penal legislation on the subject of Wales."

But all this coercion in Wales ended in failure : "an Englishman travelling in that country could not go six yards from the high road without being murdered." When Henry VIII "gave to the Welsh all the rights and privileges of English subjects," "from that moment, as by a charm, the tumults subsided ; obedience was restored, peace, order, and civilization followed in the train of liberty."

Perhaps even a present day Tory die-hard will not assert that Indians in general, or Bengalis in particular, are, like the Welsh of days gone by, "ferocious, restive, savage, and uncultivated," and that "an Englishman travelling in that country (India or Bengal) could not go six yards from the high road without being murdered." I wonder whether the difference between the quondam Welsh and the present-day Indians or Bengalis has any bearing on our fitness or unfitness for "all the rights and privileges of English subjects."

A few words on the miserable failure of the centuries-old coercion in Ireland may not be irrelevant. Let me refer to the days when Balfour was Irish minister. Morley writes of Balfour in his *Life of Gladstone*, vol. iii, page 286 :

> "His business was to show disaffected Ireland that Parliament was her master. Parliament had put the weapon into his hands, and it was for him to smite his antagonists to the ground. He made no experiments in judicious mixture, hard blows and soft speech, but held steadily to force and fear. His apologists argued that after all substantial justice was done even in what seemed hard cases, and even if the spirit of law were sometimes a trifle strained. Unluckily the peasant with the blunderbus, as he waits behind the hedge for the tyrant or the traitor, says just the same."

On September 9, 1887, at Mitchelstown in the county of Cork, as the result of the police firing on a crowd, "one old man was shot dead, two others were mortally wounded and died within a week." Morley writes in his *Life of Gladstone*, vol. iii, pp. 288-90 :

> "Three days later the affray was brought before the House of Commons. Anyone could see from various reports that the conduct of the police, the resistance of the crowd, and the guilt or justification of the bloodshed, were all matters in the utmost doubt and demanding rigorous inquiry. Mr. Balfour pronounced instant and peremptory judgment. The thing had happened on the previous Friday. The official report, however, rapidly prepared, could not have reached him until the morning of Sunday. His officers at the Castle had had no opportunity of testing their official report by cross-examination of the constables concerned, nor by inspection of the barrack, the line of fire, and other material elements of the case. Yet on the strength of this hastily drawn and unsifted report received by him from Ireland on Sunday, and without even waiting for any information that eye-witnesses in the House might have to lay before him in the course of the discussion, the Irish minister actually told Parliament once for all, on the afternoon of Monday, that he was of opinion, 'looking at the matter in the most impartial spirit, that the police were in no way to blame, and that no responsibility rested upon any one except upon those who convened the meeting under circumstances which they knew would lead to excitement and might lead to outrage.' The country was astounded to see the most critical mind in the House swallow an untested police report whole ; to hear one of the best judges in the country of the fallibility of human testimony, give off-hand, in what was really a charge of murder, a verdict of Not Guilty, after he had read the untested evidence on one side."

Indians are not "astounded" to see the swallowing of such "untested police reports whole" in their country and to hear the giving off-hand in what are really murder charges such verdicts of Not Guilty.

Morley proceeds to narrate that the coroner's inquest was held in due course, the jury returning a verdict of wilful murder against the chief police officer and five of his men. This inquisition was afterwards quashed in the Queen's bench on the ground that the coroner had perpetrated certain irregularities of form.

> "Nobody has doubted that the Queen's bench was right ;...The coroner's inquest having broken down, reasonable opinion demanded that some other public inquiry should be held. Even supporters of the Government demanded it. If three men had been killed by the police in connection with a public meeting in England or Scotland, no home secretary would have dreamed for five minutes of resisting such a demand. Instead of a public inquiry, what the chief secretary did was to appoint a confidential departmental commitee of policemen privately to examine, not whether the firing was justified by the circumstances, but how it came about that the police were so handled by their officers that a large force was put to flight by a disorderly mob. The three deaths were treated as mere accident and irrelevance. The committee was appointed to correct the discipline of the force, said the Irish minister, and in no sense to seek justification for actions which, in his opinion, required no justification...The government remained stubborn. The slaughter of the three men was finally left just as if it had been the slaughter of three dogs."

Morley's concluding remarks on this episode are :

> "Here was, in a word, the key to the new policy. Every act of Irish officials was to be

defended. No constable could be capable of excess. No magistrate could err. No prison rule was over harsh. Every severity technically in order must be politic."

These extracts from Morley's *Life of Gladstone* are meant to give the reader a faint idea of the kind of "firm" rule which Ireland had for centuries but which failed to pacify or conciliate the Irish. Freedom has succeeded where "firm" rule failed. The extracts may also suggest Indian parallels—with improvements.

Lord Morley was an anti-coercionist in Irish affairs, but so far as India was concerned he was a coercionist to the extent that he supported the deportations during Lord Minto's regime. It may be interesting, therefore, to note his opinion of coercion as a method and a policy. In his *Recollections*, vol. i, page 173, he writes:

> "Coercion was of course the standardized medicine that always left the malady where it was, unless it made it worse."

Though he sanctioned some deportations in India, mark what he wrote to Lord Minto on August 26, 1909:

> "Your long extract from B— to you is really of first-rate interest. It is really as satisfactory as anything that we can expect in these turbid days. His diagnosis of the dangerous elements underground seems very just and sound. But he should certainly be warned not to count on deportation as a weapon to be freely resorted to; and as for 'legislating on the lines of the Irish Crimes Act,' it is pure nonsense." Vol. ii, p. 317.

Similarly, he speaks of a new law authorizing "detention without trial" as "really too absurd to be thought of." He also wrote to Lord Minto on December 18, 1908, "One thing I do beseech you to avoid—a *single case* of investigation in the absence of the accused." But all these things—nonsensical, to be avoided, or really too absurd to be thought of—are now the order of the day.

Here are parts of letters written by Morley to Minto on January 27 and February 3, 1910.

> "You say, 'We admit that being locked up they (the nine *detenus*) can have had no share in these new abominations (alleged plots for murder and sedition); but the continued detention will frighten evildoers generally.' That's the Russian argument: by packing off train-loads of suspects to Siberia we'll terrify the anarchists out of their wits and all will come out right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia."
>
> "...suspension of all law, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India, any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin Invincibles was reorganized when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act was in full blast."

As the struggle in which Congress is engaged is entirely non-violent, it is dissimilar to armed rebellions elsewhere, meant to overthrow governments. Passive resistance or civil disobedience has sometimes been actually considered a constitutional method, *e.g.*, by the Viceroy Lord Hardinge during the passive resistance struggle of South African Indians. If at present the Indian Government had looked upon the movement started by Congress as constitutional, though unlawful for the time being, and after imprisoning Congressmen had taken the wind out of the sails of Congress by giving India as free a constitution as Canada or Ireland and "crushed" Congress in that way, I do not think Congress leaders and followers would have had any grievous and fundamental cause to complain of such crushing. That is the only kind of crushing which is practicable and desirable. Crushing of any other variety is neither feasible nor desirable, and therefore out of the question.

Critics of the Indian Nationalist view-point, as here attempted to be presented, may remind me that the British Government's policy is a *dual* policy, and not a simple one of mere crushing. They may point out that even a die-hard like the late Lord Birkenhead, speaking so long ago as the 7th July, 1925, in the House of Lords as Secretary of State for India, said:

> "We no longer talk of holding the gorgeous East in fee; we invite in a contrary sense the diverse peoples of this continent to march side by side with us in a fruitful and harmonious partnership which may re-create the greatest and the proudest days of Indian history."

("Diverse peoples" except, of course, of the Congress way of thinking, who form the vast majority!)

And in more recent times we have had grandiloquent "declarations of intention" (not pledges!) to advance India on the path of constitutional reform. Evidence, too, has been taken in abundance on details. But there is as yet *no promise even*—not to speak of actual conceding—of the fundamentals of self-rule, *viz.*, control over the army and finance and the like. On the contrary, under the guise of safe-guards, all real power is to be reserved in the hands of a foreign executive *for an indefinite period.* Whom can such a policy and procedure conciliate? Not Congress, which counts the vast majority (*not* 5 per cent, as the bureaucracy from the Viceroy downwards appear to think) of Indians or in any case of politically-minded Indians, literate and illiterate, as its adherents; not the Indian Liberals, who, though small in number, count among them some of the foremost political thinkers and workers of India; but some communalists and sectionalists, who are too narrow-minded and mean-spirited to appreciate, aspire to and demand equal parternership, who want favours and jobs as rewards for treachery to the national cause, and who are anti-national, unprogressive and reactionary. It is foolish to hope to succeed in securing the willing co-operation of the vast Indian nation by trying to rally and organize such people, while continuing the process of repression of those who really count. On the contrary, as *The New Statesman and Nation* rightly observes, this process "is turning moderates into extremists every day."

# COMMENT & CRITICISM

## DEPRESSED CLASSES IN THE EDUCATION CODE

To
The Editor,
*The Modern Review*

SIR,

In my article on the Depressed Classes, which appeared last month, I wrote that the Bengal Government has prepared a fresh list of minority communities and backward classes, for the purpose of Civil Services (Governor's Provinces) Classification Rules, in which in addition to the 39 depressed castes as enumerated by the Census Superintendent, 14 other Hindu castes are added. I also said that there is another and a different list for the purposes of the Political Department.

My attention has been drawn to the Bengal Education Code, 1931, where the Government has prepared two lists of Backward classes,—entirely different from the one in the Census or the other for the Civil Service Classification Rules.

"The following list gives a complete statement of the castes and tribes in Bengal which are regarded as backward classes :

### CLASS A, 31 CASTES

Bagdi, Bauri, Bhuimali, Bhuiya, Bhumij, Chamar, Dhoba, Dom, Dosadh, Hari, Kaora, Chakmas, Garos, Hadis, Hajangs, Koches, Tiparas. Bedivas, Gains, Kaoras (24-Parganas), Lodhas, Kora, Mal, Muchi, Munda, Namasudra, Oraon, Pod, Santal, Sunri, Tiyar.

### CLASS B, 40 CASTES

Kapalis, Karanis, Dois or Doais, Bunnas, Bahalis (allied to Namasudras), Patnis, Jogis or Naths, Mahishyas or Halia Kaivartta, Dases, Rajbansis, Mech, Dhasa, Paharia (e.g. Lepchas, Bhutias, Tamongs and Tibetans), Matial, Jeoni, Kurni Mahatos, Gonds, Pans, Rajwars, Bagals, Korangas, converts from Haris and aboriginal tribes into Christianity, Lohar, Metia, Kharia, Oilman, Sutradhar, Kharga, Kaloos (oilman). Tantis (Weaver), Dulay (Palanquin bearer), Kahars (Muhammadan by religion) Jalias (Muhammadan by religion), Chacks, Mug Pundarik, Dai, Dhangar, Chain, Kumars (Potters), Rohangia or Reshangia."

(BENGAL EDUCATION CODE, 1931 pp., 321-322)

"The castes or tribes enumerated in rule 4 [*i.e.* above] are eligible for the following scholarships: ordinarily those included under Class A shall have preference, but failing such candidates the scholarships may be awarded to candidates under Class B.

(i) One Graduate scholarship of Rs. 30 p. m. tenable for two years at the University of Calcutta and another of the same value tenable for one year at the University of Dacca.

(ii) Four Senior College scholarships of the value of Rs. 15 p. m. each, tenable for two years, one of which will be tenable at the University of Dacca and the remaining three in colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta.

(iii) Four Junior College Scholarships of Rs 10 a month each, tenable for two years, one in colleges within the area of the University of Dacca, and the remaining three in colleges affiliated to the University of Calcutta.

(iv) Thirty-three Middle Soholarships of Rs. 4 p. m. each tenable for four years.

(v) Sixty Primary Final Scholarships of Rs. 3 p. m. each tenable for two years."

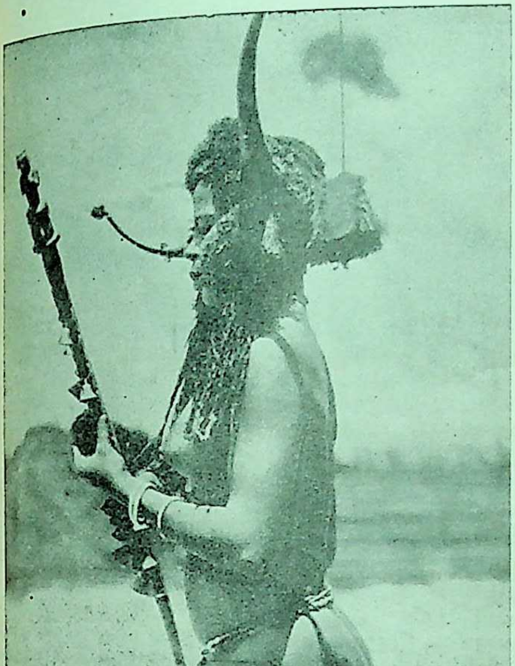
The above figures and facts show the anxiety of the Government for the backward classes. Compare this with the money spent for Muhammadans not all sections of whom are backward in education or poor.

Will some M. L. C. interpellate the Government of Bengal as to various lists of depressed and backward classes prepared by it for different administrative departments and ask it to publish the same.

Yours faithfully
Jatindra Mohan Datta

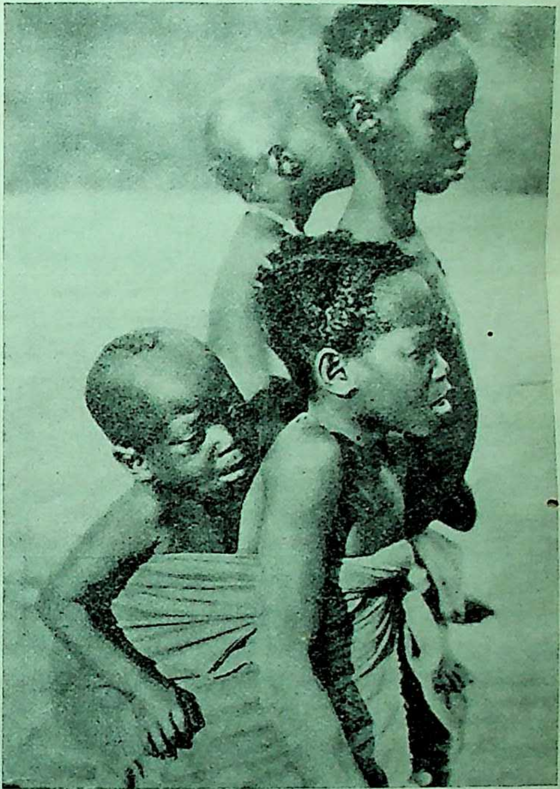
# GLEANINGS

## Amazons of West Africa



A Negro amazon in dancing costume

A German ethnological expedition recently visited West Africa to collect data about the Negro tribes of that region. It has discovered many unknown facts regarding them. The illustration published in the left-hand column shows a Negro amazon in her dancing costume. Her head-dress and staff can only be used by warriors. But an amazon may very well claim and win the privilege of heroes

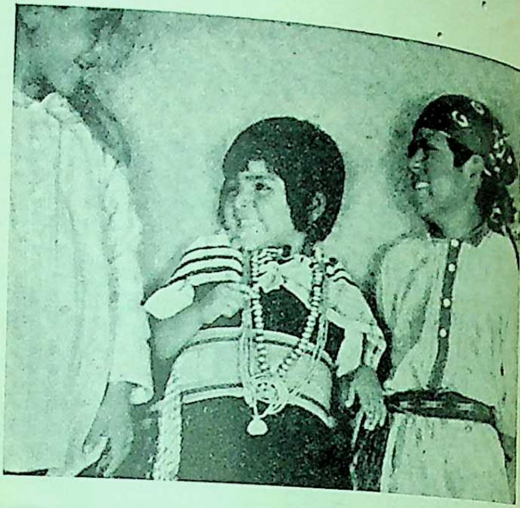


Two Negro boys carrying their little brothers on the back. Note the peculiar way in which the babies are tied to the body of the elder brother so that the latter might keep their hands free.

## Red Indian Children

Not all Red Indians are high-featured and haughty-looking. The illustrations published here show some pleasant-looking Indian children. They are of the Pueblo tribe.

A Pueblo Indian boy with feather cap



Three smiling Pueblo children

## The Sino-Japanese War

Japanese soldiers repairing a railway bridge

# NOTES

## *Driving Discontent Up Into The Air*

History knows repression, and it knows also that repression drives discontent underground. But perhaps it is for the first time in history that discontent has been driven high up into the air in India. For a *Free Press* telephonic message from Delhi, of April 24, published in the dailies reads in part as follows:

> "As the [Congress] delegates and visitors were being dispersed by *lathi* charge, the police force were taken by surprise to find *on the Clock Tower* a batch of 150 delegates who adopted five resolutions passed by the Subjects Committee."

So, in spite of the utmost vigilance of the executive and the police, the 47th session of the Indian National Congress has been held in Delhi, on the due date, as promised by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, both of whom are in jail.

The British Government must be finding the wiry old Pandit a rather tough customer. The mellifluous poetess is no less unyielding.

This 'elevated' Congress (was it aerial ?) is said to have repeated the Karachi Independence resolution.

More than 1,100 persons have been arrested from among the Congress delegates, 800 in Delhi and 300 elsewhere. The number would have been larger had not the police refused to arrest many. Eleven hundred is, however, an appreciable number, which shows that Congress has still some kick left.

The public will wait to see how the official historiographers at Delhi, Simla and London gloss this episode in the campaign.

## *"Postal Boycott"*

If people did not send anything by post in order not to contribute to the revenues of the Government in India, that would be a form of boycotting the post office. We are sure, if Mahatma Gandhi and the other members of the Congress Working Committee asked Congressmen to boycott it—we do not remember whether they did, they meant no more than what is stated above. But, if, as has been officially alleged, letters in post-boxes have been wantonly burned by wicked persons in many places, Congress ought not to be held responsible for such senseless mischief.

## *How Far Lord Ripon Was Pro-Indian*

When Lord Ripon was Viceroy and Governor-General of India in the eighties of the last century, the present writer was a student and acquired direct personal knowledge of his popularity. There is no question that he was a righteous man and sympathized with the very modest Indian hopes and claims of those days. But his sympathy was strictly limited. One example will make this clear.

For years the Governor-General's Executive Council has had Indian Members. They may have been of use in matters of detail and routine work, but their presence there has never changed the British Government's Indian policy for the better—they have not possessed any effective power. But, harmless though these Indian Members have been from the British point of view, the proposal to have one Indian Member in the Viceroy's Executive

Council made during Lord Minto's administration was opposed by many British statesmen and ex-Viceroys of India. Among the latter was Lord Ripon. The following extract from Morley's *Recollections*, vol. ii, pp. 210-11, will make clear why his lordship objected. Morley wrote to Minto on May 3, 1907:

> The net result I have already made known to you by telegraph, and I don't know that there is very much worth adding. Of none of the proposals in the Cabinet, save the Indian Member, did I say anything, beyond naming them. On the Indian Member, the ruling considerations were the attitude of your Council and mine ; and second, the possible risk of an Anglo-Indian fit of wrath and fear. Then what carried great weight, as was to be expected, was the fact that Ripon, whom nobody will suspect of want of sympathy with Indian hopes and claims, was hostile to the proposal on the merits—mainly on the Secrecy argument—that the Member would have to know military and foreign secrets, etc. etc. Elgin also was hostile on the same ground, or about the same ground. Fowler, ditto, on all grounds. I told them that what influenced my own mind was not the weakness of your case on the merits—the arguments against you seeming to me of the nature of moonshine—but this, that the gain of having a Native on your Executive Council, whether in improving administration or in pacifying Native aspiration, was not decisive enough to justify the risk of provoking European clamour.

Morley was right in so far that the presence of the "Native" Members in the Executive Council has not resulted in any vital and fundamental improvement in administration and still less in pacifying "Native" aspiration. Morley's letter is illuminating for another reason. It shows how much afraid the British Government has always been of the "risk of an Anglo-Indian fit of wrath and fear" and "of provoking European clamour." This sort of mentality resulted in the Ilbert Bill "concordat" fiasco in Lord Ripon's days, and is evident in the "uncrowned" dictatorship of the European Association and the Royalists under which we are living.

Morley continues :

> In this country, what I firmly believe to be a wholly disproportionate stir is worked up about Unrest in India whenever some wretched riot is reported. Everything is put under a microscope, and a whole horde of old Anglo-Indians pounce down with alarmist letters. This sort of thing is reason the more for keeping the Native Member back—for a while at any rate. It is not the most solid or satisfactory of reasons, and I wish it did not prevail. But cabinets and ministers have to take the world as they find it.

Britain and Anglo-India make a curious world between them, one must admit.

### *Disarmament and Reduction of Armaments*

Disarmament is not the same thing as reduction of armaments. We are for general disarmament. Hence we are glad to read in an article in *Unity* by Mr. Sydney Strong :

> Since I am interested especially in total disarmament, I have rejoiced to note many signs pointing toward general disarmament. As the best, I think only, way to cure a drunkard is for him to stop drinking ; so, the only way to cure man of his collective murder insanity is to take away his arms. Increasing multitudes are thinking this way about war. While the committee planned for a conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, increasing numbers are talking about *general* disarmament, yea, total disarmament.

About little nations Mr. Strong writes :

> It would not be difficult to persuade the majority of the nations to follow gallant, wise Denmark, but the "Big Powers" strut around, like cocks in a barnyard, and the little fellows feel that they are not secure without a set of spurs ! That is going to change. What good, anyway, is the tin sword of the little nations ? Somebody ought to start a "Denmark Club." It is time that the little nations were rebelling against the big fellows. What right have "Big Nations"—Italy, Japan, France, Germany and Britain—to sit *for ever* on a Council, like a Board of Directors, and hand out judgments, as dictated by their own wisdom and greed ? None whatever. This allocation of power is enough to condemn the League of Nations unless it is changed. It is morally impossible for that to continue. Get up, little nations ! Assert yourselves ! Form a respectable society of non-murderers. Better be small and decent. You may be lonesome for a while. The decent are so always—but I think I detect a spirit of sanity springing up in nations like Sweden, Norway, Holland, Spain, Canada, Australia that is ready to break, not merely shorten, the sword.

Dr. Bruening represented Germany—Germany which has been compulsorily disarmed to the bone. Mr. Strong declares after listening to the German delegate's speech : "I am personally convinced that in spite of the suffering and humility that have been the unmerited lot of the Germans they will look back on their disarmament as a great move upward in their development—provided they go on in patience." Dr. Bruening hoped for a "radical disarmament on the basis of perfect equality of rights and duties." Any other way is sure to lead to failure.

> ...general disarmament, far from threatening the security of States would rather strengthen it.... nothing can rid us of the responsibility that would be ours, if we failed to attain a definite solution of the problem of general disarmament.... The German people ask that their own disarmament shall be followed by general disarmament... The German people will stand for a general disarmament which must create for all nations an equal measure of security.

The cynically disposed Big Powers may say that, as in any case Germany must remain disarmed, the disarming of all other nations must be good for Germany! Let it be so. But it would be good for others also. Germany has led the world in many things. Let her lead in the establishment of permanent peace also.

In spite of what Russophobists may say and in spite of the reputation which Bolsheviks have come to have with others, the Russians are in the main a peace-loving people. So it was not really strange or Machiavellian that the Russian representative M. Litvinoff spoke like an idealist. He said in part:

> Popular clamour for the abolition of war cannot be satisfied by the slight reduction of armaments or war budgets—what is required is to find a way to put an end to war.
>
> My government has for ten years proposed total general disarmament as the only way of putting an end to war. In making this proposal my government took into consideration the demands and claims of the peoples throughout the world as well as the spirit of its own people.
>
> The reduction of armaments is incapable of guaranteeing us against any war, especially if such reduction is not very radical. We must endeavour to make war itself impossible, since it is the people who suffer, both in the victorious and defeated countries, and moreover, as the last war has shown, the people in all countries.
>
> We have the conviction that the only infallible way to the solution of the problem of the organization of peace, the problem of the averting of war, the problem of assuring security to all nations, is the way we have recommended, the way of general and total disarmament. Total and general disarmament is the only effective guarantee against war.
>
> Had our proposal of four years ago been accepted at the time, the events in the Far East would not have occurred, there would have been no threats of a new world war, and the economic crisis now being almost universally experienced would undoubtedly have been less acute.
>
> The idea of total universal disarmament is distinguished by its simplicity and by the ease with which it could be carried out.... Identical security and equality of conditions for all countries could only be arrived at by total disarmament.
>
> We have no illusions as to the fate in store for our proposition. (What a pity he felt the necessity of saying this, a proposition such as might have been found in the writings of the sages.) We are willing to discuss any proposal for reduction of armaments, regarding it as first steps toward total disarmament. We might add that we were the first to propose the complete destruction of the most aggressive types of armaments, including tanks, big guns, big battle ships, aircraft carriers, bombing planes, chemicals, bacteriological warfare and the like.
>
> We will warmly support any proposals approaching or outstripping our own. We will support the equal rights of all participants in the Conference, and equal security for all states.
>
> My country is in a less favourable position as regards security than other countries. . . . Even now, one of the strongest naval powers refuses to establish normal peaceful relations with us. . . . Despite all this I am empowered to declare here the readiness of the Soviet Union to disarm to the same extent to which others, first and foremost those at our borders, may agree. . . . The creation of effective security against war can only be carried out by means of total and general disarmament.
>
> Security against war must be created. This security can never be achieved by roundabout ways, but only by the direct way of total general disarmament. . . . This idea is by no means utopian in itself, but it can be made utopian by its rejection by the other states represented here.

Mr. Strong also notes that Mrs. Frieda Lazarus of New York, representing the Women's Peace Union, has declared:

> . . . war is a crime against humanity and there can be no compromise on a moral issue. The League of Nations is not functioning successfully because it sanctions the use of arms.
>
> . . . No society for international amity can function until the entire war machinery is eliminated. Reduction in armaments is a shortening of the sword, leaving the nations in the same relative position. What is needed is a breaking of the sword.
>
> . . . Nothing short of laying down of arms will provide for genuine disarmament.

## *A Suggested Solution for Unemployment*

*The Kalpaka* writes:

> Referring to events in India, Judge Lindsay's suggestion that every year lots should be cast as to who all are to go to jail every year, appeals very strongly to some. In the interests of good government here, they think the choice of the jail may be left to everyone. For every "appointment" or post in Government Service, there are generally one thousand applications; what about the jail? Berths may be found, board and lodging, free medical advice, celibacy and solitude enough for prayer, in the jail. Why not advertise, both sides? That is the suggestion made to us; we offer the suggestion as a cure for *unemployability*. In the jail a trade can be learnt. The way hereto lies first of all in reducing all salaries to the minimum. Judges and Government servants

should be selected in open auction and those accepting the lowest salary accepted. For clerkships and schoolmasterships and attenderships board and lodging may perhaps be enough payment in the present juncture.

Those who have had experience of jail life in India will perhaps say that it does not offer all the advantages mentioned above. But even if it did, Government servants would scarcely agree to go to jail. But if they—particularly the higher ones—did, jail life might be shorn of some of its reported disadvantages. In any case, the non-politically-minded unemployed might consider the claims of the jail as a substitute for unemployment. The politically-minded should not do so. For if they sought to go to jail, they might be provided with a *lathi* charge in the alternative; or imprisonment plus solitary confinement; or short rations; or—.

## *A Revealing Contrast*

One Panchanan Das has been convicted by the Additional Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta under the Explosive Substances Act and sentenced only to pay a fine of Rs. 200. According to the Public Prosecutor, the man was a police informer and had staged a bomb explosion in front of Halliday Park "to implicate some one in a false case or for some other nefarious object." The offence was heinous enough to deserve a deterrent sentence of several years' rigorous imprisonment. Many cases may be cited of non-officials in possession of explosive substances having been punished with such severity. But this man, being a "demi-official," escapes only with a small fine, which itself may have been paid for him from some fund which is not his private property.

Panchanan's fine may be contrasted with the six months' or two years' rigorous imprisonment *plus* fines reaching up to Rs. 20,000, awarded for mere technical offences like picketing involving no moral turpitude, committed by Satyagrahis.

## *"Buy Indian" Leagues*

The Leagues started in different parts of the country under such names as Swadeshi Leagues, "Buy Indian" Leagues, deserve the utmost support. Officials, from the Governor-General downwards, may draw a distinction between honest or genuine "Swadeshi" and "Swadeshi" which has a political object. But as no one but an infallible thought-reader can discover the real motive of a man in buying Indian or promoting the sale of Swadeshi goods, it is in reality a distinction without a difference. The effective pushing of the production and consumption of certain classes of Indian goods must result in a diminishing import of British and other foreign goods of those classes and, in some cases, in decrease of Government's customs revenue, whether the motive for such pushing be political or non-political.

There has been official interference with genuine Swadeshi in different parts of the country, "not unaccompanied by physical injury" and other hardships. But those who want to serve the country do not mind them; they are all in the day's work.

## *Boycott of Foreign Goods No Offence*

We read in *The Servant of India*:

> A pleader of Tenali by name Mr. Suryanarayan distributed a hand-bill exhorting people, in the economic interests of the country, to use khaddar, to wear clothes woven from yarn spun in Indian mills and to boycott foreign articles. He was duly charged with assisting the operations of the Congress and sentenced by the lower court to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. When the matter went up in appeal to the District Judge, he reversed the conviction and sentence and ordered the accused to be restored to liberty. The view taken by the District Judge was very sensible. He felt that so long as a man, not proved to be a Congressman, contented himself with advocating a boycott of foreign goods, without resorting to picketing as defined in the Molestation Ordinance, he could not be said to be helping the activities of the Congress. According to him, a man does not make himself liable to prosecution under the Criminal Law Amendment Act merely because he happens to be engaged in activities which had received the imprimatur of the Congress. What was necessary for the completion of the offence of assisting an unlawful body was the intention of the alleged offender, which must be clearly proved and could not be taken for granted. The assistance to such a body, in this case the Congress, must be voluntary and not merely accidental or coincidental. The instance given by the District Judge in his judgment places the matter really beyond the possibility of a doubt. "If an anti-Congressman wears hand-

woven or hand-spun cloth or advocates the boycott of foreign cloth or Hindu-Muslim unity, or the removal of untouchability, he will not thereby be assisting the operations of the A. I. C. C. which is an unlawful association and has the above objects. So too, if a fisherman manufactures illicit salt without ever having heard of the A. I. C. C. or its resolutions and with no intention of assisting in its unlawful operations, he will not be liable under section 17 (1) Criminal Law Amendment Act, though the A. I. C. C. too has this object among its many intended operations.

## *Associations Declared Unlawful*

On the 30th of March last the number of associations declared unlawful in Bengal alone stood at 584, which the *Free Press Journal* called a record number for any single province. Since then many more have been added to the list. What is the total number now for the whole of India? And of those declared unlawful, how many were really political? How many were unlawful in the ordinary sense?

## *Bengal Detenus' Transfer Act*

Bengalis in general cannot help feeling that the members of the select committee who left the draft of the Bengal detenus' transfer, bill entirely unchanged and the M. L. A.'s who voted for the passage of the bill acted as if they were the sworn enemies of Bengal. But perhaps the opinion of an esteemed non-Bengali Liberal journal on this piece of legislation would be considered more convincing. *The Servant of India* writes:

> Last week witnessed the passage by the Assembly of the Bengal Detenus' Transfer Bill, which empowers the Bengal Government to banish, with the previous consent of the Goverment of India, suspected Bengal revolutionaries to any part of India. It will be easily seen how arbitrary are the powers of restricting personal liberty which the Bill sought to confer on the Executive and yet for a wonder it was passed by the Assembly in an unamended form! This shows how powerless that body has become to safe-guard the liberties and the rights of the people. The only improvement in the Bill, to the credit of the Assembly was the limitation of its life to three years.

This does not mend matters, as three years hence another bill, and even a more stringent one, may be passed ostensibly for crushing terrorism in Bengal. Moreover, according to some M. L. A.'s, the amendment limiting the life of the bill was accepted by the Government just to show that they were amenable to reason.

> The clause depriving the High Court of its power, in respect of Bengal detenus, to require the presence of people under detention, naturally aroused much adverse comment even from well-known friends of the Government; but their appeals to the Government to behave reasonably proved unavailing. It must be, however, said in fairness that Government spokesmen made no attempts to conceal the true nature of the Bill. Indeed the Law Member in trying to persuade the oppositionists, that the attempts to remove the limitation on the High Court's power which was such an objectionable feature of the Bill were opposed to the spirit of the measure, plainly informed the Assembly that the Bill aimed at the substitution of executive judgment for judicial judgment. An amendment which sought to throw on the Government the obligation to reproduce, as far as possible, in the province to which the detenus would be transferred conditions of life in Bengal, in regard specially to diet and the manner of cooking food, failed to secure a majority in its favour. But it succeeded in eliciting an explicit assurance from the Home Member that the rules to be framed would provide for the provision of Bengali food to the detenus. It is a mystery why, if the Home Member found himself in a position to give this assurance, he was unable to accept the amendment which aimed at nothing else.

What is or rather ought to be binding on those Government servants who work an Act are its express provisions and not any assurance relating to it given by any officer, however high his position. Therefore this assurance would be valueless in practice. That this is not an unfounded anticipation would be admitted by all who read almost everyday in the papers complaints of the non-observance of jail rules or other rules relating to the food, clothing, medical treatment, allowances, etc., of prisoners and detenus.

> The attempt to restrict the area of the detenus' transfer to the Governors' provinces did not also share a better fate. An influential section of opinion in the Assembly favoured the creation of a committee of its members to "report on the suitability of the place of detention and general comfort of the detenus." But even this very reasonable suggestion failed to find acceptance at the hands of Government. A favourable report by such a committee on the conditions of life in the detention camp would have gone far to reassure public opinion that the suspected Bengali young men detained merely on suspicion were spared all avoidable hardships. The proposal to give travelling allowances to the nearest relatives of the detenus to enable them to interview the detenus twice during the year, which came before the

Assembly in the form of an amendment and which succeeded in winning the support even of such an uncompromising opponent of terrorism as Sir Cowasji Jehangir-could also not materialize for want of requisite support.

So it would seem Government wanted to secure for itself all possible unchecked power to do to and with the detenus whatever it wanted to do, and got it. But as practically it already has such power under regulation 3 of 1818, it was unnecessary to waste public money and the time of the Assembly for the purpose.

## *Hindu Legislators' Manifesto*

The following manifesto was recently issued by the Hindu members of the Central Legislature in view of the preposterous demands and attitude of the so-called All Parties Muslim Conference held at Lahore :

> The communal problem, already sufficiently complex, has been made still more complicated and practically impossible of solution by agreement on account of fresh developments arising out of the All Parties Muslims Conference held the other day at Lahore. It is now openly preached that they have no faith in Nationalism and that sentiments of patriotism do not really count.
>
> Moslem communalism has now reached its climax. Their demands are now expanded and the full list now includes Separate Electorate, Separate Representation, Statutory majority, Preferential weightage, Special representation in all branches of Public Service, Imperial, Provincial and Local, in Railways, fifty per cent of Army Offices, and reserved representation even in all Statutory self-governing bodies, in Local bodies, and reservation of seats in Public and aided schools. There is also now a new proposal to enforce these demands by Non-co-operation and Direct Action. The Muslims have from the start adhered to their 14 points and have been adding to them, instead of yielding any point for the sake of compromise. Their standing description of the Hindus is that they are the Majority Community, and of themselves that they are the Minority community needing all protection. And yet all over Northern India from Karachi to Delhi they are the Majority Community, and they are so also in Bengal. They complain that the Hindu Majority are not considerate towards the Moslem Minority, and yet where they are the Majority, as in Punjab and Bengal, they insist upon securing that majority by statute. Where they are the Minority, they claim weightage and favoured representation, while they deny the same to the Sikhs and other minorities. And they now intend to extend this communalism from the Legislature to the Administration and Public Services, and even to local bodies, the Army and the Railways.
>
> What in these circumstances should be the position of the Hindus and indeed, of all nationalist Indians ? The Hindus have throughout stood for Joint Electorates without claiming any weighted or reserved representation even when they are in a Minority. The same is the position of the Sikhs. They all stand for pure and genuine democracy undefiled by the devices of communal electorate and representation for which there is no precedent or parallel in any civilized state in the world.
>
> Besides, Separate Representation will also involve the very difficult question of the quantum of such representation to be given to each community. The question will arise how will it be determined? Obviously justice demands that the contribution of a community to the coffers of the State should be a determining factor.
>
> And, further, India has been promised by Parliament the immediate grant of Responsible Government and, therefore, no system of franchise is admissible which is incompatible with the constitution promised, *viz.*, grouping of voters on non-civic principles in separate "water-tight or community-tight compartments." as the Prime Minister has aptly called them. Communal electorate and representation will give to India only a form of communal government and tyranny and not the democratic or Dominion constitution which she has been striving and suffering to achieve and England is pledged to grant.
>
> Nationalist India holds the Prime Minister to his famous speech of January 1931 at the House of Commons where he emphatically condemned communal electorate and all its offshoots. Similarly it holds the British Government and the Government of India to the Minorities Guarantee Treaties by which they are already bound as members of the League of Nations. These Treaties are described by Mr. Henderson, President of the Disarmament Conference, as being "part of the public law of Europe and of the world," and neither the Government of India nor His Majesty's Government are at liberty to depart from those Treaties and defy the League of Nations charged with their enforcement in now nearly 20 States of Europe including Turkey. It would also be an unwarranted and impolitic interference with the international equipoise set up after so much of anxious thought and deliberation by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the world in the interests of world-peace and order. If they will apply these Treaties to the Minority Problems in India, a solution will be, on the other hand, found which will secure to the Minorities all the protection which they are entitled to claim, and at the same time permit of the growth of a harmonious and strong national government in India.
>
> We, therefore, hope that the Government of India and His Majesty's Government will not ignore these international instruments of public peace, the Minorities Guarantee Treaties and Stipulations of the League of Nations providing the only solution which is consistent and compatible with the constitution that India is out to achieve and England pledged to grant.

## *Other Hindu Manifestos*

Lack of sufficient space prevents us from publishing other Hindu manifestos, *e. g.*

the one issued by representative Hindu landholders, Hindu M. L. C.'s., and leading members of the provincial Hindu Sabha of Bengal. It is pointed out therein how untenable, unreasonable and undemocratic are the demands of the separatist Mussalmans for a statutory majority in the coming legislature of Bengal and other similar claims. As this manifesto has been published in the Bengal dailies, and it is to be hoped in the dailies of the other provinces also, the public will be able to judge how reasonable it is. The Panjab Hindus also have stated their views on the constitutional and communal issues in no uncertain voice. It is to be noted that, though both in the Panjab and Bengal, constituted as the provinces at present are, the Hindus are alleged to be a minority, they did not start the demand that minorities ought to have protection, weightage, etc. They would be content to have a thoroughly democratic constitution and joint electorates. But it would be unjust and unfair to expect them not to think of defending their rights if Muslims are aggressive and want statutory majority in some provinces in addition to weightage in other provinces, half the commissions in the army, 33 per cent of all jobs earmarked for them, and so on and so forth.

On behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha Dr. B. S. Moonje has sent a statement to the Franchise Committee in order that it may not be said that that Committee was ignorant of the Hindu view-point when drawing up its report and recommendations. Needless to say, this statement is entirely free from communalism of any sort.

## *Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Before the Lothian Committee*

As the British Government appears to us to be bent on giving India a kind of constitution not wanted by either of the two non-communal Indian political organizations, *viz.*, the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Liberal Federation—in fact deliberately shutting out the former from the penultimate and final stages of the preparations and consultations, we have not commented on the proceedings of any of the R. T. C. Committees which have toured India. We do not intend, generally, to change this attitude. But we shall make an exception in the case of the oral evidence given by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji before the Lothian Committee, for reasons which will be obvious.

The Chairman wanted to know Dr. Mookerji's views on the group system. The latter said that he would favour the group system on the conditions of "grant of adult franchise to both sexes," "grouping should be on non-religious, civic principles based on residence and neighbourhood," etc. It is not the purpose of this note to discuss this system, which is mentioned here only to introduce what follows.

The following are paragraphs 20 and 21 of the professor's evidence :

> "20. You are not for special representation ? No. I look at the subject as an idealist. Two things stand apart according to me. The first is that we are all out to achieve some kind of democratic government, and all that is inconsistent with democratic government I will brush aside on principle. If you can show me any precedent in any civilized country in the world at the present day to show that there is any kind of protection of special interests through this discredited device of separate electorates, I shall bow to you.
>
> "21. But don't you think that they should have some representation ?—They certainly do not need any *special* representation."

The reader will note that neither the Chairman nor any Member of the Committee could mention any precedent from any modern civilized country for separate electorates for the protection of special or sectional interests. As for the question put in paragraph 21, the obvious answer is that under a scheme of adult franchise all classes of people would *have* representation in fact.

> "33. You are opposed to separate electorates ? Are you opposed to special representation, if it can be secured by means of reservation of seats ?—I am opposed on principle to all these devices, which have no place in any civilized system of Government."

The Committee could not contradict the witness.

> "34. You are opposed on principle. Are you also opposed in practice having regard to the conditions in India ?—I should work for the ideal. I have my reason, because the communities that feel that their interests would not be safeguarded in a proper scheme of democracy will

be entirely in the wrong. I want to give them ample safe-guards under which the constitution will work. On this ground I am sheltered by the authors of the Minorities Guarantee Treaties which have been framed for application all over the world under the auspices of the League of Nations.

"35. Where is your special provision for the representation of special interests ?—That will be grouping of individuals on principles which are understandable, such as economic or financial and not principles which are fixed, permanent or hereditary. These are principles on which parties are formed and not communities. You are always confusing parties and communities. From my point of view, religious or social communities as such have no place in the legislature. Here we must enter as citizens of an all-embracing State."

Here also the witness went uncontradicted and uncriticized.

"46. You said you are in favour of the group system on condition that communal electorates are abolished altogether, is it not ?—I do not like that term. I say that the grouping of individual voters should be on principles of residence and property and other qualifications.

"47. If there is no separate representation of any community, then only you would advocate the group system ?—Yes.

"48. Supposing communal electorates are retained, then what methods will you recommend ?—I cannot think of any state of things with communal electorates in being."

The question put to the witness in paragraph 48 shows that communal electorates will most probably be retained, against the precedent of all present-day civilized countries. In a previous issue of this *Review* we pointed out this probability by referring to the following passage in the Franchise Committee's questionnaire :

> "*His Majesty's Government have instructed the Franchise Committee to proceed* in so far as they may find that absence of such an assumption may preclude them from arriving at conclusions *on assumption that separate communal electorates will continue to form a feature of the new constitution.*" (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

In course of his examination Dr. Mookerji asked : "May I suggest one or two points ? I first of all said that the territorial basis of the franchise for Bengal should be settled." What followed is printed below.

"49. *The Chairman* : You want to increase the area of Bengal so as to include all Bengalees ?—I appeal to you as Chairman, to settle this preliminary point. And the second point I would mention is that your scheme of franchise must not run counter to the democratic constitution that India has been promised in several Government declarations.

"50. By which you mean communal electorate ?—I do not like to use the expression 'communal electorate,' because I hate it and would also rule it out. What I mean to sa that the grouping of voters should not. b principles which will be contradictory to Responsible or Dominion Government wh Parliament has definitely promised to India several declarations. If India is immediately get this constitution according to the declara of His Majesty's present Government of wh your Lordship is a member, then you, as Chair man, ought to rule out schemes of franchise wh would be inconsistent and incompatible with a form of Responsible Government or Domini Constitution and destructive of the democra which England is pledged to grant to India.

"51. *The Chairman* : Dr. Mookerji, you kn that this Committee is handicapped by the ter of reference fixed by the Prime Minister I, ho ever, make due note of your observations a promise to submit them to the Prime Minister i due course."

The result of this promise of submissio will be known in due course.

## *Bengal Provincial Muslim League*

The proceedings of the last session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, under the presidency of Maulvi Mujibar Rahman, were marked by a commendable spirit of democracy and nationalism. The speeches of both the president and the secretary (Dr. Rafidin Ahmed) breathed that spirit. Joint electorates were supported at this session. The members were justified in asserting that they would not accept the reservation in the provincial legislature of any number of seats which was less than the proportion of the Muslims to the total population of Bengal. At the same time, they did not demand that there should be in it a statutory majority for Muslims.

Of the 67,085,510 Muslim inhabitants of British India 27,530,321 live in Bengal. No other province possesses so large a Muslim population. The Panjab, which comes next, contains only 13,332,460 Mussalmans—less than half of Bengal. Seeing, therefore, that the foremost Muslim political organization in Bengal has declared for joint electorates and no reservation of seats, no official or communal propagandist would be justified in asserting or suggesting that all Moslems everywhere were for separate election on communal lines or for reservation of seats in the legislature for their community.

## *King Chhatrasal*

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's article on King Chhatrasal and Queen Kamalavati in this issue is likely to rouse curiosity regarding this heroic figure in mediæval India. Probably there is no separate biography in English of this monarch in book form. But the curious reader will find much information relating to him in *Later Mughals* by William Irvine, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, vol. ii. There is a good Bengali book on Chhatrasal by Mr. Gopendra Lal Ray. Professor Kalikaranjan Qanungo, historian in English of Sher Shah, the Jats, etc., contributed an informative article on "Maharaj Chhatrasal Bundela" to the Bengali magazine *Prabasi* for Kartik, 1337 B. E.

## *"Strangers to Truth"*

In the present issue Mr. Reginald Reynolds has drawn attention to some "Strangers to Truth." His article may be supplemented by pointing to what the correspondents of the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Express* have been writing about the Indian situation. We do not intend to comment on the pictures drawn by British correspondents of British papers of the terrible conditions under which Europeans and policemen live and work in India. If the conditions are so very terrible and forbidding, surely no Indian will ask the Europeans or force them to go on displaying their qualities of manhood here, instead of returning to their homeland overflowing with milk and honey, to give it the exclusive benefit of their unparalleled heroism.

We have reluctantly to refer to a loathsome falsehood and libel which the correspondents of the two aforesaid papers have disseminated through their columns.

Let murders and attempts at murder be punished by all means. But surely even persons guilty of such actions should not be accused of immoralities of which they are not guilty. These correspondents have related, on the basis of what they have heard from an alleged "high authority," that Bengal terrorists employ women as their tools who are made *enciente* or expectant mothers on purpose, in order that they may escape capital punishment. Now, so far only three girls have been accused of and tried for political assassination or attempted political assassination, and capital punishment was not inflicted on any of them. All the three are unmarried. The two who were adjudged guilty of killing the English Magistrate of Tippera have been sentenced to transportation for life instead of being hanged. They were not awarded capital punishment expressly on the *sole* ground of their tender age, they being only fifteen or sixteen.

The other girl, who attemped to kill the late Governor of Bengal but missed her mark, could not be hanged under the ordinary penal laws of British India, though during the present ordinance regime capital punishment might have been inflicted for attempt at murder. She has been given nine years' rigorous imprisonment. This punishment was inflicted on her by three High Court Judges in consideration of her confession of guilt, *her good character*, and her youth—she being about twenty or so.

Neither in the speeches of the defence counsel, nor in the judgments of the Judges in the two cases, pregnancy finds any mention as the reason or one of the reasons why the girls should not be or have not been sentenced to be hanged. Had there been any truth in the loathsome insinuation of the British correspondents, the prosecuting police would have brought out that fact somehow or other—they are not overgenerous to accused.

It is clear, then, that the "high authority" (if there be any) and the British correspondents have behaved in a cowardly manner in making such a base insinuation born of a leprous imagination against girls living within prison walls and precluded from seeking any remedy. During the early years of the nineteenth century capital punishment could be inflicted in England for more than 200 offences. We do not know if cowardly libel of this sort against women was one of them. But as Englishmen pride themselves on their chivalry, it may be presumed that it was one of the capital offences. If so, the men concerned may thank their stars that they are living, in the fourth decade of the 20th century instead of the first decade of the 19th.

## *Drug Control by the Calcutta Corporation*

To the last February number of this journal Dr. B. C. Chatterjee, M.Sc., Ph. D., contributed an article pointing out that immediate steps should be taken by the civic authorities here to control the manufacture and sale of drugs within the city. The importance and urgency of such control are obvious. To facilitate the consideration of his suggestion Dr. Chatterjee has also contributed "A Scheme for the Control of Drugs By the Calcutta Corporation" to *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* for March 26, 1932. This well worked out scheme deserves serious consideration. As the Mayor is a distinguished member of the medical profession and as there are other members of the Corporation who are highly qualified medical men, not many words are needed to commend it to their attention.

## *College at Santiniketan—Primarily for Girls*

At present in Bengal very many more girls are going in for collegiate and university education than formerly. For this reason and as Bethune College, the only Government and non-denominational college for women affiliated to Calcutta University, cannot take in as many of them as want to be educated, in recent years many colleges in Calcutta and the mofussal, originally intended solely for boys, have made arrangements for the education of girls also. Those parents and guardians who reside in Calcutta or in some other collegiate town will naturally take advantage of these more or less co-educational arrangements for the higher education of the girls in their family. But others who have to send their daughters to some college situated at some distance from their homes, the college at Santiniketan offers many unique advantages. It is situated on a healthy upland amid ideal natural surroundings, away from any town, large or small. Thus, here there is no distraction of town life, while, as Santiniketan is only 100 miles from Calcutta and less than two miles from the nearest railway station, the amenities of town life are procurable. The institution has its own electric power-house, motor buses, post and telegraph office, co-operative stores, resident physician and surgeon, hospital, dispensary, etc. Intellectual work requires plenty of open air life in order that there may be a sound mind in a sound body. Santiniketan offers unique advantages for open air walks free from any risk. There are separate extensive play grounds for girls and boys and separate arrangements for other physical exercises. The girls' hostel is a handsome two-storied structure open on all sides and under the wise, sympathetic and tactful supervision of an experienced resident lady superintendent. There are highly qualified ladies among the school and college staff.

There are few mofussal colleges in Bengal and not many in Calcutta which possess such an up-to-date well-stocked library—so necessary for self-education—as Santiniketan possesses. So many publications in the Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, Tibetan, Arabic, German, French and Italian languages as there are in Santiniketan can seldom be found elsewhere.

The professors are all in residence at the institution, several with their families, so that the students have the advantage of healthy home influence.

While other colleges in Bengal offer facilities for literary and scientific education alone, Santiniketan is unique in this respect that here the students can learn painting, modelling, vocal and instrumental music, embroidery and other crafts, domestic work, etc., without any extra charge. Artists trained at Santiniketan have acquired fame in India and abroad. There is in Bengal no cultured home where Rabindranath's songs are not sung or at least attempted to be sung, and there are few public functions of a cultural character—particularly those connected with educational institutions—at which his songs are not sung and his poems recited. Even illiterate villagers sing his songs. The best place for learning how to sing them,—if not practically the only place to acquire correct knowledge of them—is Santiniketan, where one can have the guidance of the master-musician Mr. Dinendranath Tagore and Students often hear the Poet himself sing.

have the opportunity of doing village welfare work, too, under proper safe-guards. During the winter vacation students sometimes camp out on the outskirts of forests at some distance under proper escort and under the care of the lady superintendent.

There are weekly and occasional divine services at the Mandir (temple) which are non-denominational and in which all can take part. There are also the festival of the Maharshi's birthday and initiation day, the Foundation Day, the Poet's birthday, and some Season Festivals. All these have a joyful and elevating effect.

Above all, there is the advantage of the atmosphere created by the Poet's presence and all that he has been and done.

Educational institutions are generally judged by their public examination results. During the few years of the existence of the College department, these have been satisfactory.

Those who have to go to some college not situated in their home towns, will find the expenses here not greater than elsewhere. They are rather much less, if the students take advantage of the various kinds of liberal and artistic education provided at Santiniketan. Details are supplied to applicants by the *Sachiva*, Santiniketan, Bengal.

Santiniketan is a nation-builder in its own way, as students of both sexes come to it from distant parts of India. It is also a place for international fellowship, as teachers and students from distant countries sometimes visit it and reside for long periods.

The Founder continues to cherish his desire to make the college specially adapted for the education of women. He has been gradually and slowly developing his plans as far as circumstances and the available resources permit. He can do much if his countrymen co-operate with him by sending their daughters for education here, if not in other ways also. We read in a prospectus for the coming session: "Boys from outside, seeking admission, must be of exceptional merit and good character and recommended by members of the Visva-bharati or other reliable persons."

## *"Bodhana Samiti"*

By the untiring exertions of Mr. Girijabhushan Mukherjee, M. A., B. L., Advocate, an association has been recently formed mainly for establishing a home where institutional care and training can be provided under trained teachers and nurses for feeble-minded and mentally defective children, some of whom are epileptic. On being approached, Rabindranath has named it the *Bodhaná Samiti.* As *Bodhaná* means awakening, it is a very appropriate name for an association whose object is to awaken the dormant consciousness and intellect of these children. The *Samiti* will be registered under Act XXI of 1860. Its office is at present located at 6-5, Bejoy Mukherjee Lane, Bhowanipore, Calcutta, with Mr. Girijabhushan Mukherjee, the Founder, as Secretary, to whom all correspondence should be addressed. The Governing Body has been elected as follows:

President: Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, Vice-Presidents—1. Dr. Mrs. Edith Ghosh, M. B., 2. Dr. K. S. Ray, M. A., B. SC., M. B., Ch. D. (Edin) 3. Dr. B. C. Ghosh. M. A., M. B., B. C. (Cantab).
Members: Mr. Atal Chand Chatterjee, Principal, Deaf and Dumb School, Mrs. Sita Devi, Sj. Brojendranath Chatterjee, M. A., B. L., Advocate, High Court, Sj. Girijabhusan Mukherjee, M. A., B. L., Advocate, Alipore (Founder).

## *Promotion of Inter-caste Marriages*

*Advance* reports that the need of inter-caste marriages among the Hindus was emphasized at a largely attended meeting of the Hindu public held the other day at the Calcutta Arya Samaj Hall. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee took the chair. Pandit Suresh Chandra Sankhya-Vedantatirtha, Pandit Dinabandhu Vedasastri, Pandit Dhirendranath Vedantavagish and Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitra addressed the meeting giving reasons why inter-caste marriages ought to be promoted. The president brought the proceedings to a close with a speech in the course of which he expressed his conviction that inter-caste marriages would lead to the solidarity of the Hindu people. A committee was formed to do the needful, with Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee as president, Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C., as one of the Vice-Presidents, and other office-bearers and members. At the close of the meeting many persons gave their names as supporters of inter-caste marriage. The office is for the present located at 38, Beadon Row, where queries and other correspondence will be attended to by the Secretary.

## *Purity League*

A Purity League, under the name of *Suniti Sangha*, has been founded in Calcutta with some students of both sexes and some ladies and gentlemen as the provisional Committee. One of its main objects would be to try to prevent and counteract the evil effects of impure and obscene literature and of such plays, dances and pictures (including motion pictures) as have an immoral effect and tendency. The provisional committee consists of Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee, President; Mrs. Kamini Ray, Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen, Maulvi Mujibar Rahman, Mr. J. K. Biswas, Sj. Krishna Kumar Mitter and Satish Chandra Chakravarti, Vice-Presidents; Sjs. Sushil Kumar Datta and Satyendra Nath Biswas, Joint Secretaries, and Sj. Sital Chandra De, Assistant Secretary. Office: 6 Ram Krishna Das Lane, Calcutta.

In reporting the proceedings of the inaugural meeting of the Purity League *Liberty* has used the head-line "Puritans in Panic." The promoters of the League may be considered puritans by those who like to do so—they do not complain. But they are certainly not in a panic. 'Puritan' is not a term of abuse. They will probably try to enlist the sympathy and support, among others, of Sj. Subhash Chandra Basu, one of the foremost leaders of the *Liberty* group, when he comes out of jail; for they cannot assume that he is one of the patrons of pruriency and putridity.

## *Filipino Independence*

*Reuter* cables from Washington, April 4 last:

> Independence of the Philippines within eight years is provided for in a bill passed by the House of Representatives to-day, thus terminating a question which has been a topic of controversy in Congress during the past thirty years.
>
> While the farmers are delighted, hoping that it will mean the imposition of a tariff on Philippine products which are now duty-free, the gravest objection is raised by Mr. Stimson in a letter published to-day in which he expresses the opinion that the granting of freedom to the Islands will very seriously impair the prestige of the United States in the Far East and that, moreover, it will inevitably result in the Islands ultimately falling under the domination of a foreign power, probably Japan or China.

If the Bill has been passed by both the Senate and the House of Representatives, the two houses of the U. S. Congress, then the question of Filipino independence may be taken as finally settled, assuming that the President's signature to it will follow as a matter of course. Filipino independence in that case will be one of the greatest events in history, as hitherto no nation has agreed to the independence of another subject to it unless beaten by the latter in a war of independence.

Mr. Stimson, the U. S. Secretary, is mistaken in thinking that the granting of freedom to the Philpplines will in the least impair the prestige of the United States. On the contrary, her prestige as a justice-loving righteous country will rise. If the Filipinos had obtained freedom by defeating the Americans in a successful rebellion, then no doubt people would have had a lower opinion of the United States as a military power than they now have. As for the apprehension that the Islands, when independent, will inevitably fall under the domination of a foreign power, probably Japan or China, that may or may not come to pass. Eight years hence, war and international robbery may come to be effectively outlawed. In any case, it is a queer apologia for one's country's retaining ill-gotten gains on the ground that, if given up, they may be grabbed by some others.

As full details of the bill passed by the House of Representatives have not yet been received, it is not quite certain that the independence promised in it to the Filipinos eight years hence will be of the kind usually understood by that word and not independence like that of Egypt or of Iraq whose oil has been compulsorily leased to some Western countries including Britain for generations. For in a statement issued from the headquarters of Dr. Hilario C. Moncado, founder of the New Philippine Modernist party,

he termed the bill introduced by Senator Haw in behalf of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, "an insult to the Filipino people and a disgrace to the United States."

His principal criticisms were of provisions that reserve to the United States the right to maintain military and naval bases and require that the projected Philippine Constitution be ratified by Congress and approved by the President.

"If Congress intends to grant us independence, it should pass a bill fixing a definite, irrevocable date for the withdrawal of American sovereignty," he said.

"Any honest independence bill must entirely ignore the subject of Constitution. If we are competent to govern ourselves, we are competent to frame our own Constitution. It is proverbial that republics frame their Constitutions after gaining independence.

"This requirement that the Philippine Constitution must be ratified by Congress is the joker in the Senate committee plan to solve the Philippine problem."

## *India and Filipino Independence*

Let us hope, however, that the independence of the Philippines will be of the genuine brand.

In that case India will rejoice on the principle that what is one nation's good is the good of all mankind. There will also follow from it an indirect advantage to India. At present some Britishers, like that funny 'friend' of India Mr. Edward Thompson, contend that as America herself holds the Filipinos down in subjection, no American has the right to criticize Britain's imperialism in India and advocate Indian freedom. This is, of course, a ridiculous argument. Like other imperialist countries Britain, for example, has done wrong on various occasions. At the same time, it is well known that there are many righteous and liberty-loving Englishmen who want freedom for all nations in the world, including India. No one but a fool would contend that these Englishmen must not advocate freedom for any nation or criticize any non-British imperialist nation simply because England herself is imperialistic. However absurd such an argument may be, it would not be possible to use it against America if she lets go her hold on the Philippines and other possessions, and that would be an advantage to India in that men like Edward Thompson would not then maliciously attack American supporters of India's rights.

## *Edward Thompson Again*

*The Hindustan Times* has published the fact that Mr. Edward Thompson, 'friend' of India, has set up a defence of General Dyer in the London *Spectator*, urging that that saviour of the British Empire did not know that Jalianwala Bagh had no other opening except the entrance, which was occupied by his men, that it was not European soldiers but Indian sepoys who did the actual shooting, and that by the Jalianwala Bagh massacre the Panjab was saved from rebellion! Whether Dyer knew or did not know that the Bagh had no exit, the shooting of unarmed persons assembled there for a non-political purpose was a cowardly atrocity. Mr. Thompson's defence of Dyer in this respect is somewhat like Mr. Prentice's extenuation of the cowardly assault of a European policeman on Mr. Dhiresh Chakravarti in handcuffs by saying that the assailant did not know that Mr. Chakravarti was handcuffed. Whatever the nationality of the persons who did the massacring, it was done by order of Dyer. Mr. Thompson's defence reads somewhat like the self-defence of a murderer saying, "I did not commit the murder, my pistol did." That Dyer saved the Panjab from rebellion is a figment of the imagination which we thought has long had its quietus. But Mr. Edward Thompson being an imaginative poetaster has revived it.

## *Japanese Buddhist Scholarship For An Indian Scholar*

Mr. Siva Narayan Sen, M. A., of the Buddhist University at Sarnath, Benares, has been awarded a scholarship by the Rev. Fujii, President of the Nichiren Sect of Japanese Buddhists, in order to enable him to study Mahayana Buddhism in Tokyo University. The value of the scholarship is fifty yen per mensem. It will be tenable for three years. The Consul for Japan at Bombay has informed Mr. Sen that during his period of study the Rev. Fujii will make arrangements for his board and lodging. Mr. Sen is a Pali scholar who helps Western students of Buddhism at Sarnath to understand Pali texts.

Buddhism had its birth and flourished for centuries in India. It is a thought-provoking vicissitude that now knowledge of Buddhism requires the help of foreigners for its acquisition. But those who give such help in any form are none the less deserving of praise.

## *Bengal Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill.*

The Bengal suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill, introduced by Sj. Jatindra Nath Basu in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 20th February last, has been circulated for eliciting public opinion. As our monthly journals do not in any way represent public opinion, we have not got a copy of the bill. But we have seen its objects and reasons and main features reproduced in the dailies, and we support the general principles underlying it. Its objects and reasons have been stated thus:

> The object of the Bill is to repeal the Calcutta Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1923, and also to repeal certain sections of the Police Acts and the Bengal Children Act, 1922, and to provide consolidated legislation for the whole of Bengal, which will give to the authorities such powers as will materially aid them in checking the evil of commercialized vice and will lead to the gradual suppression of brothels and immoral traffic. The means suggested in the present Bill are—
>
> (a) to amend the present laws with regard to the power of the Police to order the discontinuance of any place used as a brothel or for carrying on the business of a prostitute.
>
> (b) to strengthen the hands of the authorities in regard to taking charge of minor girls in brothels or places used for carrying on the business of a prostitute.
>
> (c) to empower landlords, etc., to get rid of objectionable tenants and to hold them responsible in certain cases.
>
> (d) to provide penalty—
>
> (i) for any person who keeps a brothel or permits the use of any place as a brothel for carrying on the business of a prostitute.
>
> (ii) for procurers, pimps, persons living on the earnings of prostitutes, or such persons as traffic in prostitution.
>
> (iii) for solicitation in a public place.
>
> (iv) for causing or encouraging or abetting seduction or prostitution of minor girls.
>
> (v) for detaining minor women, girls or boys in any place where prostitution or the business of a prostitute is carried on.
>
> (e) to provide legislation for the deportation of persons of European extraction convicted of an offence under the Act.
>
> (f) to provide suitable custody of girls removed from brothels, etc., by Juvenile Courts.

## *Mr. G. S. Dutt and Bengal Folk Culture*

It is not necessary to accept Mr. G. S. Dutt's views on Bengal folk culture in their entirety to be able to appreciate his very enthusiastic and energetic efforts to conserve and revive the folk art, folk music and folk dances of Bengal. That Bengal had her own indigenous art of painting, as represented by the rolls of *pats* or serial multiple pictures and single pictures, was not unknown before Mr. Dutt took up the cause. Some of these indigenous paintings had been even exhibited by Mr. Jamini Ranjan Ray more than once in his house, and one such foll, procured by him and acquired by Professor Dr. Stella Kramrisch of Calcutta University, was on view at the Tagore Septuagenary Exhibition at the Calcutta Town Hall. But it is Mr. Dutt who has succeeded in rousing the keen interest of the public, including prominent artists, in these paintings. And that is because, in addition to his zeal and energy, he has resources and influence to obtain publicity for any cause which he espouses.

One special feature of Mr. G. S. Dutt's exhibition of folk art requires prominent mention. Folk painting in Bengal may have been known to limited circles before. But it was he who first made the merits of old Bengal wood-carving widely known by exhibiting actual specimens and lantern lectures.

## *Number of Arrests, etc. in India*

Recently the Secretary of State for India gave the official figure of persons arrested or imprisoned in connection with the civil disobedience movement. It was an underestimate. Before Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was recently arrested and sent to jail, he had carefully collected statistics, from reliable newspapers and independent inquiry, of the number of persons arrested, of the occasions when shooting was resorted to, and similar matters. The Hindi daily *Aj* (Today) of Benares has published a summary of Pandit Malaviya's statement. It appears from it that, from January up to April 20 last, the number of persons arrested exceeds eighty thousand; that 372 editors, vakils, barristers, doctors, professors and merchants were arrested and released and humiliating conditions were imposed on them, in consequence of the non-observance of which most of them have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment; that in various places 496 persons were arrested for hoisting the national flag, which was torn by the police in many places; that 2,496 persons were arrested for picketing; that *lathi* charges were made on 325 occasions and shooting resorted to on 29 occasions; and that there were 633 house searches, with the seizure and forfeiture of property in many places. In many places, fines have been realized by attachment and auction of property. Fines have ranged from small sums up to Rs. 20,000.

According to the Bible believed in by the British people, the sins of the father may be visited upon the children. That has been done on some occasions. But fathers have also been punished for what their children did, and husbands or wives for what wives or husbands did. According to the Pandit's statistics 163 newspapers have ceased publication and their presses been closed.

### Bengal Associations Declared Unlawful

From January up to the 27th of April last the number of associations declared unlawful in Bengal is six hundred.

### Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee Not Re-nominated

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes:

> We are extremely surprised to hear that Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, an eminent scholar of international reputation, has not been re-nominated as a Fellow of the Calcutta University. One is curious to know the reason of this strange action on the part of the presiding deities of the educational administration of the province. Dr. Suniti Kumar is one of the brightest stars in the educational firmament of this country. He would be a pride and glory to the Senate of any University in the world. Why have the authorities in Bengal formed a different notion about the value of his connection with the Calcutta University? A little bird whispers into our ears that the association of Dr. Chatterji with the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha has been his undoing. Is there any truth in this rumour?

The rumour may have gained currency because at present the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University is a Muhammadan and the Education Minister is also a Muhammadan, and because at the present political juncture the Governor of Bengal, who is the Chancellor, cannot perhaps find it politic to disoblige these Muhammadan officers. But if there be a communal consideration involved in the matter, we need not trouble ourselves over much with it. What is important is that Professor Dr. Chatterji is a distinguished specialist in the subjects of philology, phonetics etc., which he professes and there is no one else in the university who can represent them in the Senate or the Syndicate as worthily as he. He ought to have been renominated therefore. The registered graduates of the university who love learning ought to take the earliest opportunity to elect him a Fellow.

### Rule By Ordinance—And By Loans

When Mr. Wedgwood Benn was Secretary of State for India he declared that India had been *enjoying* Dominion Status in action for a decade. Now perhaps India has obtained political promotion, as she *enjoys* rule by ordinance and by loans. The latest loan floated in London was for ten million pounds sterling—about fourteen crores of rupees. "The lists for the new India loan were closed immediately after opening this (27th April) morning." (*Reuter*).

### Ottawa Conference

The nominees of the British Government in India will take part in the British empire conference at Ottawa. They do not represent India. But with their help and consent imperial preference is likely to be forced on India and the world given to understand that India was a consenting party. Government knew beforehand that imperial preference was one of the principal topics to be discussed at the conference, but in spite of that fact no opportunity was given to the Central Legislature to express its opinion on the subject. India's trade with foreign countries other than Great Britain and her colonies is greater than her trade with the latter. Hence, we shall lose rather than gain by imperial preference. It is a dodge to sell more British goods in India.

## *Carte Blanche Against Detenus*

*The Calcutta Gazette*, Bengal's government gazette, published the following notification in its issue of the 28th April last :

> In exercise of the power conferred by Sub-Section (1) of Section 13 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, the Governor-in Council is pleased to make the following rule :—
>
> If any detenu under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, disobeys or neglects to comply with any order made, direction given or condition prescribed by virtue of any rule made under Section 13 of the said Act, the authority which made the order, gave the direction or prescribed the condition, may use any and every means necessary to enforce compliance with such order.

The detenus are persons some fifty of whom were arrested immediately after they had been proved innocent and acquitted as the result of open trial in court and kept confined without any fresh charge or trial and most of the others, numbering about eight hundred, were never brought to trial at all. It is these presumably innocent men against whom "*any and every means*" necessary may be adopted to enforce compliance with "*any* order made, direction given or condition prescribed" by the authority which made the order, etc. We think a supplementary rule should be made—it may or may not be published—laying down that the order, direction or condition which is to be complied with should be lawful, moral, not unnatural, not revolting, not impossible to comply with, etc., and that "any and every means" to be adopted should not include starving, battering, maiming, shooting or torture. It would be good for the souls of "the authority," if Government thus strictly defined the character of the orders, directions and conditions to be complied with and the means to be adopted, even in some unpublished document for the guidance of "the authority"; for even the official "authority" may have human failings.

As full information cannot be available regarding the treatment received by detenus in their places of detention, it is not possible to say whether this rule has been made on the ground that in the absence of such a rule "the authority" concerned felt hampered for lack of permission and authorization to use *any* and *every* means. The details of the Hijli incident made available by the official judicial inquiry do not show that at leas that camp of detention "the authority" hampered.

We do not know whether the Presid the Bengal Council aud the Governor allow any questions to be asked relating the limits and character of the ord directions and conditions to be complied by detenus (who are to be transferred out Bengal) and also relating to the limits character of the means to be adopted enforce compliance on their part with orders, directions, or conditions.

## *"Rebellion" in Manchuria*

Reuter cables from Harbin, April 27, "with eastern and northern Manchuria a with rebellion against the Government, Japanese troops in Manchuria have b the biggest operation since the Sino-Japa fighting of December," and gives detail the operation. Which government is m by "the government?"

Japan pretends that an independ government has been established in Manc ria. If so, let that government deal its rebels—at least let it first *begin* operat against them and then seek Japan's But, no. As Japan is really "the gov ment," the Manchurian patriots are to treated as rebels, and it is Japan who is crush them, *not* the puppet ruler of Manch

What lies imperialism stands for on oc sions !

## *Japanese Plans for Exploiting Manchuria*

That the setting up of an "independ government in Manchuria is only a cloak its colonization and exploitation by Japanese will appear from the follow extracts from *The Japan Weekly Chronic* March 17, 1932, relating to "Exploitatio Manchuria"—that is the heading of the J *Chronicle* article :

> 4—Monetary policy
>
> (a) To reorganize all monetary organs establish a central Japanese bank to keep in contact with the currency system of the new and issue consolidated paper notes, con its activity in Manchuria. (b) To estab

special banking organ to assist exploitation of various industries by means of low interest and long period loans.

5—Tariff problem.

(a) To induce the new Manchuria Government to fix tariff rates as low as possible, and abolish export duties as quickly as possible.

6—Industrial policy.

(a) Industrial exploitation in Manchuria and Mongolia to be made chiefly in key industries. (b) Such industries as iron, soda, soya bean, oil and fats, pulp, coal oil, and magnesium to be encouraged. (c) A mining act to be incorporated so as to protect vested rights, and promote new enterprises. (d) Reform of forestry administration, and protection of Japanese investments. (e) Stocks-farming ; attention to be paid to the improvement of sheep breeding, cattle, horses and pigs. Stock disease prevention. (f) To protect fishery rights and exploit salt making. (g) Special organ to be established for the encouragement and protection of farmers migrating to Manchuria and Mongolia. Protection of Korean farmers.

7.—Trade policy.

(a) A credit guarantee system to be provided for the promotion of exports from Japan to Manchuria. This system is keenly needed for wheat, machinery, dyestuffs, rayon and woollen goods. (b) An information bureau to be established.

## SOLVING JAPAN'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

The Social Bureau of the Home Office is studying the question of settling Korean labourers in Manchuria with the double object of helping forward the development of the natural resources of that territory and of solving the unemployment problem in Japan. Concrete plans of colonization will be discussed among the authorities of the Home Office, the War Office, the Department of Overseas Affairs and the Department of Agriculture and Forestry.

The Social Bureau seems to intend to settle some four hundred thousand Korean labourers now in Japan in Manchuria to follow agricultural work. As the standards of living in Manchuria are very low, it is considered impossible for Japanese labourers to compete with native labourers. Korean labourers are, however, considered capable of competition.

## 200,000,000 YEN INVESTIGATION

The Department of Commerce and Industry is anxious to know details of the resources of Manchuria and Mongolia, and is to institute an extensive investigation as to the gold, iron, coal and aluminium of Manchuria, and their industrial value, as well as the prospects of general imports, and their distribution. The investigation will involve an expenditure of 150,000,000 Yen to 200,000,000 Yen A bill for it will be submitted to the Diet in the second extraordinary session in May.

Japanese life insurance companies are enthusiastic over the investment of their huge funds in Manchuria.

## *Professor Patrick Geddes*

In noticing the death last month of Professor Sir Patrick, Geddes, *The Indian Social Reformer* observes:

> Patrick Geddes was a man who lived in and for ideas. When one thinks of him one is reminded of the ancient Indian *rishi*, the seer, pursuing in his forest retreat surrounded by his pupils some abstruse metaphysical truth of which he had caught a glimpse, with burning heart and fearless eye to its last and most secret abode.

Of his remarkable little book "Dramatization of History" the *Reformer* writes :

> This book is a bold attempt to synthetize human history and to present it to children in scenes which briefly set forth the distinctive contribution of each land and race to make it the common heritage of all.

The description of the Professor's work in Bombay brings out some characteristics of the man :

> His three years in Bombay were to all who came in contact with him a constant liberal education. The School of Sociology which he founded and guided during that period, could not find a suitable successor to him, and has drifted into one largely of a mechanical, statistical sociography which has become subordinated to the all-devouring subject of an out-of-date Economics. Patrick Geddes in the Bombay University was, indeed, a bull in a China shop. His original spirit revolted against all standardized curricula, and the University as it is constituted must aim above all things at standardizing its studies. His teaching was largely done in peripatetic wanderings all over Bombay and its environs and those who had not his capacity for walking and talking all the way, soon fell out of the ranks.

Of his capacity for walking and talking all the way I have a vivid personal recollection. Years ago I was on a visit to Santiniketan when the Professor arrived there. He set out early one morning in the company of the Poet to take a walk everywhere in the area. I accompanied them. Professor Geddes did the talking all the way, pointing out how each mound or hollow could be used to the best advantage either for a cultural purpose or some utilitarian object of the material kind. The Poet, though then in much better health and more vigorous than now and younger than Professor Geddes, fell out before the excursion was over and I, the youngest of the three, felt fatigued.

Town-planning was a special subject to which he devoted much thought, and he could not disguise his horror and disgust at much of the handiwork of our modern town-planning. He held that a town must grow and not be planned and he admired the natural outlay of Indian cities as much as he detested the vandalism of the expert who worked on a system. One or two remarks which fell from him in regard to the housing schemes in Bombay, cling to the mind as characteristic of his approach to social problems. Of the Worli Chawls of the Development Departments, he said, "Why, this is not housing but warehousing the workers." The height of some of these buildings aroused his keen resentment. No building of this kind, he held, should be higher than what a pregnant woman with a pot of water can comfortably climb.

I had the privilege of being introduced to him when he was putting up with Sir J. C. Bose as his guest. A big room was placed at his disposal for his work. I did not then inquire what work he was engaged in; but I found long improvised tables adjoining the walls on all sides, on which MSS. and printed papers were kept, not in heaps but every batch separately. Perhaps it was at this time he came to know Professor Bose intimately and collected materials for the life of the Indian scientist, published afterwards by Longmans.

He will be remembered for his Outlook Tower at Edinburgh and the Indian College founded by him at Montpellier in the south of France. In the open letter to Tagore contributed by him to the *Golden Book of Tagore* he says that "we are now passing from the long domination of physical science during the Industrial Age towards the discernment of the processes of life and mind." In his opinion, in spite of signs to the contrary, we are at "the beginning of a new period and phase of civilization, a veritable Revivance." In him a great spirit has passed away from our midst.

## *Prabhat Kumar Mukherji*

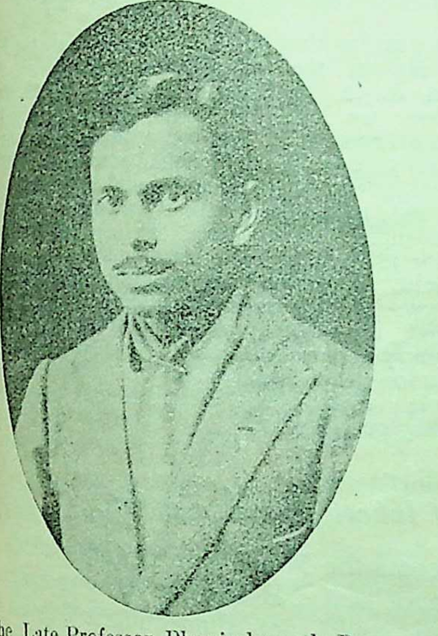
Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, one of the leading story-writers and novelists of Bengal, passed away the other day after a long illness at the age of sixty. The short story was his *forte* rather than the novel. Early in his literary career he used to write poems also in the lighter vein. He was a qualified lawyer, having been called to the bar in England, and had some practice in mufassal towns in Bengal and Bihar. B soon gave it up for a purely literary ca his only remaining connection with the being a lectureship at the University College, Calcutta. He was for years joint ed

Prabhat Kumar Mukherji

of the Bengali monthly *Manasi-O-Marm* with the late Maharaja Jagadindranath of Natore. He was a good writer of En too. The earliest of the translations Rabindranath's writings which have app in *The Modern Review* was done by Mukherji. It was a story, named "The Ri Solved" and appeared in December 1 He translated a few stories of his own for this journal. So far as we can reco one of the earliest of his stories appeare the *Dasi* for September 1896, a Be monthly started and at that time e by the present writer. It was "The Biography of a Silver Coin."

## *ofessor Phanindranath Bose*

Professor Phanindranath Bose, M. A., ., was comparatively little known at the e of his death at Nalanda at the early of 36. But that does not detract from worth of his work as an author and a cher. He taught history for some years Santiniketan and then at Nalanda College, ar-sharif, where he was highly respected loved by his students for his character his patient, loving and hard work for n of a high quality. He lived laborious s and led a very simple life. Besides tributions to various vernacular and glish magazines, he was the author of *ian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, dian Teachers in China, The Indian lony of Champa, The Indian Colony Siam, The Hindu Colony of Cam- dia, The Principles of Indian Silpa-*, an edition of *Pratima-mana-lakshanam*, English translation of the itinerary of the nese pilgrim U-kong (about to be published the Panjab Sanskrit Book Depot), *Hundred Years of the Bengali Press*, Life of r Asutosh Mukherji, Life of Sir P. C. Ray, fe of Sir J. C. Bose ( the last two in ngali), a translation of Bankim Chandra's *ory of the Rings*, etc., etc. At the time of his death he had in hand books on Nalanda, Mira Bai and Rabindranath Tagore. At Santiniketan he studied Tibetan and Chinese under Professor Sylvain Levi and French under Madame Levi. He was thus able to consult many original authorities for his historical research work.



The Late Professor Phanindranath Bose

The late Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India* requires a sequel, bringing the story down to our own times. This he had himself planned to write and collected materials for it. But the impairment of eyesight prevented him from doing so. Before his death, however, he had got the book prepared by two professors of history. Phanindranath Bose was one of them. The book is now in the press. Another book by him—a memoir of the great pandit Sris Chandra Basu of Panini Office fame, elder brother of Major B. D. Basu—has been long ready and will be soon in the hands of the printer.

For many of the details of this notice we are indebted to Prof. B. M. Agarwala of Nalanda College.

## *Glancy Commission's Report*

The disturbances in Kashmir were largely engineered from outside that State, mainly from the Panjab, by interested parties not exclusively Muhammadan. They have had their repercussions throughout India. Hence just as the Middleton report received attention all over India, the Glancy Commission's report also ought to receive attention. For the reasen mentioned in the first sentence of this note and because the Panjab is the province nearest to Kashmir, Panjab opinion would be particularly valuable in this matter. As the views of *The Tribune* on public questions are balanced, sober and the result of calm consideration of their various aspects, we do not hesitate to place before our readers some of its observations on the Glancy Commission's report.

> The Glancy Commission, which was appointed by the Maharaja of Kashmir in November, 1931, to inquire into the grievances of the people of the State and to make proposals for removing them, deserves to be congratulated on the thoroughness and expeditiousness with which it has performed its difficult task in the face of extraordinary

> difficulties. The Commission was all but boycotted by a large section of the people, whose complaints it was expected to examine; while those who had not boycotted it, co-operated with it with a vengeance and placed before it a huge mass of real and fancied grievances, many of which were of a trivial character and were ventilated or invented on the spur of the moment under the belief that, the Government of the State being in difficulties, it would be easy to extort petty concessions from it. The report of the Commission shows that all these grievances, whether they related to a dispute about the boundary of a shrine, or the cutting down of branches of the pipal tree, or the mooring of house-boats in Srinagar, or the consumption of "Chhang" by the inhabitants of Ladakh, were carefully examined by the Commission. We have no doubt the decision of the Maharaja to accept the recommendations of the Commission and to implement them with the least possible delay will cause general satisfaction among the people of the State.

Coming to details our Lahore contemporary writes about the progress of education in the State :

> In the words of the Report itself, of all the complaints presented to the Commission the most widespread and insistent were to the effect that certain communities, especially the Muslim, were not given a fair chance in the matter of education and were not enlisted in sufficient number in the State service. There is not a word in the report of the Commission to show that the educational policy of the State or the methods adopted to fill appointments in the services of the State were calculated to discriminate against the Muslim or any other community. The Commission, however, has expressed the opinion that sufficient progress has not been made in the expansion of education during the last 16 years. In particular, the Commission emphasizes the importance of a rapid expansion of primary education. It is to be hoped that the Government of the State will take immediate steps to accelerate the expansion of education along the lines indicated by the Commission, so that within the next few years it may be possible to introduce compulsory primary education throughout the State.

As regards enlistment in the state service,

> the Commission has made elaborate recommendations with a view to reduce to a minimum the possibility of an abuse of the large powers which must necessarily remain with the heads of departments and other high officers of the State, so long as the appointments are not made on the basis of open competitive examinations. The Commission has laid down a scale of minimum qualifications for all the services and has suggested that all vacancies should be effectively advertised and effective measures should be taken to prevent the due interests of any community from being neglected. The Commission, however, rightly maintains that it is not practicable to lay down any definite proportion or percentage for representation of each community in State service. "It rests with the Muslims," observes the Commission, "to work up the numbers of their representatives in the State service by availing themselves of the opportunities to be provided." While repudiating the suggestion that any servant of the State is as such a "representative" of the Muslim, the Hindu or any other community, we entirely agree with the Commission that it is not for the Durbar to create communal compartments in the State services. All that the Government of the State can be legitimately expected to do is to ensure that everyone has an equal opportunity of qualifying for and entering the various services under the State and that no one is favoured by reasons of his belonging to a particular community.

On the related subject of minimum qualifications for employment, *The Tribune* dissents from the Commission's view that, subject to the minimum qualifications which it lays down in detail, appointments to the various services should be made "with due regard to the legitimate interests of every community."

> If this means that each community is to have the share in the appointments to which it is entitled on a population basis, as seems to be the case, we have no hesitation in saying that the new rule will not only put a premium on inefficiency but be a prolific source of injustice and consequent heart-burning and bitterness. It would also, by affording undue protection to the less advanced communities, leave them without any incentive for improving themselves. Lastly, it would accentuate the communal cleavage and stereotype the communal outlook. By all means see that no discrimination is made against any community or class and also try by every legitimate means to help backward communities but the principle which the Commission lays down obviously goes too far.

## *Law of Inheritance in Kashmir*

It seems the Muslims in Kashmir made it a grievance that a Hindu on being converted to Islam could not there inherit his Hindu ancestors' or relatives' properties which he might have inherited if he had remained a Hindu. The Glancy Commission had to consider this alleged grievance. The Lahore paper writes :

> The issue before the Commission as well as its conclusion are admirably summed up in the following paragraph:
>
> "The question at issue before the Commission is not whether the law in British India or elsewhere is in theory the most ideal. The function of the Commission is to decide whether a definite grievance exists and if so make recommendations for its redress. The issue may, therefore, be stated as follows: Have the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir any legitimate grievance in the fact that the State law relating to the consequences of apostasy is based upon the religious laws of Hinduism and Islam. To this question it would

appear that there can be but one answer. The answer is in the negative."

This is a view from which no right-thinking person can differ. It is worthy of note that before arriving at this view the Commission made enquiries as to the practice followed 'in this matter by Mahomedan Governments and Administrations in India or the neighbourhood of India. The result of the enquiry was to show that no Mahomedan country bordering on or near India allows an apostate to inherit. And yet, as every one knows, this fanciful and manufactured grievance played no small part in the recent trouble in Kashmir.

## *Sir Dorab Tata's Noble Bequest*

> Bombay, April 25
>
> Sir Dorab Tata, the well-known Parsi merchant-prince and a millionaire of Bombay, has decided to devote his property worth three crores of rupees to charity. In pursuance of this decision, it is reported, Sir Dorab recently had a Trust deed drawn up on lines similar to the Wadia Charities Trust, but the provisions of the deed will not come into operation during the lifetime of Sir Dorab, who till then will have full control of the Trust as the proprietor.
>
> The objects of the Trust are understood to be to give relief in various ways to those afflicted by sudden calamities and for helping public institutions, irrespective of race and colour, in all parts of the world.
>
> Apart from this sum of three crores of rupees, Sir Dorab is also reported to have set aside Rs. 25 lakhs for instituting scholarships for research work in connection with what is known as incurable diseases. It is proposed to encourage research in these directions in any part of the world and to award substantial rewards to those who are successful in their efforts.—*Associated Press.*

So far as India is concerned this is the largest single donation made in modern times for public objects. It has also the distinction that persons of all races and creeds in all countries may derive benefit from it.

America is the land of big donations. Brief accounts of two of these, received by the last mail from America, are given below.

## *A Carnegie Fund*

In reading this note and the following, it is to be noted that the value of the U. S. A. dollar is Rs. 3 more or less.

> Philanthropic grants made by the Carnegie Corporation from he income of a $ 115,000,000 endowment fund left by Andrew Carnegie, totalled $ 3,279,000 during the year ended Sept. 30, 1931, according to the annual report of Frederick P. Keppel, president, made public today.
>
> The grants were for the benefit of libraries, adult education, the fine arts, educational and scientific studies, research and publications.
>
> "The library was of vital interest to Andrew Carnegie," the report says, "and the corporation which he created has been, since its organization, and doubtless will continue to be, more closely identified with the library than with any other single activity falling within the terms of its charter.

America is the land of almost universal education and literacy. Yet Americans spend time, energy and money for adult education, which government and people do not in India, where illiteracy is almost universal.

> In addition to library interests, the [Carnegie] corporation reported grants totalling $282,000 for adult education. "The belief is gradually permeating the public mind," the report continnes, "that sustained study beyond the period normally given over to schooling may prove not only profitable but pleasurable."

## *Guggenheim Memorial Foundation*

The other trust of which a brief report has been received is the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

> Fifty-seven fellowships to scholars and artists of the United States and Latin America have been awarded for 1932-33 by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, it was announced yesterday by Henry Allen Moe, secretary on behalf of the trustees of the foundation.
>
> More than 1,500 persons competed this year for the Guggenheim fellowships, which were established by former United States Senator and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim to assist scholars and artists without restriction of field, to carry on orginal research and creative work under the freest possible conditions. The foundation is a memorial to a son of Mr. and Mrs. Guggenheim and has a capital fund of $4,500,000 donated by them.
>
> Of the fellowships awarded for 1932-33, forty-two were granted to scholars and artists of the United States and fifteen to scholars in Latin America.

Those who have received these fellowships will write books or carry on researches in the fields of fiction, poetry, dancing, painting, sculpture, etching, wood engraving, lithography, agricultural problems, distribution of plants, systematic account of amphibians and reptiles, the Frontiers of Inner Asia, composing of music, historical research of various kinds relating to many countries, literary research, biological sciences and physical sciences.

When shall we have a fund like this American one even on a small scale to begin with ?

## Rabindranath's Visit to Persia

Invited by His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlevi of Persia, the poet Rabindranath Tagore has reached that country in a Dutch aeroplane and is visiting the principal towns and sites there. His companions are his daughter-in-law Srimati Pratima Devi, who is one of the most travelled ladies in India, his private secretary Mr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty, and Mr. Kedar Nath Chatterji of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*. The Poet has been receiving a right royal reception everywhere, which was anticipated, of course. He has revived India's ancient cultural contact and intercourse with Japan, China and several other countries of Asia. His visit to Persia is calculated to produce fresh results in the same direction. It is natural for him to ignore and not to stress the personal honour implied in the royal invitation. But while his countrymen do feel that it is certainly a personal honour, they feel no less, with him that in him Persia appreciates and honours India. He embodies in himself the finest flowering of Indian culture and idealism.

In this connection it cannot but be regretted that the *Free Press of India* has not made any arrangements to give our newspaper readers information relating to the Poet's Persian travels. We do not know whether its head office or its Calcutta office is responsible for this omission.

## Lord Irwin in Canada

It may be safely presumed that Lord Irwin has gone to Canada as an anti-Congress and anti-Indian and pro-Imperialist propagandist. He accuses Mr. Gandhi of failure to evolve a considered and constructive policy. Of course, any policy which is incompatible with British policy and interests cannot be a constructive policy. "He criticized the Congress for stressing only its own claims and showing unwillingness to try to meet the indefeasible claims of other large sections." As Mr. Gandhi agreed to the claims of the Moslem communalists (all Moslems are not communalists) to so great an extent as largely to alienate the Hindu Mahasabha and even some of his own Hindu followers and as Dr. Ambedkar represents only a minority among the Depressed Classes, what other large sections remain ? Of all persons, an ex-Viceroy should not create wrong impressions. It is also quite untrue to say or suggest that Congress is only one of the large sections. It is the only large section and nationwide organization.

## Crimes Against Women in Bengal

An article entitled "Sexual Immorality" appeared in *The Mussalman* (weekly edition) of the 15th April last. With most of what our contemporary has written therein we agree. But we must correct one wrong statement, namely,

> A few years ago our vernacular contemporary *Sanjibani* published statistics of such cases during a certain period—the period was sufficiently long—and it appeared that the number of cases in which Mussalmans were hauled up as accused persons was not much larger than the number in which Hindus fared as accused persons.

We asked the Editor of the *Sanjivani* whether this was correct. He said, "No." The correct facts and figures are given below.

The *Sanjivani* published figures for the five years 1329 to 1334 of the Bengali era. The record dealt only with published cases. The total of crimes against women committed by Hindus was 288. The total of similar crimes by Muhammadans was 512. The total of Hindu women abducted, etc., by Hindus was 252. The total of Muslim women abducted, etc., by Hindus was 14. The total of Hindu women abducted, etc., by Muslims was 317. The total of Muslim women abducted, etc., by Muslims was 170.

The *Sanjivani* published separate figures of abduction, rape, etc., by gangs of scoundrels. Of such gangs 131 were composed of Hindus, 337 were composed of Musalmans, and 54 were composed of both Hindus and Musalmans. The composition by 'religion' of 116 gangs was unknown.

We have given only the main figures.

We have no desire to make a communal

question of these diabolical and shameful crimes, which can be put down only by the cordial co-operation of all communities and by sincere, persistent and vigorous action on the part of the Government. *The Mussalman* will be able to do its bit, if it does not ignore or forget one feature of these crimes. Muhammadan gangs remove abducted girls, mostly Hindus, from Muslim house to Muslim house and village to village. Musalman families provide shelter and hiding place for these miscreants and their victims. There the abducted girls (including women of course) are in many cases successively ravished by near relatives, such as uncle and nephew and even father and son, in one another's presence. Hindu society is guilty of many sins and vices and some evil customs. But even among the lowest and the most degraded classes of Hindus such sheltering and otherwise aiding of gangs of ravishers in houses inhabited by women and men and such gang rape by near relatives in one another's presence cannot be instanced. Let our Muslim contemporary point out the dark side of Hindu society as much as it likes —we have done so ourselves as much as time and space have permitted. But let it also look facts squarely in the face so far as Muhammadan society is concerned. Just as blackening Muslim society will not whiten Hindu society, so blackening Hindu society will not whiten Muslim society.

## *The Hindu Mahasabha and Untouchability*

Dr. Moonje, as working president of the Hindu Mahasabha, has issued an appeal to all Hindus to allow all depressed class Hindus full facilities for worship in temples and for the use of wells, tanks, schools, public roads, etc. He has stated that, so far as the Mahasabha is concerned, untouchability does not exist. This is good so far as it goes. But educated Hindus should make the utmost self-sacrificing efforts to improve the moral, intellectual and economic condition of the depressed classes.

## *Mr. G. S. Dutt on "Patuas"*

Not the least of the services rendered by Mr. G. S. Dutt is the prominent publication of the fact that many of the indigenous painters of Bengal, known as *Patuas*, though still following their ancestral calling of painting Hindu mythological picture-rolls and exhibiting them to the accompaniment of chanting of poems composed by them, have been compelled by social persecution to seek shelter in Muslim society, which, too, they have not fully found. Some of them bear Hindu names, members of the same joint family bearing Muslim names. Why should not these conservers of Hindu culture find an honoured place in Hindu society ?

## *Irish Oath Bill Passed By Dail*

The Irish Oath Bill, which abolishes the Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown, has passed through the Irish Free State Dail. If the Free State Senate rejects it, De Valera will appeal to the country.

## *Railway Men Work 22 Hours*

To Mr. Chamanlal's statement at the International Labour Conference at Geneva, in the course of a protest against the non-ratification of the Washington Hours convention by the 'Indian' Government, that Indian Railwaymen often work 22 hours daily, Sir B. N. Mitra, 'Indian' Government Delegate, replied that "Government was unable to carry out its wishes owing to the economic crisis."

But does not Sir B. N. Mitra know that the Washington Convention was drawn up, and ratified by many countries, years before the commencement of the economic crisis ?

## *A Separate Orissa Province*

The Orissa Boundary Commission submitted its report to the Government, duly signed, on the 18th April last. Though it is apprehended in the report that there would be an annual deficit of Rs. 42 lakhs in the budget estimate of the proposed province, we support the creation of a separate Orissa province. Those who have swallowed the camel of N. W. F. P. deficit and are ready to swallow the expected Sind camel also, need not strain at the Orissa gnat.

## *Dictatorship of European Association*

When in our Notes (on p. 580), we referred to "the 'uncrowned' dictatorship of the European Association and the Royalists under which we are living," we had not seen the report of the Calcutta Branch of the European Association for the month ending 15th April 1932. The first two paragraphs of this report quoted below give one the impression that the Bengal Government is a sub-committee of the European Association.

> DUM DUM JAIL
>
> Reference was made in last month's report to the question of the behaviour of political prisoners in the Dum Dum Jail. In response to the Committee's representations Government promised that strict discipline should be maintained but the Committee have since been informed that there has been no improvement in the state of affairs. In fact the detenus appear now to have adopted the tactics of the Dartmoor prisoners and keep up an incessant clamour throughout the night. In view of this further complaint the Committee have arranged to approach the Hon'ble Member in charge of Jails personally and if no satisfaction can be obtained in this way the matter will be pressed on Government with the utmost urgency.
>
> ALLOWANCES TO DETENUS
>
> The Committee has considered further the question of allowances to detenus, more especially with reference to the fact that many detenus having been paid, before incarceration, by Congress Organizations, the allowances subsequently made by Government must simply free such organizations from responsibility for the upkeep of their servants. In fact such allowances become really donation Congress Funds. A number of questions this point have been drawn up for submission the Home Member at an early date.

We did not know before seeing this repor that the Member in charge of Jails, though paid from taxes collected from the people of Bengal, acted under the orders of th European Association and was accountab to them primarily and secondarily to t Government.

The second paragraph is very interesti Supposing the detenus *were* paid by Congr before their arrest, they did not take t money with them to their places of detentio So, if no allowances are to be given to the are they to starve to death ? Is that t philanthropic desire of the European As ciation ? Finally, can the Association pro that the detenus are servants of Congress a paid by it ? Or has the Association got t power, like the police, to act on m suspicion ?

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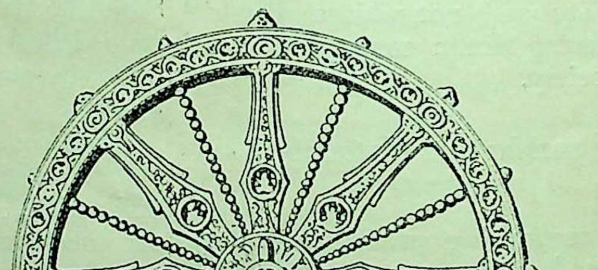

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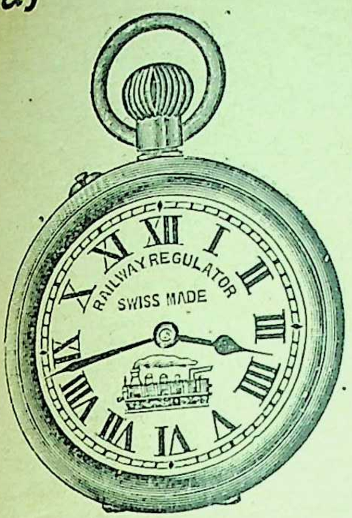

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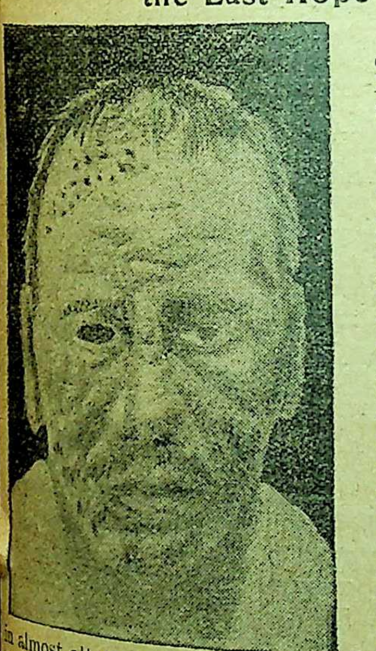

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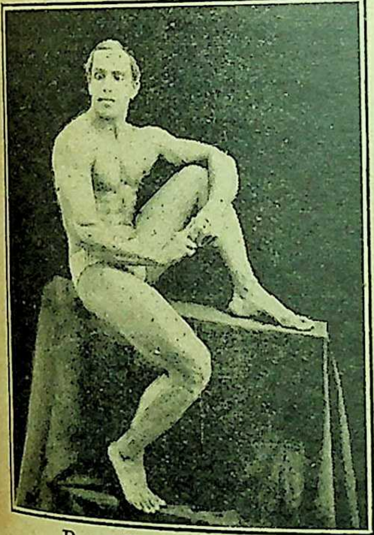

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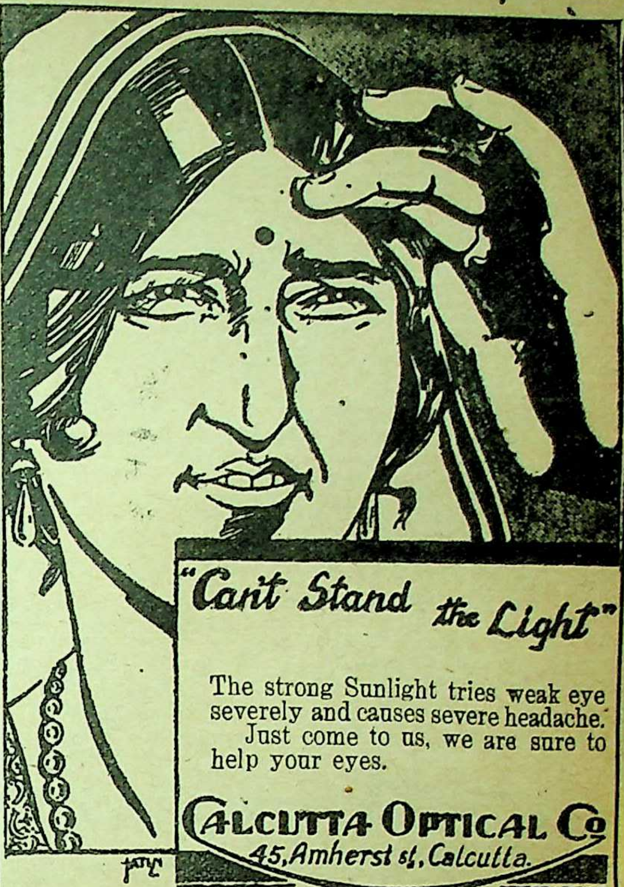

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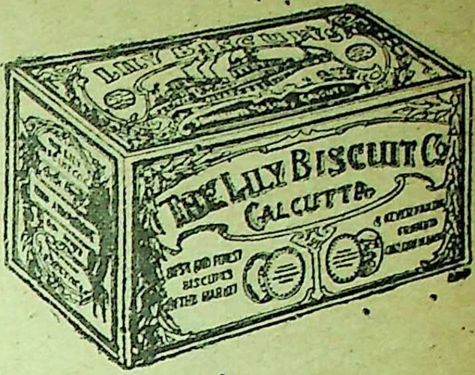

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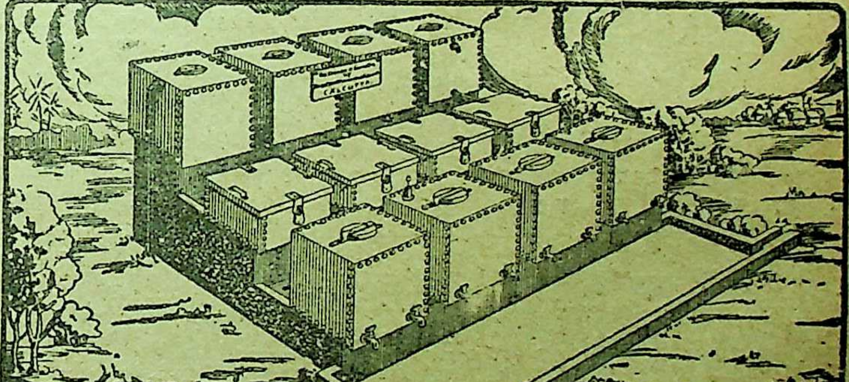

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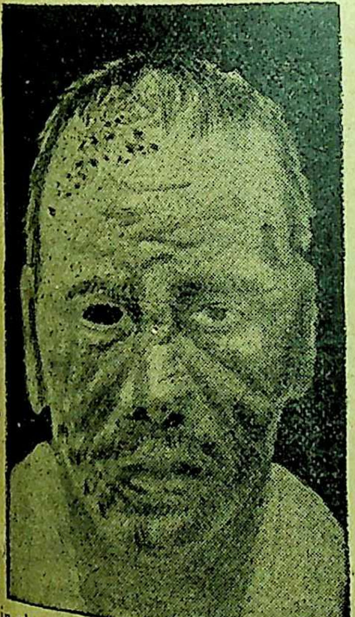

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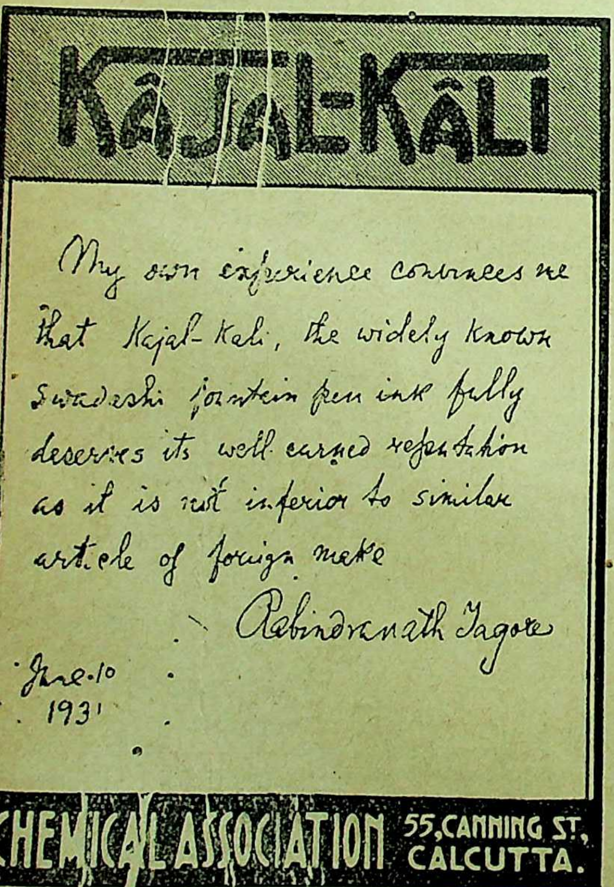

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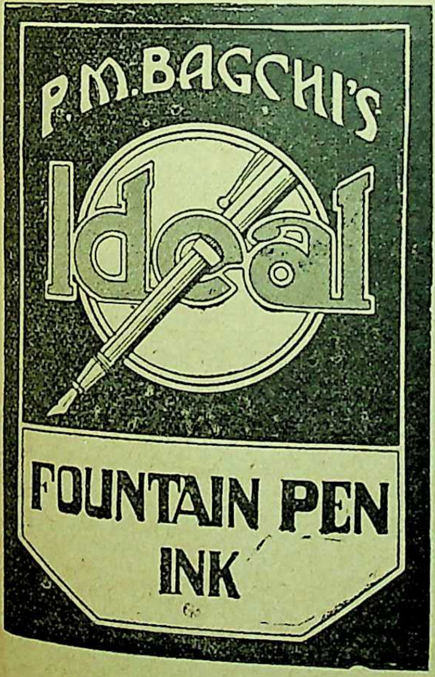

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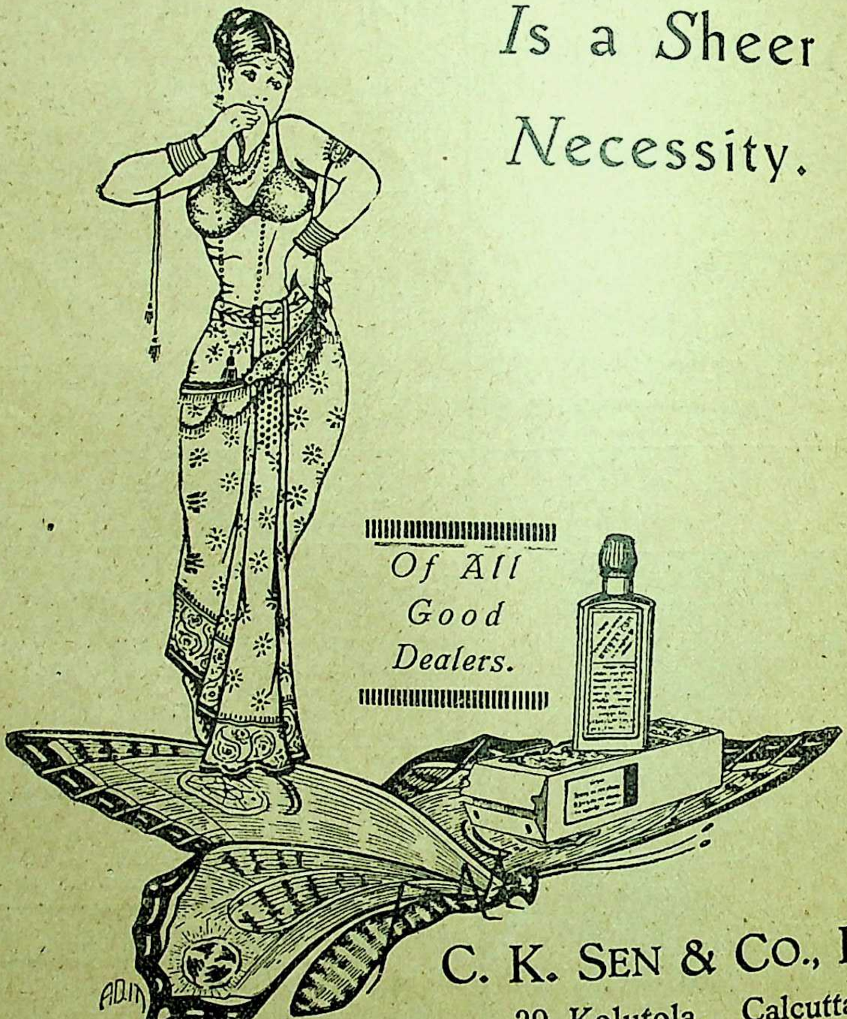

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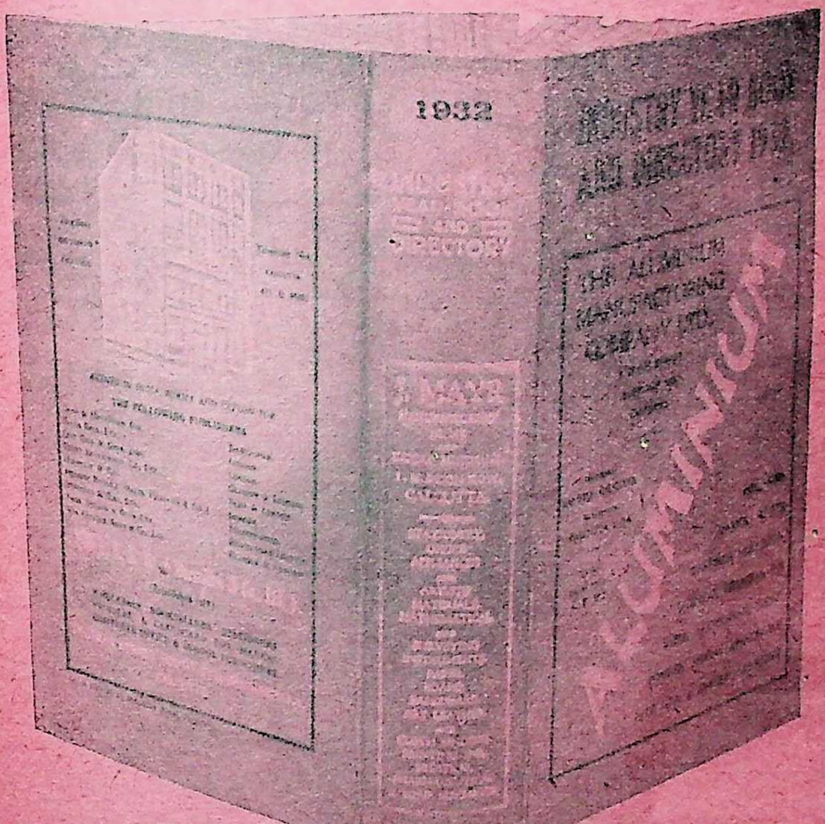

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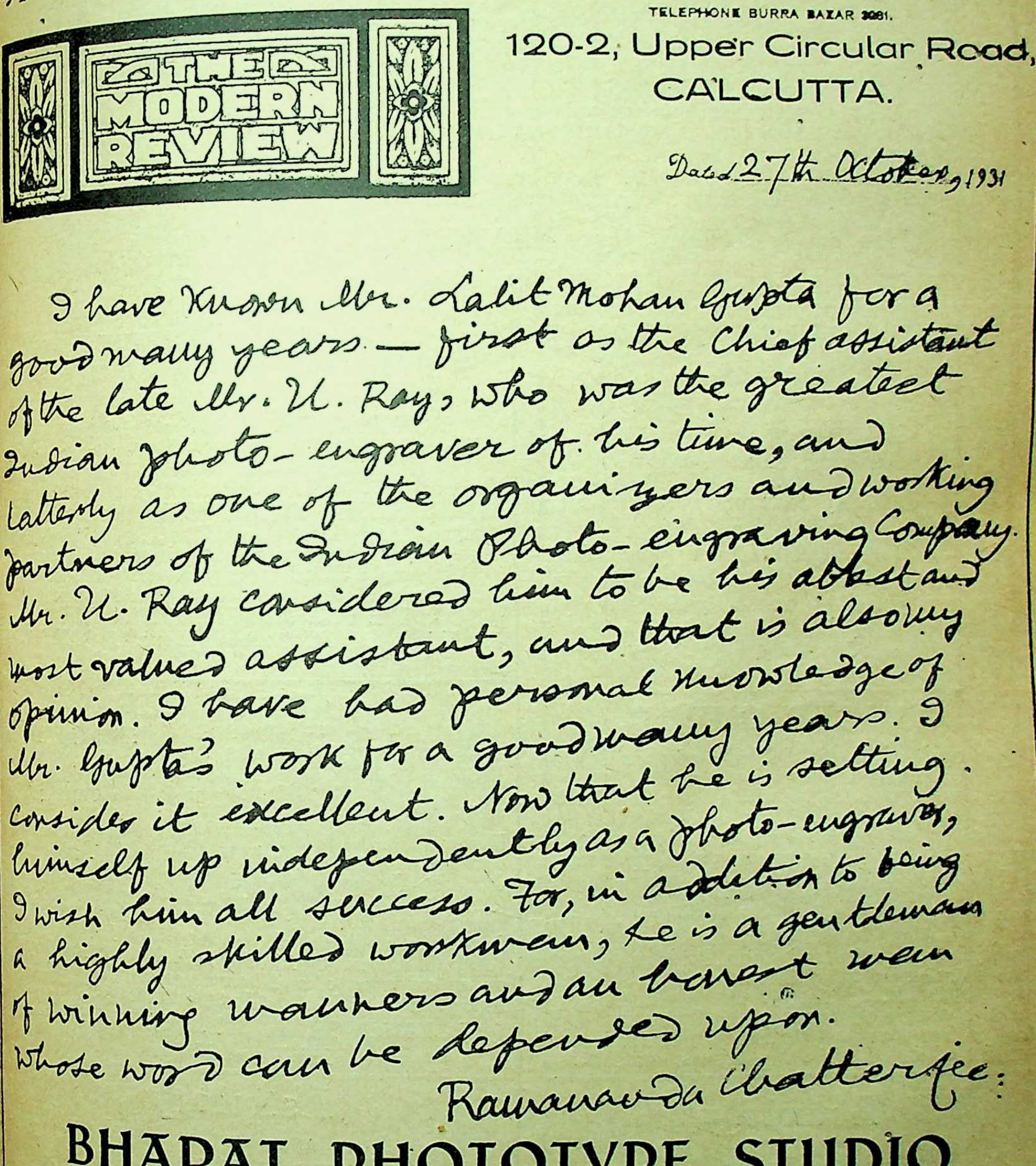

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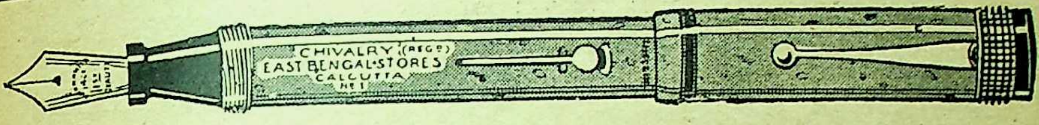

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**H. E. Lord Lytton, the Ex-Governor of Bengal, says:** "I was very interested to see this remarkable factory whic owes its success to the energy and enthusiasm of its proprietor, Babu Mathura Mohan Chakravarty. The preparation of indigenous dru on so large a scale is a very great achievement. The factory appeared to me to be exceedingly well managed and well equipped, an I hope that it may continue to prosper." 11-6-22.

**H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, ex-Governor of Bengal, says:** "I visited the Sakti Oushadhalaya (Dacca) on July the 17th, and was shown everything by the proprietor Babu Mathura Mohan Chakravarty, B. A. I was very much interested in all tha saw, and was astonished to find a factory at which the production of medicines was carried out on as great a scale ... ... Babu Mathur Mohan Chakravarty seems to have brought the production of medicine in accordance with the prescriptions of the ancient Shastras to a high pitch of efficiency." 17-7-20.

**H. E. Sir Henry Wheeler, the Governor of Behar and Orissa, says:** ..... "I had no idea that the manufac ture of indigenous drugs was carried on upon so large a scale. The whole thing bears marks of enterprise and success." 29-7-20.

**Deshabandhu Sj. C. R. Das says:** "I desire to place on record my high appreciation of the work of this fac tory. The business is carried on in an orderly and organized manner. *Supervision leaves nothing to be desired.* I congratulate th Proprietor on the success which this business has already attained." 24-10-22.

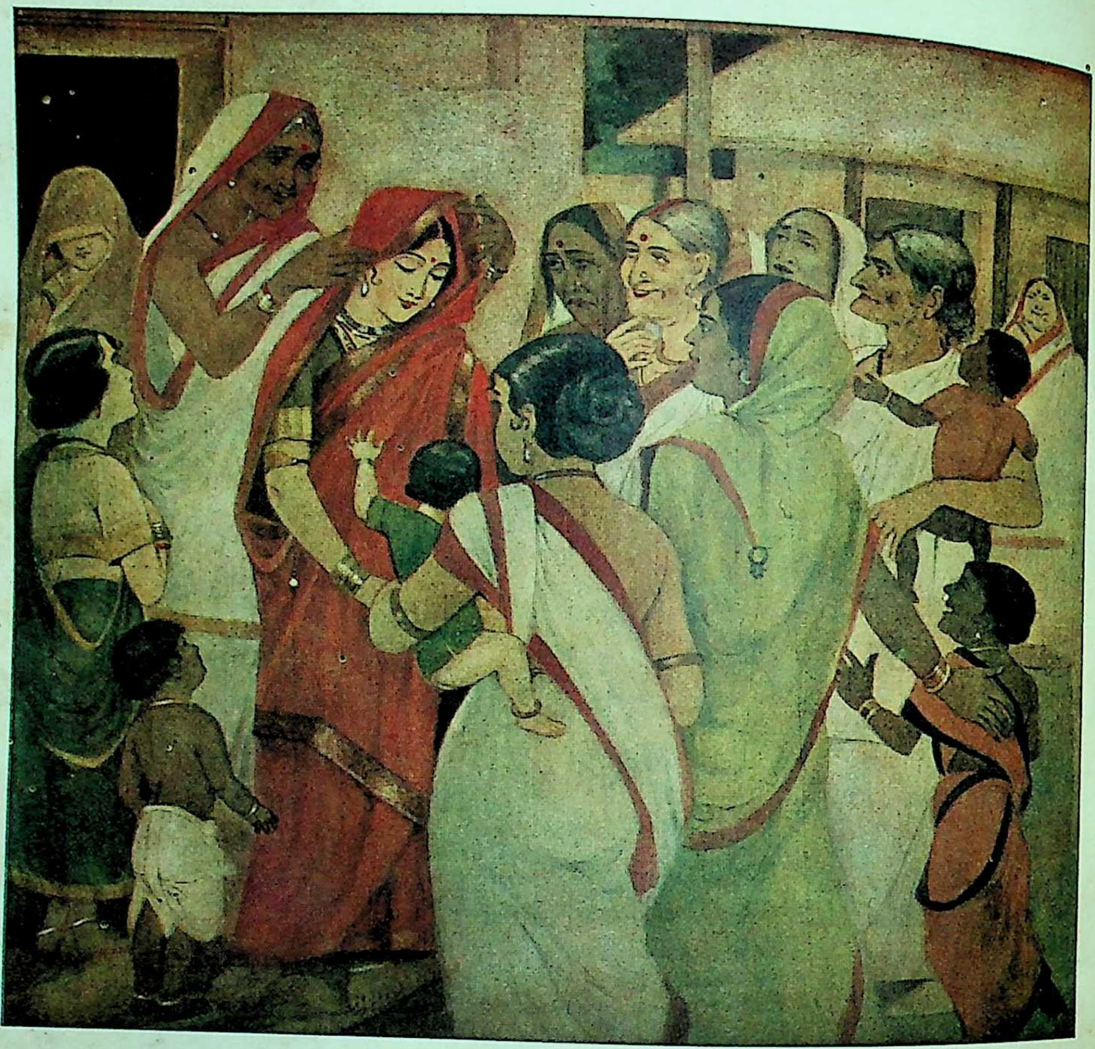
Proprietors:—MATHURA MOHAN, LALMOHAN & PHANINDRA MOHAN MUKHAPADHAYA CHAKRAVARTY.
MANAGING PROPRIETOR:—MATHURA MOHAN MUKHAPADHAYA CHAKRAVARTY, B.A.,
Hindu Chemist & Physician.

All letters, money orders, insures, etc. should be sent in the name of the managing proprietor.

## Bargain for "The Modern Review" Subscribers

Up to the 7th September next, all English, Hindi and Bengali publications of the Modern Review office, including R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa* (price Rs. 40) and Major Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India* (price Rs. 15), will be sold to subscribers to *The Modern Review* at 20 per cent less than their published prices. Postage to be paid by the purchasers.

R. Chatterjee
June 1, 1932.



THE BRIDE'S RECEPTION

By Purna Chandra Chakravarti

[It is the custom in Bengal, when a bride arrives at her husband's house, to put a baby into her arms]

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1932

VOL. LI., No. 6 WHOLE No. 306

# THE UDAYPUR TEMPLE OF MALWA AND ITS BUILDER

By K. P. JAYASWAL

AFTER having studied the architecture of Northern India at first hand, I have come to the conclusion that the best period of Northern Indian architecture is 900 to 1100 A. D. But the claim of that art has not yet been recognized. The mediaeval art has been so much neglected that its best example, the Udaypur temple, has remained unillustrated in books on Indian architecture except for a poor woodcut in an old work, Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture* (ii. 146). I have to thank my friend Mr. Garde, Archaeological Superintendent of the Gwalior State, for the photographs reproduced here. The whole country is beholden to that State for the care taken of this monument which is the most beautiful religious building of Aryavarta in the legacy of art come down to us from our ancestors of the mediaeval period. Man has nowhere made a lovelier abode for his God. Maratha rulers under the Peshwas repaired hundreds of mutilated temples and restored worship therein. One of their generals embellished the *lingam* in the Udaypur temple with a gold coating. The date of this pious act is inscribed on the gold leaf. It was left to the late Maharaja Sindhia, who had the whole temple with its extensive paved grounds fully put into the dignity of a living Hindu shrine. Probably there is no more efficient an archaeological officer in India than Mr. Garde. He has marked the whole State of Gwalior, including the railway stations, with full directions how to reach the ancient monuments, giving exact distances and all necessary information in popular form. A traveller by road or railway cannot miss any site. The sites themselves have guides, booklets, placards giving short histories. Mr. Garde's best work is seen at Udaypur. He has taken immense pains in removing marks of gun-powder and a thick smoke settlement from the interior of the temple and taking various steps for conserving this art achievement of Hindu India and this loving monument dedicated to God by man. While my eyes were being gratified with the artistic and spiritual feast which the temple of Udayesvara offers my heart became full of gratitude to the late ruler of Gwalior whom I have had the honour to know and who was one of the greatest Indians of our generation, having done many good deeds including the construction of the greatest living Indian lake at Sipri, emulating the feat of King Bhoja. At the same time my heart did not forget to record its gratefulness on behalf of my country to the Maharaja's Brahmin archaeologist, the devoted and pious Mr. Garde.

Udaypur is an old walled town in the Bhilsa district of the State of Gwalior, and is accessible from the G. I. P. Railway station, Bareth, which lies between Bhilsa and Bina. The Gwalior State has here, as elsewhere, made a good road from the railway station right up to the temple, for the convenience of the visitors. The only conveyance available at Bareth is the bullock cart. There is no motorable road direct from Bhilsa. Probably this is the only ancient spot in the Gwalior State which is not yet connected with a road system; otherwise every other place, important historically or archaeologically,—and Gwalior is full of such places—is connected with excellent road systems taking the motorist from one end of the State to the other. From Bareth the walled town of Udaypur is at a distance of about 5 miles.

Local tradition alleges that the builder of the temple was king Udayaditya, son of king Bhoja of Dharanagara the capital of Malwa in the middle ages. The tradition is fully correct. The inscriptions in the temple which are in perfect order and give the whole history of the temple support the oral tradition.

The most famous king of the eleventh century in India was Bhoja of the Paramara dynasty, who was king of Malwa from 1010 to 1055 A. D. His undertakings were gigantic: he surveyed the whole of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and had encyclopaedias on art and sciences compiled, books on literary art criticism written, vast anthologies prepared, books on the art of poetics, on astrology, astronomy, music and architecture composed and Hindu law re-stated. In this survey of national culture, he took part personally more than what Napoleon did in the preparation of Code Napoleon. Bhoja was one of the greatest scholars of his time, he had his own theories on poetics. He was a very keen art critic, and composed very fine verses extempore. He declared Prakrit (classical vernacular) poetry as being on an equal level with Sanskrit poetry, though in his capital Sanskrit became the language of common parlance. In the domain of kingship, he was the best general of his time. As in Napoleon so in Bhoja, literary taste and soldierly ability were united. In the history of Hindu law, Bhoja is a landmark: with him the school of Mistakshara law which reigns today arose. As an architect and builder Bhoja was one of the greatest men. He conceived the idea of turning the parched hills of the Vindhyas in Malwa into a green paradise and succeeded in doing so. His lake which, on expert calculation, covered 260 square miles, changed the climate of Malwa. In Muhammadan centuries when the lake was still existing, there came into vogue, the saying '*I wish, I enjoyed the night of Malwa and the morning of Benares.*' The nights of Malwa have ceased to be of that charm with the destruction of the lake. The lake was named '*Bhoja-pala*', *pala* in the language of Malwa even today means the embankment of an artificial lake, it being the same as the old Prakrit term *padi* and *pada* occuring in inscriptions. *Bhoja**-*pala* is now pronounced as *Bho-pal* (from *Bhoa-pala*). The Bhojapala was dedicated to Siva, who was established at the town Bhojapura on the lake (now a village 'Bhojpur'), under the title *Bhoja-natha* enshrined in a remarkable temple which I shall describe later in these pages. In his last days the political position of Bhoja was shaken by his neighbours.

Udayaditya was the son of King Bhoja. He says in his inscription at the Udaypur temple that he retrieved the fortunes of his house, and fondly with just pride records the greatness of his late father. Evidently to mark the memory of his father and his own service to his house, King Udayaditya raises this monument to the family deity *Siva*. Like his father he founds a town after his own name, builds and dedicates the temple of his Lord Siva (called here '*Udayesvara*', like 'Bhojanatha'), and provides a large lake naming it 'Udayasagara' at Udayapura. His local palace, turned by Muhammadan rulers into a public official building, is still existing near the temple. Udayaditya also rendered some public work to the buildings connected with the temple of the 'Great Time' *Mahakala* (Siva) who had been the presiding deity of the Hindu observatory and of Hindu astronomy at Ujjain since the time of the composition of the Mahabharata, wherein the deity and the tank *Kotitirtha* dedicated to him, are mentioned (*Vana*, 82, 49). In Kotitirtha, the tank by the side of the temple of Maha-kala which the Peshwas discovered and restored along with the original temple of Maha-kala, an inscription of Udayaditya was found, and those pious archæologists of the pre-British century enshrined the inscription by building a little temple for it where it is still preserved.

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* Both Mr. B. Ghoshal of Bhopal and Mr. R. Ojha of Indore gave me the origin of *Bho* in *Bhopal* as *Bhoja* which is philologically correct.

Udayaditya's descendants now reside at Agra, and although the present ruler of Eastern Malwa, the Maharaja Sindhia, maintains the temple in a way worthy of a Hindu sovereign, the Agra gentlemen still defray the cost of the lamp in humble service of the Lord Udayesvara.

About four years after the death of King Bhoja the construction of the temple was commenced, in Samvat 1116 ( 1059 A. D.). The flagstaff was consecrated and planted in Samvat 1137 (1080 A. D.). There is a female figure by the *amalaka* of the *sikhara* holding a socket for the reception of the flag. Popularly the figure is attributed to be that of the architect of the temple. Although it is at such a height that with naked eyes it is difficult to discern the details, after a careful observation of the mouldings of the limbs and the ornaments I came to the conclusion that the figure is that of a female. We find female deities holding the flags of Vishnu and Indra in ancient sculptures, and there is a direction in one of the texts to that effect.

It took twenty-one years to complete the temple. The first rays of the rising sun falls on the *lingam* through cunning appertures. The front position of the temple is called *marhi* or the *yogin's asrama* of Siva which is given the appearance of a 'marhi' (hut) pavilion, as is traditionally laid down for a Siva temple. The roof, however, assumes the shape of a low hill behind which the *sikhara* (literally, 'the peak') of the temple rises with the majesty of a Himalayan peak. The main door of the temple is flanked by bay-windows as in various mediaeval temples. The bay is called *pirhi* by the local people, from the appearance of the slanting slabs which are a prominent feature. The *mandapa* is designed to contain a congregational crowd on festive occasions. This is supported on four massive yet beautiful pillars, unique in the history of Hindu architecture. The pillars are square from the bottom (about 2 ft. 9 inches) up to a height of 5 ft.-6 in, then octagonal with sides of 11 inches, 3 ft.-8 in. in height, and then round (1 ft.-3 in.). The pillars are surmounted with a bracket capital of great massiveness. Total height of each pillar is 10 ft. 5 inches. The massiveness has been relieved by the beauty of design, and it has been artistically buried in the elegance of the sculptured brackets and the ribbed ceiling, to which the implication of heaven is given by most beautiful *apsaras* sculptured on the ribs. The roof consists of concentric circles characteristic of mediaeval Hindu domes.

The *sikhara* is designed on the ground-plan of a circle intersected by angles. There are four large bands on the exterior of the *sikhara* between which a miniature replica of the temple itself is repeated 35 times, divided into seven tiers. I could not obtain measurements of the elevation. The height of the temple is reputed to be 75 cubits (*hath*). The temple measures 99 ft. long by 72 ft. wide at the base, the diameter of the basement of the *sikhara* is 37 ft. 9 in.

Several of the sculptures outside which are not high up have been mutilated. Those in the interior escaped this fate under curious circumstances. It became to me and my companion and friend Mr. Sham Bahadur a matter of speculation as to how the whole temple escaped destruction. My enquiry led to the relation of the local traditional account that the temple was filled up with faggots and gunpowder was applied by the Musalman rulers. The whole interior has been rendered perfectly black except the portion now cleaned by Mr. Garde. The attempt at blowing up of the temple failed, except for a breach on the side which is visible in the photograph. It is reported that the metal doors burst. Tradition asserts that the Muhammadan master of the situation was suddenly seized with some disease and owing to the consequential superstition the temple was spared. The date of this attempt might be inferred from the Arabic inscriptions cut on an ornamental, small archway on the *pradakshina* compound of the temple and the improvised mosque in one of the corners of the compound. Muhammad bin Tughlak (1136-38 A. D.)

caused the mosque to be built out of materials taken from the subsidiary temples which stood on the *pradakshina* grounds. Traces of those subsidiary shrines still are *in situ*. By referring to books I came to know that in 1871-72 a British officer found that the local Muhammadans up to that time kept up the practice of worshipping the *lingam* in the temple first before they went into the mosque to have their own worship there. This was said to have come down from the day of the unsuccessful attempt at the destruction of the temple. Now worship by Muhammadans both at the temple and at the mosque has been completely given up.

The compound which is paved with large slabs of stone is 210 ft. × 210 ft. excluding projections 55 ft. × 38 ft. in the centre of each side of the square.

The temple is extremely strong to-day. No cement of any sort is used in the temple. The whole structure is in red sandstone which does not show any decay. Red sandstone is liable to a process of decay, as noticed in Gupta monuments at Eran and some Mughal buildings. But the stone selected for the Udayesvara temple is particularly good and strong. Anyone who has seen the Qutb minar at Delhi can imagine to himself the elegance added to this temple by the employment of the red sandstone. The foundations are marvellously strong for this mountain-like edifice, it knows no cracking, no sinking, and sits unmoved like Siva, its inmate lord. Its carving, joining, sense of proportion, avoidance of over-ornamentation, and *ensemble* effect are nowhere equalled from the Panjab to the Narmada and to Orissa.

At a short distance from the temple in its front, there is an independent large pavilion with perforated screen walls of stone. It is called *vedika*. Outside the walled enclosure at the main gate of the compound there are two *dvarapalas* in niches with a projecting portico. A broken *Varaha* image is lying in the street close to the main gate. Inside the compound, below the compound walls, between the subsidiary small temples (which were probably six or seven in number) there were stone benches for the visitors. On the lines which divided the *sikhara* into seven storeys, there is a suggestion of a balcony design.

The sculptures are probably superior even to the sculptures at Khajuraho. It is strange that the best preserved temple of the best period of the Aryavarta architectures should have remained so unnoticed and unstudied by modern scholars. The temple and its sculptures deserve a memoir.

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# "GROUP VOTING"

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC., B.L.

## I

SIR John Simon and other members of the Indian Statutory Commission signed their report on the 12th May and their recommendations on the 27th May, 1930, in London. They were respectively released for publication on the 10th and the 24th of June, simultaneously here and in England.

Long before that at a meeting of the Council of the Royal Empire Society (formerly the Royal Colonial Institute) held on April 14, a memorandum was submitted by the Secretary, Mr. George Pilcher, a retired merchant of Calcutta advocating the formation of an India Committee, and the following resolution was passed:

> "That authorization be and is hereby given for the formation of an India Committee which shall, in the first place, give critical and constructive consideration to the Simon Commission's report and make recommendation thereon."

The India Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Sir John Kerr, now

# The Most Beautiful Temple of Medieval Aryāvarta

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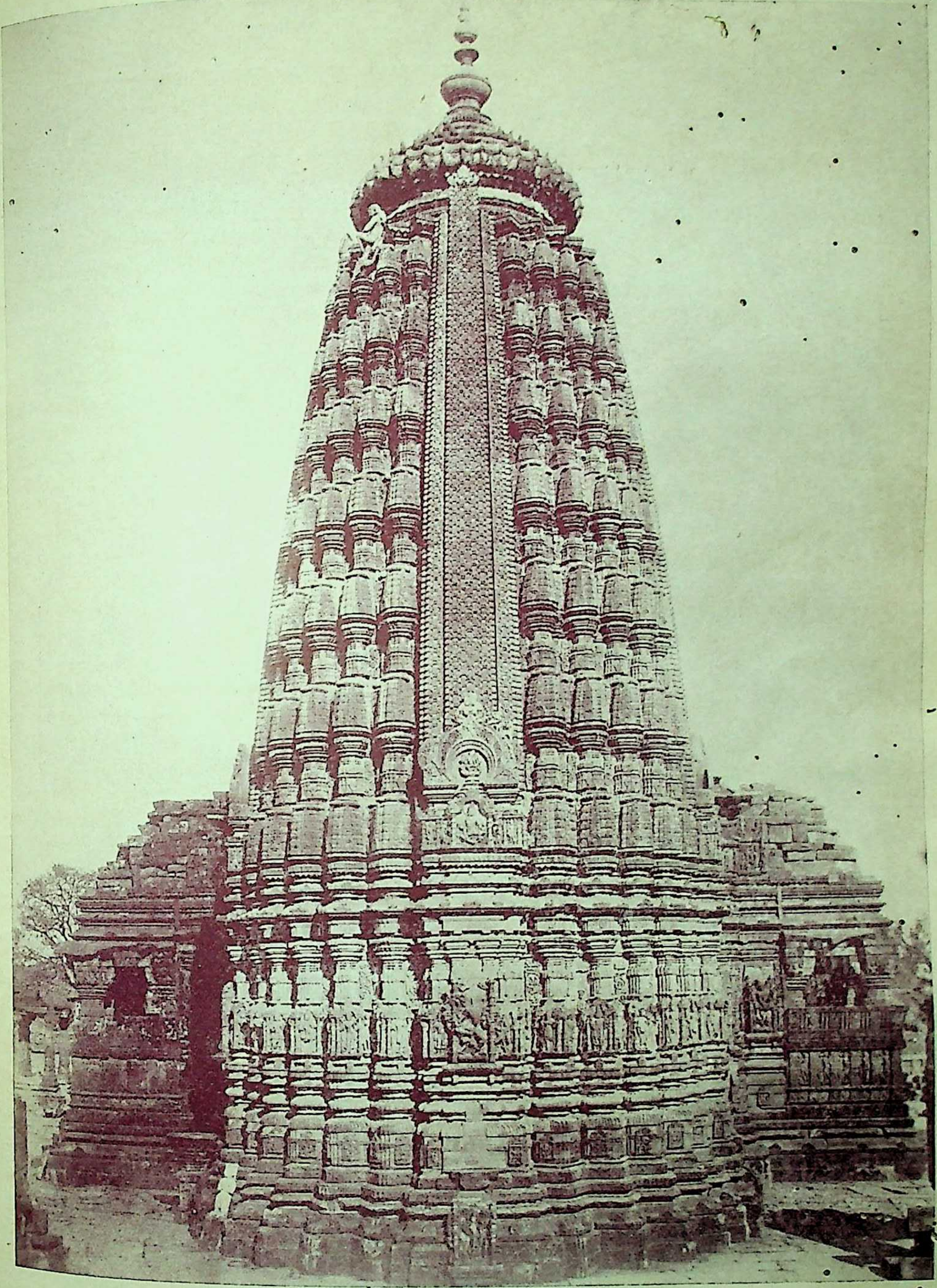
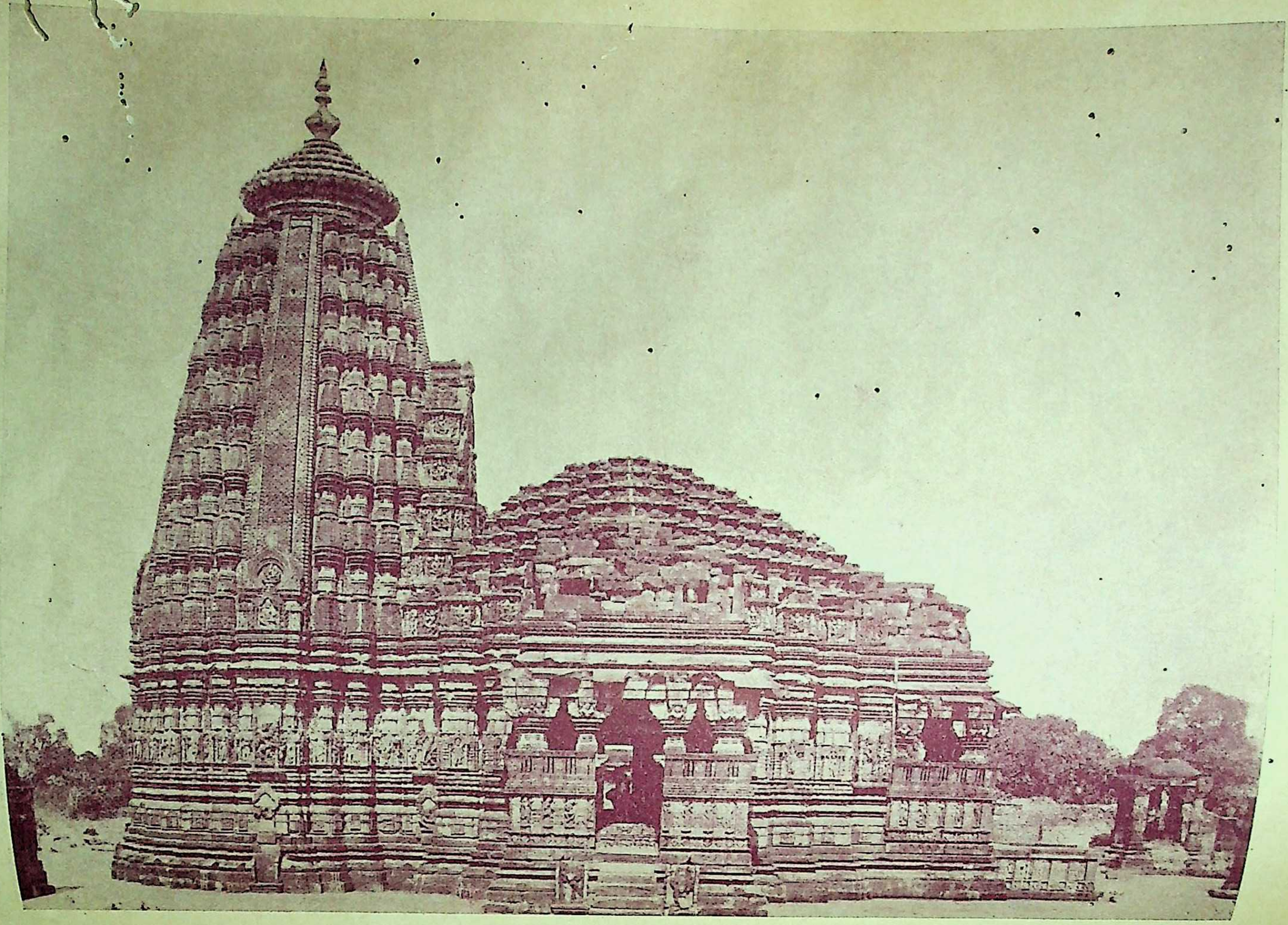


Back View of the Red Sandstone Temple built in 21 years (1059-1080 A. D.) at Udaypur (Malwa) by King Udayāditya, son of the famous King Bhoja

By the courtesey of the Supdt. of Archeology, Gwalior State

# The Most Beautiful Temple of Medieval Aryāvarta



The Red Standstone Temple built in 21 years (1059-1080 A. D.) at Udaypur (Malwa) by King Udayāditya, son of the famous King Bhoja

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Vice-President of the Indian Franchise Committee. It included such ex-officials as Sir John Cuming, Sir Arthur Knapp, Sir Patrick Fagan, Sir Selwyn Freemantle and Sir Henry Lawrence. It submitted a report which was unanimously accepted by the Council of the Society and copies were submitted to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and to all members of the Indian Round Table Conference.

Presumably on reading it, the Marquis of Zetland proposed "group voting" or *Mukhi* system at the first meeting of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the first Round Table Conference.

The London correspondent of the *Statesman*, writing under date January 30 (in the *Statesman* of February 19, 1932) says :

> "Some mystification have been created among the experts in London by the cabled information that the Indian Government have received a telegram from the members of the three Franchise and other Committees recommending that a wider latitude be given the Franchise Committee than has been accorded it in the passages of the Prime Minister's letter governing the Committee's consideration of indirect suffrage. The wider latitude is demanded, apparently, in order to give full scope for consideration of what used to be known as the "Zetland Scheme."...
>
> "Ever since the first formulation of the proposal of wholesale enfranchisement of indirect electors charged with the election of 5 million socondary electors, *There has been a conviction* among those best informed in London that *sooner or later*, the proposal would come into its own. The proposal was not Lord Zetland's at all....... The idea, in germ, was Sir Henry Lawrence's. He propounded it in the Indian Committee of the Royal Empire Society and a sub-committee was set up in which great assistance in its further development was given by Sir John Kerr, the Chairman of the Committee and Professor Coatman. Sir John Kerr's appointment to the present Franchise Committee was wholly due to the report of his Committee of the Royal Empire Society....
>
> "It has been remarked that Mr. MacDonald's letter to Lord Lothian seems, in parts almost to be copied from the Kerr Committee report; it appears, however, to direct that the present Franchise Committee shall be governed by the recommendation of the Franchise Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference...... The Franchise Committee, it is felt, may well agree with the Kerr Committee's assertion that "an immediate trebling of the (direct) electorate including the admission to the electoral role of 6 million women for whom special arrangements would be necessary, could only result in a complete break-down of the machinery."

This is the genesis and origin of "Group Voting" in the Indian political firmament.

Let us try to give an idea of what the Kerr Committee mean in their own words as far as possible. They observe :

> "The grant of complete adult suffrage being out of the question we believe that the requirements of the case could, at least for the present and the next generation, be met by some system of indirect election....We venture to put forward one constructive suggestion. Representation by headman (often known as the *mukhi*, or mouthpiece) is well known in many communities in various parts of India, and is capable of adaptation for the purpose of giving the illiterate millions some voice in the selection of the authority by whom they are to be governed. We do not suggest any restriction of the present individual franchise of the literate voter, but we hold that in addition, the illiterate masses should be given the opportunity of voting through their chosen spokesmen....
>
> The number of persons to be allotted to each group and the other details such a scheme would have to be worked out locally. We suggest that for every 3 or 4 districts or similar areas of suitable size, a registrar should be appointed, whose duty it would be in the first place to supervise the formation of all the *Male* adults of the villages into groups. It would probably be convenient as a general rule that each group should consist of persons of the same caste or community ; but this arrangement is not essential, and the villagers would in many cases be able and should be encouraged to form their own groups by agreement among themselves. After the group had been formed, each group would proceed to select one of its members as voting spokesman ; and the registrar would enter his name in the voting register after deciding any disputes that might arise. All the proceedings would be held either in the village or at a centre convenient to the village. The voting spokesman would vote by *ballot* at polling centres as at the present elections. Similar arrangements could be made in most towns with the advice of ward or *mahalla* committees, though in a few large cities special measures might be required in congested localities with a fluctuating population.
>
> For the present we think it would be advisable that voting spokesmen of the groups should form constituencies entirely separate from the ordinary territorial constituencies.

The Bengal Franchise Committee has gone one step further and has recommended the abolition of direct voting altogether. It confines elections to the legislature to group voting alone.

Let us discuss the feasibility or otherwise of "group voting" and its dangers, if any, with special reference to Bengal.

## II

In any system of election, there must be an electoral roll. The objects of having an electoral roll prepared are many and obvious—

the first and foremost being that for the proper conduct of any election it is essential that the polling officer should have at hand a ready means of ascertaining and determining whether the persons appearing before him are entitled to have their votes recorded. To leave it to the polling officer on the polling day amid a crowd of expectant voters, in face of possible objections, to enquire whether the would-be voter is over 21, or has been resident for the requisite time has paid the required sum in rent, rates or taxes or cesses, or possesses the prescribed educational qualification, or, in case of communal electorates being retained, whether he is a Hindu or a Muhammadan, would be to cause inordinate and intolerable delay, to render the polling booth a scene of disorder and confusion and make the holding of any election impossible. The preparation of a register of voters at once suggests itself as the easiest mode of obviating difficulties and facilitating the performance of the polling officer's duties.

It may be said that though an electoral roll may be a necessity for the final election to the Council, it may be dispensed with, especially as the number of persons from whom the group-spokesman is to be selected is very limited, say 20. Now, two of the qualifications which every group voter must possess are majority, *i. e.*, of being over 21, and residence within the constituency or some given area. To do without the age restriction, even in the case of group voters, would be to transfer political power to minors and reduce selection or election to a farce. To determine the age of a person on having a mere look at him is always difficult, especially at the time of the polling; neither are other means easily available here to fix the true age. We shall deal this question of age at some detail later on. The purpose of having a residence qualification is twofold: it constitutes an invaluable protection against fraud through colonization and the inability to identify persons offering to vote, and, further, affords some surety that the voter has in fact become a member of the community, and as such has a common interest in all matters pertaining to its government, and is therefore more likely to exercise his right cautiously and intelligently.

To do away with the residence qualification is to invite political mischief in the form of manipulated elections through "colonization" and "false personation."

If these qualifications are retained, as they must be, there must be some sort of an electoral roll. "Group voting" pre-supposes that all adults are primary voters. Now who are the adults? Those who have given their age as 21 and over or those who are really so. Our people, whether Hindus or Muhammadans are ignorant and careless to the extreme, and cannot give any correct idea as to their age. In this connection, the Census Superintendent, Bengal, makes the following observations in his report for 1921:

> The age returns are one of the curiosities of the Indian Census. All but a very small proportion of the people of India has only the vaguest idea of their age. Among the illiterate it is not uncommon for an old man to say that he is "probably 25," or for a father to give his age less than his son gives his. Many plead ignorance but others, and they form the great majority, make wild guesses or give such ludicrous replies as *bis chalis*, 20 or 40.

Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, Actuary to the Government of India, in his "Report on Age distribution and Rates of Mortality &c." says:

> "that in the majority of cases the age recorded is a mere guess on the part of the enumerator......
> That at certain periods of life there is a pronounced departure from the normal law of error...
> If this be dealt with due solely to *Deliberate Mis-statement* of age, it cannot be corrected by the application of methods of graduation suitable only to cases where positive and negative deviations are equally likely."

The nature of the abnormalties

> "Shows that any disturbance of the normal age distribution by famines, plagues, malaria &c is of trifling significance compared with the *large and systematic mis-statement of age*."

By comparing the graduated results with crude census figures the proportion of each group of the crude figures which is to be transferred to the next younger group in order to reproduce the graduated numbers could be ascertained.

The result for the relevant age periods as found by Mr. Meikle are given below:

| Age group | Percent transferred to next younger group. |
|---|---|
| 15-19 | 1.0 |
| 20-24 | 27.2 |
| 25-29 | 41.6 |

Mr. Thomson says of Bengal :

> "It appears that at least from 14 to 24 the number of the males has been understated and that there has been a distinct tendency to over-estimation of their ages by young men from 18 or 19 up to 24 and an understatement of the age of boys from 13 or 14 to 17. This is very natural. At 17 or 18 a boy becomes a man, and he, his parents and the census enumerator, are inclined to make too much of his man's estate and over-estimate. Under-estimation below that age is equally natural."

Who is to determine whether a particular individual is an adult or not ? If no electoral roll is prepared, the difficulties are enhanced greatly, for the polling officer has to determine the voter's age by having a mere look at him and such summary enquiries as he can make from his neighbours at the polling station. If the individual presenting herself for vote is a female, even the opportunity of having a mere look at her face is denied in the case of the Muhammadans and other *purdanashin* ladies. As there is no right of appeal from the summary decision of the polling officer, nor can there be any such right from the nature of the case and the necessities of the circumstances, the right to vote is dependent upon convincing the polling officer that one is above 21—at best a very doubtful right of precarious existence. It opens the flood-gates of undue influence and corruption, and political bias, and places the honest polling officer in a situation at once difficult and delicate.

## III

If an electoral roll is prepared, the difficulties are minimized ; but they are still there. Following the present practice, and to save costs the agency of the Union Boards and the services of the presidents are most likely to be requisitioned in the preparation of the electoral rolls and in the conduct of elections or selection of voting-spokesmen. The ambitious or unscrupulous president, in order to enhance his prestige or control the results of an election, especially if the voting spokesmen are to vote in separate constituencies to be formed for them, is likely to put more men, whether they be really adults or not, on the electoral roll. Or, if he is clannish, he will put more men as adults in the electoral roll who are of his caste or his religious presuasion, and disqualify many real adults who belong to the opposite camp. He will thus try, and will be often successful in controlling the selection of voting-spokesmen. His temptation will be all the greater as there are no means of checking the age or revising his actions. In one Union Board, the president is lethargic and puts down all and sundry on the roll ; in another Union Board the president disqualifies everyone who cannot prove that he is over 21 ; the result is that one Union Board is over-represented, while the other is under-represented. The same result may happen even if both the presidents are strictly honest and scrupulous. In any case, the number of electors will depend upon the idiosyncracies of the presidents.

It may be urged that production of birth-certificates and a little enquiry as to the identity of the person in the locality will solve the problem. Birth certificates presuppose birth registration. Even with the network of Union Boards throughout the province, the registration of births and deaths has not increased in accuracy. In calculating the provincial birth and death rates, the Bengal Public Health Report for 1928 "allows for a probable omission of 27 per cent." In a province, where roughly about a third of the total births and deaths are unregistered, it would be idle to demand production of birth certificates. As both births and deaths are equally unregistered, mere production of the birth certificate would not establish the identity of the person. As the death of a person may be registered, whose birth is unrecorded, or *vice versa*, the proportion of doubtful identity is certainly more than one-third.

Besides, there is the cost and trouble of procuring the birth certificates, the records of which are usually transferred to the district headquarters after a certain period.

It may be urged that as no appreciable difficulty is felt on the ground of age in the preparation of the electoral rolls under the present franchise rules, why any very great difficulty will be felt in the preparation of an electoral roll of all adults. The answer is twofold :— (1) the number of present-day electors is comparatively small, and (2) the present-day franchise qualifications being based on property, it automatically excludes many in whose cases *bona fide* doubts may have been felt by the registering authority.

We will make our meaning clear. Taking the figures for the 1921 census, the estimated number of those who are over 21 is 227 lakhs. In 1926, the numbers of male and female electors in the general constituencies were 1,116,306 and 36,906 respectively.

The present-day franchise qualifications are based on payment of a certain amount of taxes, rates, or cesses. Property is generally owned by the father or the husband of the family, or it stands in the name of the eldest brother. In the case of females, property is mostly owned as a widow or as a *benamdar*. In either case she is ordinarily much above 21, and the chances of minors being enrolled are small. The proportion of minors among the total population is certainly very much greater than among those in whose names property stands. For many minors have their fathers living; among those who are fatherless a large number have their eldest brothers living, who are generally majors.

A very rough indication of the proportion of those who are fatherless and those who have their fathers living can be given. The Hindu widow does not remarry; so, the mothers of those who are fatherless are expected to be returned as widows. The number of such widows was 25 lakhs. But the mothers of those whose fathers are living are expected to be returned as married women—the number of such women is 44 lakhs. So the proportion of those who are fatherless to those who have their fathers living is as 25 : 44; or, roughly, about one-third are fatherless.

Of those who are fatherless, a large number have major elder brothers living. On a rough estimate, about two-thirds have grown up elder brothers. So, the proportion of minor property owners is one-ninth the proportion of the minors among the general population.

Assuming that an accurate electoral roll of all adults is possible, how are they to be suitably "grouped together"? Are all adults within the Union Board to elect a given number of voting spokesmen provided eve 20 form themselves into a group; or are the adults to be grouped together by so official agency with reference to religio faith, contiguity, residence and proximity t each other as suggested by some member of the Bengal Franchise Committee? Th average area of an Union Board is so 11 sq. miles; and if the people througho the area are allowed to form themselves in groups, while it gives the primary voters greater degree of freedom to consult th own inclinations and friends, it will frustra the very object of giving him a vote. In t words of Mill, "He will not occupy h thoughts with political opinions and measure or political men, but will be guided by h personal respect for some private individu to whom he will give a general power o attorney to act for him." Intriguing men wi be given the scope to usurp power. Instea of primary voters electing a voting spoke-man, the voting spokesman—the intriguin spokesman—will seek out his primaries.

If the primary voters are compelled to b grouped with reference to contiguity and residence, etc., the voting spokesmen will more often than not be their delegates, "selecte solely as delegates to give a particular vote." They will be selected not because th "exceed in intellect and character the comm level of their constituents (and as such) th choice made by them was thought likely t be more careful and enlightened, and wou in any case be made under a feeling o responsibility, than election by the mass themselves"; but because they will slavishly follow the dictates of the primary voters.

If artificial grouping is to be impose upon primary voters, much depends upon ho they are grouped, and the principles followe in grouping. Take for example the princip of contiguity and proximity. Suppose A, B, C,.. to be residents along the east bank of a Khal W, X, Y,...to be residents along the west bank; if the ordinary distance be taken as the criterion, A is likely to be grouped wit B, C,—but if distance as crow flies be th criterion, A is likely to be grouped with X, Y. Or they may be grouped alphabetically b *mauzas*, as in England they arrange th electoral roll alphabetically by parishes—

in which case whether it is to be according to the forenames or surnames assumes considerable importance. Then, how are the surplus primary voters of one group to be grouped with other groups ?

Further, "group voting" will increase the chances of corruption. The adult population of 250 lacs (1931 census) divided into group of 20 would elect 12 lacs voting spokesmen ; and for a legislature of 200 members each constituency would mean 6,250 secondary voters. This is the idea of the Bengal Franchise Committee. At present, the average strength of a constituency is 13,500.

If the ordinary franchise be retained, and group voters be formed into separate constituencies, the area of such constituencies are likely to be large—some 6 times larger than the ordinary one ; and the attendance is likely to be considerably less. And the attendance at poll is of equal importance, if not of greater importance than the mere right to vote in primaries and indirectly influence the choice of legislators.

Apart from the difficulties of preparing the electoral roll of primary voters, and of suitably grouping them, and of conducting the election of voting spokesmen, the question arises when is the election to take place. Suppose the electoral roll of the primary voters is prepared in 1926, and soon thereafter the election of the voting spokesmen takes place. These voting spokesmen are then entered into a final electoral roll. Suppose the Council is dissolved as was done in 1929 before another fresh roll is prepared. Are the primary voters to elect a new set of voting spokesmen, or are the voting spokesmen already on the roll to be allowed to vote? In the former case, it will add to the cost and magnitude of the conduct of elections ; and every source of intrigue, bribery, corruption, etc., will be opened to the ambitious and unscrupulous Union Board presidents. In the latter case, the main object of giving the primary voters a vote so that they may take lively interest in the affairs of the nation, and thus have their 'pathetic contentment disturbed' would be frustrated.

For all these reasons, group voting is neither practicable nor conducive to the best interests of the country. It is an idea thrown by the ex-bureaucrats as a bait, and we should be very careful before we accept it at its face value.

# MAHATMA GANDHI HAILED AS THE MOST OUTSTANDING RELIGIOUS TEACHER

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH. D.

SOME eleven years ago the Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the Minister of the Community Church of New York, delivered a sermon on "the Greatest Man in the World Today." This became a historic event. On that occasion this great religious teacher, who leads the freest congregation in the world, declared to his New York audience and thus to the world that Mahatma Gandhi was "the greatest man in the world today." Since then not only has Dr. Holmes delivered hundreds of lectures in which he has given out his views on Mahatma Gandhi and the situation in India, but he has succeeded in making a very important section of the people of various countries accept his judgment on Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Holmes is not one of those who is a devotee of some cult of oriental mysticism ; but he is a scholar of comparative religion. He is a Christian, but his religion is broader than any creed and he is a man of peace and is engaged in making his church a centre where members practise "universal brotherhood." The spirit of the Community Church of New York is fairly but very concisely described in the following "Invocation" which is read in unison by the members of the Church and Ministers during every service :

> "Unto the Church Universal, which is the depository of all ancient wisdom and the school of all modern thought ; which recognizes in all prophets a harmony, in all scriptures a unity, and through all dispensations a continuity ; which abjures all that separates and divides, and always magnifies brotherhood and peace ; which seeks truth in freedom, justice in love, and individual discipline in social duty ; and which shall make of

> all sects, classes, nations and races, one fellowship of men...unto this Church, and unto all its members, known and unknown throughout the world, we pledge the allegiance of our hands and hearts."

On Sunday, the 24th of April 1932, the Community Church had a unique service—"Special Service for First Presentation of the Community Church Medal," established to give annual recognition to the outstanding religious achievement of each year. Speakers were Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Frank Oliver Hall and Mr. Holmes. Dr. Holmes in his brilliant speech traced the history of the movement for the Community Church Medal and the scope of "recognition to the outstanding religious achievement." He made it clear that "religious achievement" was not to be taken in the spirit of theology, but in the widest sense of "service to man and devotion to God." From this standpoint, the judges unanimously agreed to confer the first medal to Mahatma M. K. Gandhi of India. Dr. Holmes gave a brief description of the inscriptions on the medal:

> "Mr. Louis Meyer, a distinguished artist and a member of the Community Church of New York, designed the medal, which on one side portrays the entire world, showing the firmament and expressing the scope of the service rendered to humanity. A prophetic figure is shown pointing upward in the way of enlightenment. The wording around this side of the medal is: 'They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.' On the other side, the name of the recipient will be inscribed and the year of the presentation. The dove of peace, against a background symbolizing the earth, is shown and the inscription, '*Religion is conscience in action*'."

In the absence of the recipient of the medal, who is safely entrusted to the care of the jailor in Poona, the medal was accepted by Dr. Haridas Mazumdar of New York who is known to be one of Mahatma Gandhi's followers and one of the group who marched to Dandi with Mahatma Gandhi; Dr. Mazumdar is the author of the life of Mahatma Gandhi; and he made a short speech, befitting the occasion while accepting the medal on behalf of his Master.

The most significant and impressive address of the occasion was the speech delivered by the world-renowned Jewish leader, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue of New York City. He gave the details of the attitude of the various judges regarding the selection of Mahatma Gandhi as the recipient of the medal. He compared the Mahatma to a Moses who is trying to lead his people to freedom from bondage. Rabbi Wise characterized that a great religious teacher should have the attributes of championing the cause of *freedom and fellowship*. In his judgment, said the rabbi, no man in the modern times has shown his devotion to the cause of human freedom and fellowship as has Mahatma Gandhi, who is willingly undergoing suffering in prison for the cause of 350,000,000 people of India and at the same time for the freedom of all enslaved peoples and whose spirit of fellowship has no limit of creed, colour or class as Mahatma Gandhi shows his spirit of love and fellowship to the British people, the oppressors of the people of India.

Rabbi Wise on this solemn occasion of the presentation of the medal for the recognition of outstanding religious achievement to Mahatma Gandhi declared his support to the cause of Indian freedom in no uncertain terms. He said that he and millions of Americans would support the people of India in their struggle for freedom, until they become as free and independent as the people of the United States of America. The rabbi had a vision of the establishment of the Republic of the United States of India.

In the concluding speech, Rev. Dr. Hall expressed that he was not an absolute pacifist: but he is a believer in "non-violent coercion" to uphold the cause of justice and human freedom. He believed in the absolute sincerity and honesty of Mahatma Gandhi, who has done so much to spread the message of human brotherhood and freedom.

April 24th (Sunday) of 1932 will remain as a historic day for the people of India as well as the rest of the world. It is the date when the West in fellowship with the East extended its sincerest recognition to Mahatma Gandhi, whom Dr. Holmes termed as the Universal Man. It should be remembered as the date when recognition was given, from the standpoint of spiritual significance, to India's struggle for political freedom as a means to a greater end which concerns the whole world. This event will be regarded by all who have religious sense—conscience in action—as the moral vindication of the martyrs of India.

# THE BENGAL HINDU MANIFESTO AND MUSLIM BENGALIS

### By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IN the sphere of politics the first duty of all Indians, in whatever province they may live, is to try earnestly to win freedom for India by means and methods which appear to them legitimate and likely to lead to success. Next only to it in importance is the duty of all Indians to see justice done to the Province in which they dwell in the matter of the revenues assigned to it for its administration and in the number of seats allotted to it in the Central Legislature. In the "Report of the Federal Finance Committee 1932," page 5, in the table of provincial forecasts, surpluses are shown only against the Panjab and U. P. and deficits against the other provinces—the biggest, two crores, being that of Bengal. Similarly, according to the Federal Structure Committee's allocation of seats to the British-Indian Provinces in the future Federal Legislature injustice has been done to Madras, Bengal, U. P., and Bihar and Orissa. As this article relates to Bengal, I wish to point out that it is the duty of all Indians residing in Bengal, whatever their creed, caste or class, to combine in an earnest and persistent endeavour to obtain financial and representational justice for Bengal. Assuming, without admitting, that there may be some political matters in which there may be differing Moslem and non-Moslem interests, in finance and representation injustice to Bengal will injure Moslem and non-Moslem alike, and justice will benefit both. Nay, as Muslim Bengalis have more leeway to make up than Hindu Bengalis in education, etc., injustice to Bengal hits them harder and justice will be of greater advantage to them. For this reason, communal controversies should, in the present circumstances, be avoided as much as possible. Holding this view, as I do, if I try to remove some misconceptions relating to the recent Bengal Hindu manifesto, to which I was one of the signatories, I do so reluctantly from a sense of duty.

*The Mussalman* writes :

> "It is a thousand pities that at a time when the maintenance of inter-communal peace and harmony is greatly needed and is a matter of utmost importance some Hindu members of the Bengal Legislative Council and some members of the Bengal Hindu Sabhà have thought fit to issue a manifesto calculated to cause estrangement of feeling between Hindus and Mussalmans."

I regret that it should have been necessary to issue the manifesto. But it was issued neither thoughtlessly, nor owing to an exuberance of communal feeling, nor to cause estrangement of feeling, but, as was stated in the manifesto itself, because, in view of the expected solution of the communal problem by the British cabinet, "the Moslem communalists have recently stiffened their demands" and it was felt necessary that the Hindu view should be known at this juncture. The Muslim journal says that "the Muslim demands referred to in the Hindu manifesto are not the demands of the entire Muslim community." The signatories to the manifesto were aware of this fact, as their above-quoted words ("the Moslem communalists have stiffened their demands") show; they nowhere say that the Muslim demands they have criticized have emanated from the entire Muhammadan community: on the contrary, the manifesto plainly states:

> "A very large section of progressive Mahomedans have already realized this danger and are now in favour of joint electorates."

As for myself, I have written in the May number of *The Modern Review*, page 586:

> "The proceedings of the last session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, under the presidency of Maulvi Mujibar Rahman, were marked by a commendable spirit of democracy and nationalism. The speeches of both the president and the secretary (Dr. Rafidin Ahmed) breathed that spirit. Joint electorates were supported at this session. The members were justified in asserting that they would not accept the reservation in the provincial legislature of any number of seats which was less than the proportion of the Muslims to the total population of Bengal. At the same time, they did not demand that there should be in it a statutory majority for Muslims."

*The Mussalman* "challenges the signatories to the manifesto to prove the assertion" in it printed below.

> "Even if we leave aside the more responsible offices of the State, it is an admitted fact that in spite of specially lowered qualifying tests the Government have found difficulty in recruiting for their ministerial and subordinate services from the Moslem community."

This "assertion" has two parts, namely, lowering of qualifying tests for Moslems and difficulty in recruiting officers from the Muhammadan community in spite of such lowering.

As in competitive examinations for some branches of the public service, it is the usual rule and practice to select some candidates for appointment from the Muslim and other "minority communities" who occupy lower places in order of merit than those who succeed in getting appointments by sheer ability, the Muslim and other "minority community" candidates thus often superseding the just claims of unsuccessful Hindu competitors higher in the list in order of merit, the fact that qualifying tests are thus practically lowered in order to recruit Muslim officers cannot be denied. That Muhammadans want this sort of lowering of qualifying tests to be continued is proved by the resolution, passed at the Lucknow Nationalist Muslim Conference under the presidency of Sir Ali Imam in April 1931, demanding "that all appointments shall be made by the Public Service Commission according to the minimum standard of efficiency," as also by that portion of Dr. Ansari's Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference presidential address at Faridpur in June 1931 which demanded "that all appointments shall be made by a Public Service Commission according to a minimum standard of efficiency."

As for the statement that difficulties are sometimes felt in obtaining recruits for some services from the Muhammadan community, I need only refer to the answer given by Sir James Crerar in the Legislative Assembly on the 23rd March last to starred question No. 910 asked by Mr. Muhammad Anwar-ul-Azim. The question was asked "in respect of examinations conducted by" the Public Service Commission "for recruitment to the ministerial establishment of the Government of India.' Some parts of the question with the corresponding answers are reproduced below from pages 2383-84 of the official report of the Legislative Assembly Debates, vol. iii, No. 7 of 1932 :

> "* 910 (*c*) Is it a fact that the [Public Service] Commission were unable to obtain the requisite number of qualified Muslim candidates to fill these vacancies [reserved for Muslims] ?
>
> "(*f*) Is it true that in 1926 the Commission reduced the qualifying marks for the benefit of the Muslim candidates but did not make a similar reduction in 1931 ?"

So, assuming that the Commission had once reduced the qualifying marks, for the benefit of the Muslims, the questioner wanted the same favour to be continued.

Sir James Crerar answered :

> "(*c*) Yes. Orders were issued that unqualified Muslims should be allowed to continue to hold temporarily permanent vacancies reserved for members of that community until qualified Muslim candidates are available.
>
> "(*f*) No. I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the reply I gave on the 16th instant to part (*d*) of question No. 826, asked by Maulvi Sayyid Murtuza Saheb Bahadur."

Sir James Crerar's answer to part (*d*) of question No. 826 is very interesting and revealing. It runs thus :

> "Government have ascertained that at the outset no qualifying mark was fixed at all because only a limited number of vacancies was offered. When it was found that a sufficient number of candidates from minority communities to fill the vacancies reserved for these communities were not at the top of the list, the Commission went down the list taking these candidates in order of merit. *Eventually the question arose how far down the list the Commission could probably go*; and a qualifying mark was then fixed for the first time. (Italics mine. R. C.) Thus the mark was not reduced in order to admit Muslim candidates. It was fixed for the purpose of excluding unqualified candidates." P. 2091. vol. iii. No. 3, Legislative Assembly Debates.

Sir James Crerar is an unconscious humourist of no mean order. In order to evade the charge of favouritism, he would not admit that the qualifying mark was reduced for the benefit of Muslim candidates, but he admitted that the Commission went far down the list in search of them, though not right down to the bottom! What he denied was tweedledum and what he admitted was tweedledee !

It is to be noted that posts in Government of India establishments are open to Muslim candidates from all parts of India.

It would not be impossible to multiply such instances of special favour shown to Muslims. I will conclude this part of my observations by inviting the attention of *The Mussalman* to the following paragraph from page 37 of the Annual Progress Report on Forest Administration in the Presidency of Bengal for the year 1929-30 :

> "120. Twenty-two Muhammadan candidates were offered posts in the subordinate and ministerial services, of whom only 16 accepted appointments. Of these two only are still in service. Of the rest, one left without notice, 7 resigned and the services of 6 were dispensed with for unsatisfactory work."

There is no such paragraph regarding non-Muhammadan candidates.

I hope I have shown that the "assertion" contained in the manifesto which *The Mussalman* wrongly calls "a perversion of the truth" is correct.

The Muslim journal next observes :

> "Attempts have been made in the manifesto to show that the Mussalmans are intellectually inferior to the Hindus and therefore they are unfit to carry on any administration."

After reading the above sentence, I have re-read the manifesto and tried to understand it. I do not find therein any attempt to show that the Musalmans have an inherently inferior intellect. What it claims is "the superiority of the Hindu community in educational qualifications" and that the Hindus are "comparatively more advanced intellectually." That is mainly because the Muslim community has not taken as much advantage of modern educational facilities as the Hindus, and not because of the innate intellectual inferiority of the Muhammadans.

There is nowhere any attempt in the manifesto to show that the Musalmans "are unfit to carry on any administration." The Muslim journal also states "that the manifesto has indirectly cast aspersions on the Muslim employees of the Government and thus on the whole Muslim community." How the manifesto has done this, I cannot understand, as the manifesto nowhere even mentions "the Muslim employees of the Government."

"As to who were predominant in the administration in Bengal when Persian was the court language," is quite an irrelevant question, as the manifesto is concerned with present conditions and has nowhere said that the Muslims always were and will be backward.

*The Mussalman* devotes a paragraph to the question of the character and extent of the Muslim majority in Bengal (as that province is at present constituted).

The manifesto admits that "the Hindus are no doubt a minority in Bengal, as at present constituted," but states that if all the Bengali-speaking areas with a predominantly Hindu population, which naturally form part of Bengal and formerly formed part of the Bengal Presidency, were included in Bengal as they ought to be, the Hindus or the non-Moslems would be in the majority in this province, and that thus "the Hindu minority in Bengal is more artificial than real." This *The Mussalman* does not dispute, nor does it dispute the fact that "the Moslem majority is constituted mainly by children and by women who live segregated from the national life behind the purdah." What it objects to and calls a "mis-statement" is the statement that "so far as the adult population is concerned, the Hindus are in a majority."

It is necessary to state that in the manifesto those persons have been taken to be adults who have completed 21 years of their lives or are above that age, on the tacit grounds that for political purposes the age of enfranchisement has been fixed at 21, that for the purpose of elections to local bodies the voting age has been fixed at 21, and that if a guardian be appointed by a Court or if an estate be taken charge of by the Court of Wards, 21 is taken to be the age of majority.

It is the "crude figures" of the Census Reports, as they are called in the Reports, that have been generally taken for calculating the number of the adult population. But these figures are inaccurate. The Census Report of Bengal for 1921, drawn up by Mr. W. H. Thompson, I. C. S., gives many reasons for considering them unreliable. I quote some of them below.

> "The age returns are one of the curiosities of an Indian Census.... The difficulty is that all but a very small proportion of the people of India have only the vaguest ideas of their age... Even among the educated classes very few know the date of their birth, and only a small proportion are able to state their age in years with any certainty.... Among the illiterate it is not uncommon for an old man to say that he is 'probably 25' or for a father to give his age less than his son gives his. Many simply plead entire ignorance but others—and they are the great majority—make wild guesses or give such ludicrous replies as *bis chalis*, 20 or 40. The ideas of the enumerators on the subject of age are often quite as nebulous as those of the persons to be enumerated. They blithely take down whatever is told them and *it must not be imagined that the entries are even approximately correct.* (Italics mine. R. C.) But the resulting statistics are by no means without value. They are very interesting psychologically, and much can be made of them in addition." Pp. 177-78.

Concerning Subsidiary Table I, printed at the end of the chapter on Age in the Bengal Census Report for 1921, Mr. W. H. Thompson writes :

> "The extreme irregularity in the figures is immediately noticeable ; the large numbers returned as aged 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, etc., represent persons who guessed at their age and plumped for multiples of five. A preference for even numbers rather than odd numbers also appears, though it is often upset by the appearance of 5 in the middle of the series of digits and seems, therefore, to resolve itself into a preference for numbers ending with a 2 or an 8." P. 178.

Again :

> "Generally speaking, it is only after the age of 25 or 30 that the majority of the population makes no attempt to guess its age nearer than to the nearest multiple of 5. After that age the proportion that guesses in this way appears to increase with age, but there are marked differences between the behaviour of males and females, Muhammadans and Hindus, and Western and Eastern Bengal people in the matter. More Hindus attempt to give ages which are not multiples of five than Muhammadans, and *it is likely that individuals among Hindus have on the whole the more accurate knowledge of their ages.* (Italics mine. R. C.) This is no doubt to be accounted for by the advantage which they have over Muhammadans in the matter of education....
>
> ". . . whether the enumerators or the enumerated were responsible for the results, they indicate that without doubt the people of the western half of the Province [where Hindus preponderate. R. C.] are much the more alive to the importance of the knowledge and correct return of age." P. 179.

Reasons like these given in the Bengal Census Report for 1921, from which extracts have been made above, have led Mr. W. H. Thompson to observe :

> "From what has been said it will readily be appreciated that to use the crude figures for the distribution of the population by annual age periods without adjustment could not but lead to serious error."

His previous observations show that, owing to Muslim backwardness in education in Bengal, the ages stated by Muhammadans are more inaccurate than those given by Hindus. This conclusion is supported by his following further observations in the chapter on Literacy in his Report, page 291 :.

> "It is the return of literacy among Muhammadans that has been mainly responsible for the phenomenon already noticed that in the whole population the proportion of males who are literate is greater above the age of 20 than between 15 and 20. It is true that the grown-up school boys sometimes found in Eastern Bengal are all Muhammadans, but *there is no doubt that it is among Muhammadan cultivators that there has been the greatest exaggeration of the number of adults who are literate.*" (Italics mine. R. C.)

And the Muslim population of Bengal consists largely of cultivators.

The greater inaccuracy of the age returns of Muslims, due to their greater illiteracy, is proved also by the following observation of Mr. H. G. W. Meikle, F. F. A., Actuary to the Government of India, in his *Report on the Age Distribution and Rates of Mortality deduced from the Indian Census Returns of 1921 and previous enumerations*, published in 1926 by the Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta :

> "It will be seen that generally the rates of mis-statement are greater amongst Muhammadans than amongst Hindus, . . ." Page 18.

From the passages quoted above the reader will have perceived that absolute accuracy regarding the numbers of adult Muslims and Hindus in Bengal is impossible to attain. Only relative accuracy, perhaps amounting to moral certainty, is attaintable. Calculations, based on Mr. W. H. Thompson's observations, diagrams, and subsidiary and other tables, and on the tables and observations in Mr. H. G. W. Meikle's above-mentioned Actuarial Report, have been made in two ways. One calculation shows that the adult non-Muslim population of Bengal, even as at present constituted, is greater than the adult Muslim population. The other calculation shows that the adult Muslims are smaller in number than both the adult Hindus and the adult non-Muslims. For details, the reader is referred to the article on "The Real Nature of the Muhammadan Majority in Bengal" by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta, M. SC., B. L., M. R. A. S., in *The Modern Review* for February, 1931.

*The Mussalman* criticizes the following passage in the manifesto :

> "It is the Hindus of Bengal who have always taken the leading part in the struggle for freedom and now that the priceless privilege of self-government is within our grasp, we cannot permit Musalman communalists (whose contribution in the national struggle has been negligible) so to maim and deform the scheme of government as to make it unrecognizable as a democratic constitution."

In this passage the efforts of the Musalman *communalists* alone are criticized, and that expressly. Yet the Muslim paper says that it is "calculated to create an impression in the public mind that the Mussalmans have hardly [illegible] tion in the national struggle." I ask its editor to consider whether "such a remark is justifiable." But, assuming without admitting that it is so, let us see whether what the Muslim journal claims is correct. What it writes is based on the assumptions that India's struggle for freedom began in 1920-1921 and that "the signatories to the Hindu manifesto... were then in deep slumber." I venture to think these assumptions are wrong. I hold that India's *organized* peaceful fight for freedom began with the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, that fight on the part of individuals having commenced much earlier with Rammohun Roy. But as this opinion of one who has been in deep slumber for at least the last 40 years, may not be acceptable, I quote the following from the Lahore Congress Presidential Address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has gone to jail for civil disobedience several times and is still in jail :

> "For four and forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India....Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day, standing on an eminence of their creation, may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them or the great work they did in laying the foundations of a free India. And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who, without recking the consequence, have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination."

It is clear, then, that the fight for freedom began earlier than 1920, and in this struggle the Hindus have taken the leading part.

This discussion relates to the *Nationalist* struggle for freedom. But the Muslim paper refers to the Khilafat Committee's resolution in favour of Non-Co-operation, passed in June, 1920, and says that that was the first resolution of its kind. May be. But the Khilafatist leaders at first joined forces with Indian Nationalists for gaining a sectarian object and later severed all connection with the Congress and have even become hostile to the national cause. Hence what the Khilafat Committee may have done in 1920 is not relevant to the subject under consideration.

I do not think it necessary to examine the Muslim journal's chronology and accuracy in connection with the Non-Co-operation movement, when it says that the Congress resolution in favour of non-co-operation adopted in September 1920 was saved from rejection in the Nagpur Congress of the following December by the unanimous support of Muslim delegates, who were pitted against the Bengal Hindu delegates who wanted that resolution to be rescinded. For, when the manifesto says that the Hindus have taken the leading part in the struggle for freedom, what it means is that the largest number of leaders and other workers have been Hindus, that most of the leaders of the front rank and secondary rank have been Hindus, and that it is they who have made the largest amount of sacrifice of time, energy, property, liberty and life. It is not meant or asserted that the Muslims—particularly the Nationalist Muslims—have done nothing to free India. What *is* asserted is that the Muslim *communalists'* contribution has been negligible. This cannot be controverted.

It may not be irrelevant to consider what even the Nationalist Muslims have done in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote a letter to the Indian Press in December 1931 in which he said that, according to the information about the Non-Co-operation campaign supplied to the All-India Congress Committee, "the total figure of convictions must have reached or exceeded one hundred thousand," and that "from the information available it has been estimated that 12,000 Muslims went to prison as civil resisters." This means that 12 per cent of the civil resisters jailed were Muslims. Even if it were assumed that the Bengal Muslims' quota was somewhat larger than 12 per cent, still it would remain true that the Hindus of Bengal took the leading part in Bengal in the last civil disobedience campaign. There is nothing to show that the position has been reversed in the present year's campaign.

I have thus far dealt with that Muslim criticism of the Hindu manifesto which is worthy of the most serious consideration. Besides what *The Mussalman* has written I have read some letters of Muslim critics published in some dailies. I shall deal with such points in them as deserve notice and as have not been already disposed of in course of my reply to the Muslim paper. I shall not notice any criticism of things which the manifesto does not contain.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq writes :

> "The manifesto says that any provision like statutory majority is unknown in politics. But in India most things are extraordinary. Violent disorders require violent remedies ; and it is but common knowledge that the selfishness with which the majority of the caste Hindus utilize every opportunity to (mis) appropriate everything in contemptuous disregard of the just dues of others, is unparalleled in the history of any race or community in any age or clime. Witness the Calcutta Corporation and Local Bodies in West Bengal, leave alone other instances, too numerous to mention."

Mr. Fazlul Huq admits by implication that "statutory majority is unknown in politics." But he suggests that it is necessary in India, because here "most things are extraordinary," "violent disorders" being one of them. Now, in the past history of many countries and, what is more to the point, in their contemporary history, too, numerous examples of disorders, more violent than even the engineered communal conflicts in India, are to be found. But nowhere has a remedy for them been sought to be found in "statutory majority."

Mr. Huq knows perhaps that declamation is not demonstration. He must prove but has not proved that the present-day "Caste Hindus" are more selfish than the socially privileged classes of other climes, races and ages. But assuming without admitting that his allegation is true, he will not be able to prove that "statutory majority" has been anywhere applied, successfully or unsuccessfully, as its remedy.

My article has already grown too long. So I will not mention many examples of class, caste or communal selfishness in many lands, but will merely mention the treatment which the Jews, the Roman Catholics and the Nonconformists received in England, giving the following details of how only the Catholics were treated :

> "As late as 1780 the law of England—which was actually enforced in 1764-65—made it a felony in a foreign Roman Catholic priest, and high treason in one who was a native of the kingdom, to teach the doctrines or perform divine service according to the rites of his church. Catholics were debarred from acquiring land by purchase. Persons educated abroad in the Catholic faith were declared incapable of succeeding to real property, and their estates were forfeited to the next Protestant heir. A son or other nearest relation being a Protestant, was empowered to take possession of the estate of his Catholic father or other kinsman during his life. A Catholic was disqualified from undertaking the guardianship even of Catholic children. Catholics were excluded from the legal profession, and it was presumed that a Protestant lawyer who married a Catholic had adopted the faith of his wife. Such was the state of the law, not only in England but in Ireland, where the large majority of the population adhered to the old faith." *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, vol. iii, pp. 13-14.

In spite of such a state of things, the British people—who are now so keen on separate electorates, "weightage," reserved seats and other "safeguards" for "minority communities" in British India, where the Muslims are not discriminated against as the Catholics were in England—never gave these things to their own Catholics ; nor did they give the Irish Catholic majority in Ireland a statutory majority.

Mr. Huq refers to the Calcutta Corporation. Has he not seen Mr. Sanat Kumar Ray Chaudhuri's very well-documented paper on pro-Muslim communalism in the Calcutta Corporation ? If he has not, Mr. Ray Chaudhuri will, I hope, present him a copy with his compliments. The reason perhaps for Mr. Huq's mention of West Bengal Local Bodies and omission of those of East Bengal is that in East Bengal an organized attempt has succeeded in ousting Hindus from them to an extent to which Muslims have not been ousted from West Bengal Local Bodies ! Nor was a similar organized attempt ever made by the Hindus there.

Mr. Nuruddin Ahmed tries to prove that the Muslims in India are a "suppressed" class. It is true that more than sixty years ago some

Anglo-Indians raised the cry that "Muhammadanism must be suppressed." How far that cry then affected the Government policy has not been shown. But at present the Muslims are, and have been for more than half a century, a favoured community enjoying special educational and public service appointment facilities. I have already referred indirectly to the special facilities which Muslims have of entering the public services. Special posts have been created for them in the Education Department, in Bengal, *e. g.*, Assistant Director of Muhammadan Education, and a large percentage (45) of appointments in other departments is reserved for them. They are not debarred from getting more by merit. As regards educational facilities in Bengal, the Muslims are quite as free as the Hindus to avail themselves of the facilities for education which Government and aided institutions offer to all religious communities alike. There are in addition numerous special scholarships for Muslim students. For the *special* education of Hindus Government spends Rs. 1,11,551, for the special education of Muslims Government spends Rs. 15,88,091, per annum, *excluding* the expenditure on three Islamic Intermediate Colleges, 622 Quran schools and 6 Muallim schools. For Muhammadan *Maktabs*, etc., the expenditure in 1929-30 from Government revenues, District or local funds, and Municipal funds was Rs. 7,23,092, Rs. 2,77,766 and Rs. 57,174 respectively; the corresponding figures for the Hindu *Tols*, etc., being Rs. 67,746, Rs. 37,659, and Rs. 17,543 respectively. A percentage of seats in Government and aided educational institutions, in some cases running up to 60 or 62 per cent of the total, is reserved for Muslims. There are reservation of free studentships and full or half free boarderships for Muslim students. In the course of a debate in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 29th March last Mr. W. C. Wordsworth said that the Muhammadans "have three divisional inspectorships out of five—two being held by Hindus—and as such they have a greater power of influencing, directing and stimulating education."

If all the facts mentioned above mean attempts at "suppressing" the Muslims, I do not know what form endeavours to elevate them may take. Muslim Bengalis need to be reminded of the fact that a few months ago the Musalman Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University regretted that "the Muslims of Bengal have not availed themselves as yet of the increased educational facilities offered to them."

Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed refers to "the unstinted and unqualified support which the signatories [to the Hindu manifesto] have given to the Lucknow Pact." I am afraid he has misunderstood the Hindu attitude towards that Pact. The Hindus want to scrap the whole thing—separate electorates as well as reserved seats. But they cannot agree to the Muslims choosing to keep one part of the Pact, *viz.*, separate electorates, and modifying the other part, namely, the reservation of seats, by increasing their number, even to the extent of more than half of the whole. The Hindus agreed to the Pact as a whole as a makeshift. So did the Muslims. If any change is to be made, both parties must again agree. The Hindus and the Nationalist Muslims have agreed that there should be joint electorates and no reservation of seats.

Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed has similarly misunderstood the drift of the argument implied in saying that the Muslim Bengalis, unlike their co-religionists in some other provinces, have not served as soldiers, etc. That does not mean that the Hindu Bengalis have done so;—they have not. It means that in Bengal Hindus and Muslims are in the same boat so far as the defence of India is concerned. Therefore, Muslim Bengalis cannot use the argument which the Muslim Punjabis, for example, use—wrongly I think—when they say that they are politically more important than other people because they supply a large number of mercenary recruits to the army.

Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed refers to the Wahabi movement and the Muslim Bengalis' part in it in order to prove that the Muslim Bengalis have taken a prominent part in the national struggle for freedom. I have read something about the Wahabi movement. As regards its character, I think it wanted to promote a *jihad* or religious war—it was not a part of a national struggle for freedom.

But I had better avoid entering the field of discussion of the character of the Wahabi movement or of the Sepoy Mutiny, fenced off as they are from the non-official public by the barbed wire entanglements of the Press and other Laws and Ordinances and Rules.

# RAMMOHUN ROY ON THE DISABILITIES OF HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN JURORS

### By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

AFTER the attention that the career of Rammohun Roy has received from writers of after ages, it may seem unlikely that any further information regarding him should yet remain undiscovered. But, as a matter of fact, it is still so. The files of old newspapers and collections of old documents may even now yield facts which will settle some doubtful points about the Rajah's life and career, and clarify our impression about his thought and character. While going through the columns of old Indian newspapers, I recently came across a document written by Rammohun, which throws a new light on his political activities and views. We know from Miss Collet's biography that Rammohun took part in the agitation against the Indian Jury Act passed by Parliament in 1827.* This Act introduced a religious distinction in the judicial system of British India by enacting that Christians (both foreign and Indian) should not be tried before a Hindu or Muhammadan juror, while a Christian juror was not rendered ineligible for trying a Hindu or Muhammadan. In 1828, Rammohun entrusted Mr. J. Crawfurd with two petitions for being presented to the Houses of Parliament. But this agitation apparently did not succeed immediately. The disability of Hindu and Muhammadan jurors was not removed till 1832, when a new Bill was passed. While that Bill was in progress, Rammohun, being then in England, actively circulated his point of view. I find an entry in the *Sumachar Durpun* for February 2, 1833, that

> "The *Reformer* of Sunday last [27th January] has published a letter from Raja Rammohun Roy on the subject of the Bill which has [been] recently passed in England to enable natives of India to sit as jurors in the cases of Christians, to act as Justices of the Peace at the three Presidencies, and to sit on Grand Juries. The letter is valuable inasmuch as it will serve to convince the unbelieving how beneficial the Rajah's visit to England has been as regards the interests of this country. It is too long for the *Durpun*, and as the Bill has now [been] passed, there seems less necessity for inserting the Rajah's remarks."

As soon as I came across this item of news, I began to look for the *Reformer*. But unfortunately the files of this paper, which formerly were in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, have been destroyed. It was only by chance that I came across the letter referred to in the *India Gazette* for January 28, 1833, in whose columns also it had been published. The letter is reproduced below *in extenso*, and from it the reader will be able to form a very clear idea of the political sagacity and foresight of the Rajah.

## REMARKS ON THE EAST INDIA JUSTICE OF THE PEACE AND JURORS BILL

The East India Directors in their letter to the President of the India Board, dated the 8th December, 1831, point out several objections to the Bill proposed to be introduced into Parliament by the President, for rendering natives of India "eligible" to be appointed as Justices of the Peace, and to sit on Grand Juries as well as Petit Juries.

### I. NATIVE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

The Directors urge, 1st, that "it is not to be expected that they (the natives) will voluntarily sacrifice the time and expense which would be necessary to acquire an adequate knowledge of the English law books and Acts of Parliament etc" to fit themselves for the office; or 2ndly, "that they would undertake the duties of the office (of unpaid magistrates when they found that they would thereby become liable to prosecution in the Supreme Court for any error or neglect of duty," (acts of omission as well as commission).

I regret that the Court of Directors should have overlooked the express language of the intended Bill, which is to render natives "eligible" only, not to make acceptance of office compulsory on them. Persons who choose to qualify themselves by acquiring a competent knowledge of British law, and are willing to incur the responsibility, may be appointed by Government; those who might decline the labour or the risk would of course not be appointed. It imposes no hardship or difficulty on either party.

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* *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* by S. D. Collet, 2nd ed., pp. 153-55.

With respect, however, to their capability of acquiring the requisite legal knowledge, the Directors themselves entertain no doubt, as admitted a few lines further on, in the following words: "The Court do not question the intelligence and capacity of the natives." And although it may be easily shown by a reference to the lists of the former and present European justices of the peace under the local Governments of the Directors, that many of them were, and still are, not possessed of an adequate knowledge of "the English law books and Acts of Parliament," yet I must refrain from quoting a bad precedent to justify any other improper practice. But I cannot help observing that the Court of Directors are the last persons who should expect an "adequate knowledge of the English law books and Acts of Parliament" from those whom they wish to be appointed as judges and justices of the peace over the millions of their fellow subjects.

The third objection advanced by the Directors is that "they consider them (the natives) defective in many qualities, particularly firmness of character, which are so necessary to inspire confidence, and so essential to enable them to discharge the duties of a justice of the peace with usefulness and credit."

I am at a loss to reconcile this vague and general charge of unfitness with the tenor of a preceding paragraph, in which the Directors state that "under existing regulations (which, moreover [they add] may be modified or extended without any further legislative enactment) "the natives are invested with a considerable degree of authority in the ordinary functions of administering justice, collecting the revenue, and conducting the police and magisterial duties." How is it that persons deficient in "so many qualities," especially "firmness of character," have been entrusted with such important functions, judicial, fiscal, and even magisterial? And what is the wide distinction between the latter and those of justices of the peace that makes persons who are fit for the one unfit for the other?

Fourthly, the Court object that the Bill would give natives "a direct cognizance of the conduct of Europeans," and that this would, they apprehend, "have an injurious effect in lowering the estimation of the European character." Yet the Court must know that such direct cognizance has already existed for many years, and one of the examples of it that may be mentioned, is well known to many European gentlemen now in England, *viz.*, that even the common police officers, native thannadars of the boundary guard in Calcutta, are empowered to apprehend and arrest all Europeans, high or low in rank, whom they find committing any disturbance,—a very common occurrence, which is thus amply provided for and remedied by native control. Has this coercion, at the very seat of the British Indian Empire, lowered the estimation of the European character, or impaired the British power in India?

### II. NATIVE JURORS

The Directors, lastly, in a similar manner, start objections to the "Trial of Christian" by natives who are not Christians, as jurors. They say, "The Court has always considered that it was a principle of the law of England that there should be some community of feeling between the jurors and the persons judged. But what community of interest or habitude," they ask, can "an Englishman and a Christian" have with "Hindoos or Mussulmen" (meaning Mussulmans). "The idea" (they add) "of being tried by Hindoos or Mussalman jurors must be intolerable to every Englishman."

Do the Directors mean to say that Englishmen are the only Christians in India, or do they not know that the British inhabitants form but a small portion of the professors of Christianity? Is it from want of information that they state the question as if it referred to Englishmen alone, or is it from an unwillingness to view it fairly and candidly? Have they never heard of the native Portuguese Christians, the numerous descendants of the early settlers in the East? Of the Syrian Christians in the South of India? Of the mixed offspring of Europeans and natives becoming every day more numerous; not to mention the late converts of the Missionaries? Therefore, it is by no means the English residents only whom the Directors wish to exempt from the ordinary operation of the law in the Trial by Jury. Under the term "Christian" in India is comprehended not only the comparatively very limited European community, but all the various races of men above noticed, however faint or imperfect may be the traces of religion which they retain, and however discordant their views in points of faith as Protestants, Catholics, etc.; and under the present system all these by merely professing a kind of Christianity, may acquire the right of trying the great body of Hindoo and Mahommedan inhabitants, whatever their rank or respectability, who adhere to the religion of their forefathers.

If the Hindoos and Mussulmans are to be excluded from acting as jurors on the trial of Christians on account of their want of community of feeling with them, the same objection applies to Christians acting as jurors on the trial of Hindoos and Mussalmans. The principle is the same in both cases, and justice knows no respect of persons.

If it be supposed that religious animosity may exist between opposite sects living together, and that the Hindoos and Mussulmans would be actuated by this feeling in the trial of Christians, it is evident that the same objection would apply to the Native Portuguese and other Christians sitting on the trial of Hindoos and Mussulmans. But such apprehensions are entirely groundless, there being no country in the world in which as yet the spirit of religious toleration is so prevalent as in India, and it is well known that the native muftis (first appointed by Lord Cornwallis in 1793 to the office of assessors to the judges of circuit, in which capacity they pass verdicts in questions of life and death, etc., affecting the Hindoo and Mahommedan and Native Christian population generally) have exercised this power for a period of forty years, in a manner so satisfactory that the Government amid innumerable other alterations has never changed this part of its judicial system. If any charge of religious partiality had ever been established against the native assessors, who, in fact, exercise the functions of jurors, the Government could not, of course, conscientiously have continued them in the exercise of these important duties.

It lies with every Government to establish and preserve a community of feeling, interest, and habitude, among the various classes of its subjects, by treating them all as one great family, without shewing an invidious preference to any particular tribe or sect, but giving fair and equal encouragement to the worthy and intelligent under whatever denomination they may be found. But by pursuing a contrary plan, for "community of feeling" will of course be substituted "religious jealousy"; for community of interest, a spirit of domination or "ascendency" on the one hand, of hatred and revenge on the other; and lastly, for "community of habitude" will be established a broad line of demarcation and separation even in conducting public business.

I am quite at a loss to conceive why the Court of Directors instead of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the millions of British subjects in India, should, on the contrary, pass laws calculated to stir up a spirit of religious intolerance, in a now harmonious though mixed community, and to revolt the feelings of the most numerous classes of it, particularly the intelligent among the rising generation.

No statesman will, I think, consider such a distinction favourable to the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity; since it renders the privation of civil rights to particular sects a species of religious persecution, which those subjected to it may glory in suffering for conscience sake, and therefore adhere to their peculiar creeds, however erroneous, with greater obstinacy as a point of honour as well as a matter of faith; since a change might subject them to a suspicion of being actuated by a desire to gain civil privileges.

While no such invidious distinctions existed between different religious sects, the natives of India were disposed to place confidence in the disposition of the Government to act with justice and impartiality in protecting all classes of its subjects; they made no complaints on account of their exclusion from political power, and they were ever disposed to forget that their rulers were foreigners of a different country and religion from themselves. This fact however is now painfully obtruded on their attention by the daily operation of the laws themselves as established by the 7th Geo. IV. Cap. 37, s. 3, which has consequently excited more discontent among the intelligent part of the natives than even their total exclusion from the exercise of political rights, as fully proved by their petitions to Parliament on the subject.

(Sd.) Rammohun Roy.

# TO KALIDAS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

*Translated By Nagendranath Gupta*

[The glowing tribute paid to the poet Kalidas by Goethe after reading a translation of Sakuntala is well known. This is a quintet, a five-petalled flower of homage, offered to the genius of Kalidas by another poet who also ranks as a world-poet.]

## I

Lord of poets, Kalidas, in the bower of the heavenly, magic tree
You are sitting alone with your beloved
On the throne of the heir-apparent of youth.
To bear your emerald footstool
The whole world is here ; the whole sky
Holds the golden royal umbrella
Over your heads alone ; six handmaidens,
The six seasons,[*] pass round and round dancing ;
They pour in ever-new goblets
The stream of new-coloured wines
On your thirsty youth ; all creation
Is an inner apartment, a bridal chamber.
There is no sorrow, no misery, not a living soul ;
Only you are the King, and there is your Queen.

## II

To-day you are only a poet, no one else ;
Where is your king's assembly, where is your home,
Where is Ujjaini ? Where is to-day
Your lord, Kalidas, the great king ?
There is no trace of any one. To-day one thinks
You were for all time a citizen
Of Alaka, [†] the city of perpetual joy. In the evening
On the cloud-capped mountain, after his meditation,
When the Lord Siva danced in ecstatic joy,
The rain-laden cloud thundered as a drum,
And the flashing lightning kept time to the measure.
You sang the song of praise ; at the end,
Taking the peacock feather from her ear,
Gauri, with a kindly smile, placed it on your head.

## III

When you chanted, poet, to the god and goddess,
Siva and Parvati, the song of the birth of Kartik,[§]
All round stood the ghostly attendants ; on the mountain crest

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[*] With special reference to the great poet's poem Ritusamhar, treating of the seasons.

[†] The mythical city on the Alakananda river in the Himalayas. It belonged to Kuvera, the treasurer of the gods, and contained untold wealth.

[§] Kumarsambhavam.

Descended slow the peaceful evening clouds.
The lightning did not play, the thunder was mute;
Kartik's peacock lowering its tail
Stood quietly by the side of Parvati,
Curving its lifted neck; sometimes, in a gentle smile
Trembled the lips of the goddess; anon a long sigh
Was breathed unnoticed; again, the swelling tears
Appeared at the corners of the eyes; when at length
Confused shame descended silently
On her lowered eyelids you, poet, glancing at the goddess,
Suddenly stopped your unfinished song.

### IV

By the Manasa lake on the peak of Kailasa
In a solitary world you were in the courtyard
Of Siva's mansion his own poet—poet Kalidas!
Like the blue sheen on Siva's throat, the cool blue light
In the ever-still thick clouds of June
Under the bright prayer-world of the Seven Rishis.*
You still live in the paradise of the mind
And will dwell there for ever, O Master-poet,
Filling the world with the song of the life of Siva.
In the midst of it appeared the dream-lightning
Of the King's palace at Ujjaini,
King Vikramaditya, the assembly of the nine gems.†
That dream disappeared, the great picture vanished;
You remain for ever the poet in the mind's heaven.

### V

Did you not have joy and sorrow,
Hope and despair even like ourselves,
O immortal poet? Were not there always
The intrigue of a royal court, the stabbing in the back?
Did you never suffer humiliation,
Affront, distrust, injustice,
Want, hard and pitiless? Did you never pass
A sleepless night of poignant agony?
Yet above them all, unconcerned, pure,
Has flowered your poem—a lotus of beauty
Opening to the sun of joy;—nowhere
Does it show any sign of sorrow, affliction, evil times.
Churning the sea of life you drank the poison,§
The nectar that arose you gave away!

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* The Great Bear constellation.

† The famous nine men at the court of King Vikramaditya, Kalidas being the brightest jewel among them.

§ Kalidas is here compared to Siva himself, who, when the poison gushed out from the churned ocean and threatened the lives of the gods and demons, swallowed it and the blue tint on his throat was the result.

# THE LURE OF BEAUTY

## By SITA DEVI

THERE was great commotion that morning, in —th Street of Rangoon. The house, belonging to Lachman Das Marwari, was known to be haunted and had been severely left alone by all classes of tenants up to this time. Suddenly this morning, people found that the second floor was occupied, all the doors and windows were standing open, a Madrasi man-servant and a Burmese maid were busy sweeping and dusting. Some furniture had already arrived, and others were fast arriving. These had been dumped down on the footpath in front of the house and clearly indicated that the new tenants lacked neither money nor good taste.

The neighbours wasted nearly an hour, standing by their doors and windows, in order to catch a sight of the real occupants of the flat, but they could see nobody except those two servants. When, at last, everyone was about to retreat in despair, a large motor car rolled up to the door of the house of Lachman Das. The car was brand new and in splendid condition. Most of the residents of —th Street were too ignorant to understand the value of the car, but its shining appearance, the new livery of the driver and the interior of the car, done up in blue satin, drew crowds of admirers. They were quite awe-struck. The windows and balconies again began to fill slowly.

Their perseverance was rewarded at last. Two ladies, quite richly and beautifully dressed, came down the stairs of the house and advanced with dignified steps towards the car. Both were beautiful, according to the standard of Burmese beauty. Both were fair and had huge towering coiffeurs. They were dressed in *loongyis* of rich silk, and diamonds and rubies, which enhanced their natural grace even more. One was quite young, the other was maturer, but still very charming. She looked like a full blown lotus. Both were very dignified and aristocratic in their bearing.

As soon as they got in, the car started. The Madrasi servant had come down with the ladies, carrying a small hand bag. He closed the door of the car and was about to return upstairs when he found himself mobbed by the neighbours. For a few minutes pandemonium raged there. Questions in Tamil, Burmese, Hindi and English were showered on the poor fellow, who was quite dumbfounded at first. Everyone wanted to know who the ladies were, where they came from, how long they were going to stay and why they had chosen this haunted house, of all places. Some also wanted to know whether these were the only tenants of the flat or whether there were any menfolk.

The Madrasi rallied after a while and began trying his best to answer the questions. He informed the crowd that the ladies were the widow and daughter of a rich Burmese landholder. They had no male relatives. They had grown tired of the country and had come to live in Rangoon for some time. The servant did not know why they had chosen this house. A few young men asked whether the young lady was married. She was not, said the servant. The widowed lady had another object, too, in coming to the city. She wanted to choose a good husband for her daughter.

The crowd began to disperse slowly. They were eager enough to hear about their new neighbours, but they could not afford to neglect their work for it. So the men went in to get ready for their shops and offices, and the women went in to help them to do so. Only a few children, playing about in the lane, caught sight of the ladies returning.

Everyone had some leisure in the evening. A change could be noticed in the atmosphere. All the ladies of the neighbourhood had dressed their hair with care, and the young ones had put on flowers too. They had taken out their best dresses, their gold chains, ruby studs, ear-drops, and bangles and dressed up as gaily as possible. They might not be as rich as the tenants of the second floor of Lachman Das's house, still they, too, could put on some fine feathers, if they so desired. They, too, could make people stare.

Not only the ladies, but the young men too, were showing unmistakable signs of excitement. Nearly everyone, on returning from work, had bathed, put on fine dresses and were parading the lane with long Burmese cheroots in their mouths. They were out on the war path. Their gaze was focussed on the windows of the second floor and on its balcony to note whether the young lady could be seen there. The Madrasi had given out that the widowed lady was looking for a suitable son-in-law. The chivalrous fellows wanted to help the lady in this laudable object to the best of their power.

The car made its appearance again in the evening. After a while, the ladies came down in even more gorgeous dresses. They had lost some of their coldness and aloofness. They looked all around them, the young girl even smiled. The older lady patted the cheeks of some children who had run up to them and thus won over the hearts of their mothers for ever. They then got into their car and drove off.

One lady of the neighbourhood called out to another, "They are not so supercilious as we thought at first."

"So it seems," the other one answered. "She is fond of children. After all, she is a woman. Riches do not alter one's real self."

Everybody felt convinced of the sterling qualities of their new neighbours. Those ladies who had children were very eager to make friends with them. The young men only wanted an opening, an introduction of some sort. The rest, they would achieve by their own prowess. Through the wide prevalence of American films, the young men had become quite well educated in this respect. As the shades of evening began to deepen, the lane began to resound with the music of guitar, played in accompaniment to Burmese love songs. But the fair ones seemed impervious to these attacks. They came back late in the evening. The mother went off to her own bedroom, followed by her maid. The girl, too, entered her own room. Both of them washed and changed and came together again in the dining-room.

"Cannot you go alone, to-morrow?" asked the mother of the daughter. "What's the hurry?" the girl said. "Let me get familiar with the locality at first, then I can venture out alone. It would never do to lose my way and wander about. I must look up some new quarters, too."

The mother took up a piece of fruit and began to eat. "You are right," she said. "I am not for hurrying you. Take your time. But it is no use going about together. You can take the maid with you if you feel nervous alone, I shall go by myself." "No, no," cried the girl. "That woman is a fool. It would never do to take her with me. She will say something idiotic and spoil the whole show. It would be too embarrassing for me."

They finished their dinner. "Look at the boys," the girl said, "they are behaving just like clowns. They seem to think I have come here to capture one of them and for nothing else. Their music is enough to turn one deaf. I have a good mind to pour a bucketful of water on them."

"Don't do that," said the mother, with a smile. "You should never make enemies unnecessarily. Let them play and sing, it is not harming you. You go and mind your own business. It pays to be in the good graces of people, however insignificant they may be."

The mother went and laid herself down in her own bedroom. The Burmese maid began to massage her. The girl, too, entered her own room, and began to read a magazine. It was a Burmese one and dealt with the cinema. These things are very popular in Burma and enjoy a wide circulation.

The residents of —th Street were mostly poor and middle-class people. No one could turn up one's nose at another or make another green with envy. So these two new arrivals enjoyed a good deal of attention for the first few days. But as the novelty began to wear off, the neighbours began to lose interest in them. There was a single exception, it was Maung Gyi. His enthusiasm and interest went on increasing instead of abating. He had lost his heart completely. He was a poor, struggling clerk, but he had great ambitions. He was nearly thirty, but still a bachelor. He had never found a girl after his own heart except in American films. But it seemed, his luck had turned at last. The girl in Lachman Das's house could beat any film star hollow. One can build up any sort of a romance round her. She must be very rich, too, since she was the daughter of a landholder. But this consideration was only a secondary one with our romantic youth. The girl's beauty had bewitched him completely and he was determined to win her or die in the attempt.

But days passed on without anything happening. The rich neighbours remained as aloof from the poorer ones as they had been in the beginning. Whenever they stood by their windows or came out on their balcony, the ladies of the adjoining houses ventured one or two questions. But they received such short answers that all their enthusiasm died out. But they could not be angry, as these answers were accompanied by very sweet smiles.

Maung Gyi tried his best but he could not manage an introduction to the girl. He stood ready at the street corner, every morning and evening when the young lady went out. If by chance he could be of the slightest service to her, she might have pity on him. But luck was persistently against him, nothing ever happened. No ruffian or villain appeared on the stage to test his devotion, the girl did not slip on a wet pavement and the car did not run into any accident. She cast looks at Maung Gyi from time to time, but they expressed nothing at all.

But Maung Gyi was not to be disheartened so easily. He began to believe that the girl had a lover already, else she would certainly try to make friends with some one in the neighbourhood. For a girl of her age to be so cold and stiff was a bit abnormal. He determined to find out his rival. If he could find him out, his days would be numbered. It was common enough for a Burmese youth to use the dagger. To let a hated rival live was a thing of shame and infamy.

But it was hard to find him out, because nobody ever called on the ladies. Maung Gyi was convinced that the girl went out so regularly morning and evening to keep trysts with the loved one. Very well he knew how to deal with such a situation. It was not very difficult to follow her in a taxi. It would cost him a tidy bit but he did not care. His very existence was at stake. He was ready to give his life even.

Maung Gyi lived in a small flat on the first floor of a building, with his widowed mother. There was only one room and a kitchen and bath-room behind it. This single room was used as a sitting room during the day and as a bedroom at night. Maung Gyi was an Anglicized young man and could not bear to think that his friends would find him in his bedroom when they called. So his old mother had to hide the bedding, her boxes and other things in the kitchen and furnish the room with chairs and tables. And at night, she had to pile the furniture in the corner, to make room for their beds.

The consciousness of his poverty depressed Maung Gyi. How could he bring the queen of his heart into this wretched dwelling? Her love would wither and die in a day. But he used to cheer up on second thoughts. If he could win that queenlike creature, he would be no larger poor. It would be easy to rent a better house then.

Maung Gyi was drinking his morning tea, sitting on his small balcony. It was a holiday, and there was no hurry. He was giving his imagination full rein as he had nothing better to do then.

Suddenly a taxi ran up to the door of Lachman Das's house and stopped there. Maung Gyi jumped up at once. Why a taxi to-day? What had happened to their private car? He thrust his feet inside his slippers and ran down the stairs into the lane. He must know who came to this house and who went out, when and how.

He had not to wait very long. The girl Ma San came down in resplendant attire and got into the taxi. Seeing that the taxi was about to start, Maung Gyi became quite frantic. There must be some motive for this. Why was she going out alone? Where was her mother? Surely she was giving her mother the slip. She wanted to meet someone clandestinely. Maung Gyi made up his mind to follow her.

Luckily, another taxi appeared at the street corner, just at this moment. Maung Gyi made a sign to the driver, who stopped at once. Maung Gyi jumped in by the side of the driver. "Follow that car," he whispered to him. "Go slow, when he goes slow, and drive fast when he drives fast. Never let him out of your sight."

A smile appeared at the corner of the Sikh driver's mouth. He started in pursuit at once. Maung Gyi sat by his side, his whole body tense with excitement.

Street after street flashed past, yet they could not gain on the first car. They left the city behind them and began to run through the suburbs. Maung Gyi's astonishment went on increasing. Where was the girl going ? Was this an elopement or a tryst ? If it was an elopement, then Maung Gyi was helpless. He was alone and unarmed. He would have to look on, while another went off with the apple of his eyes.

Suddenly the first taxi stopped with a grinding noise. Maung Gyi also stopped. A big house rose in front. Maung Gyi gazed at it in surprise. He knew this house. It belonged to a rich Gujrati. He was one of the biggest jewel merchants of the city. But he was quite elderly and a married man to boot. He had a wife and children at home ; what had this Burmese girl to do with him ? Was she going to sell herself for money ? Could she be so low ? Such a queenly creature who seemed to disdain even the sun and the moon. Was it possible that she was a mere courtesan ? But everything was possible in this wretched world.

The young woman got down and went in. Maung Gyi, too, got down. It was no use keeping the taxi waiting. He knew where she had come. He could return by tram or by rickshaw. He paid off the taxi, and began walking about on the footpath in front of the house. He tried to appear carefree and unconcerned, so that he might not attract much attention.

He had not to wait very long. The girl came out within half an hour, accompained by the master of the house. He was all smiles. The young lady, too, appeared to be quite merry. Maung Gyi's brain seemed to catch fire. Luckily he was unarmed, else the Gujrati merchant would have come to a bad end.

Ma San got into her taxi and drove off. Maung Gyi, too, hired a rickshaw and returned home. His holiday was completely spoiled. He was in no mood for going out to see his friends. He sat at home brooding and concocting terrible plans of vengeance. His friends came and called him again and again but he did not even reply. He kept a sharp eye on Lachman Das's house, so that none could enter or go out unnoticed.

In the evening, the widowed lady drove out in her own car. She was alone ; so the girl must have stayed at home. What could have happened to them, thought Maung Gyi. Hitherto they had always gone out together, but to day they seemed determined to avoid each other. Had they fallen out on any subject ? The girl was very fast, so the mother might have disapproved of her conduct.

Maung Gyi's astonishment would have increased a hundredfold, had he known where the lady was going.

Dr. Murphy was one of the biggest doctors of Rangoon. He was seated in his library, smoking. He was turning over the leaves of a book, his favourite dog lay curled up at his feet. He was a widower and lived alone in the house. He had two daughters, but they were away in England studying.

Suddenly his bearer came in and said that a Burmese lady wanted to see him on urgent business. Dr. Murphy got up, rather surprised. Why had the lady called at his house ? She must be in some trouble, he thought, and ordered her to be shown in to the drawing room. He himself proceeded leisurely towards that room.

As he entered, the lady rose from her chair and began speaking rapidly in broken but musical English. The doctor asked her to sit down and himself drew a chair near her and sat down. He cast an approving glance at his fair visitor. She was very beautiful and appeared to be rich. She had a good many jewels on.

But the lady seemed to be in a hurry and in no mood to be looked at. She began speaking again. The doctor was nearly swept off by the torrent of her words, but managed to catch at a few facts somehow. The lady's husband was ill, and she wanted Dr. Murphy to go and see him.

"What's the nature of his illness ?" asked the doctor.

He had been ailing for a long time, the lady answered. But recently his brain too had been affected, which was causing great trouble. The lady had only one daughter and no male relative. It was getting more and more difficult for them to manage him.

"But have not you consulted any doctor at all, up to this ?" asked Dr. Murphy.

"Yes, we have," answered the lady. "But you know, some mad men are very sharp. Whenever he sees any outsider, he behaves and talks quite normally. Everyone thinks that I am plotting to prove him insane from selfish motives."

"Yes, there is such a type," said the doctor. "But what do you want me to do ?"

"If you would kindly come to my house to-morrow evening," said the lady, "and examine him, you would oblige me very much. You are an experienced doctor, he won't be able to bluff you. It is impossible for me to manage him, but I cannot put him into an asylum, for want of a medical certificate. It would be better, if you take one or two men with you."

"Why ?" asked the doctor. "Is he very violent ?"

"Not always," replied the lady. "But sometimes he becomes positively wild and shouts 'Where are my diamonds ? I am ruined, I am ruined !' He lost some precious stones a good many years ago. The memory of this loss makes him go into a frenzy. When he is in this state, he is quite unmanageable. He tries to kill people, he tries to run out into the street. I shall pay your fees, of course, and reward your servants, too. I hope you will be kind enough to go."

"Of course I shall," said Dr. Murphy. "There is no question of kindness at all. It is my professional duty."

The lady got up to go. "Very well," she said, "I shall wait for you to-morrow," she said and got into her car, which drove off at once. Dr. Murphy returned to his room, whistling a gay tune.

Next evening Maung Gyi had just returned from office when a taxi drove up to the door of Lachman Das's house. Maung Gyi hurried out on the balcony to see who the caller was. But he nearly collapsed with surprise when he found the Gujrati diamond merchant getting out of the car. What could it mean ? Was Ma San's mother, too, in the plot ? Was she, too, such a vile creature, that she could agree to sell her daughter to that old man for money ? After this, it would be impossible to have faith in any human being. He stood where he was, at a loss what to do. His heart burned with rage.

As soon as the merchant got to the second floor, the Burmese maid came out and ushered him very politely into the drawing room. He sat there alone for a few minutes. He began to look around him. Yes, it looked like a rich woman's dwelling all right. But where was the fair mistress of the house ? He had come here personally in order to meet her once again, else he could easily have sent one of his salesmen. At this juncture, Ma San came in and put him at ease, with a bewitching smile. "Did you have to wait long ?" she asked. Then, "Have you brought the stones ?"

The merchant took out a leather case out of the pocket of his long coat. He pushed it towards the young lady, saying, "Here are some. If you don't like them, I shall bring others to-morrow, for you to chose from. It would have been best, if you could have gone to my shop once. You could have chosen from a large stock then. It is impossible to carry about too many pieces."

"If it had been a question of my choice alone," said Ma San, "certainly I would not have given you so much trouble. But I cannot buy anything, unless my mother approves of it, too. Unfortunately, she is too ill to get up from her bed. So I was obliged to trouble you."

The merchant smiled amiably and hastened to reply, "Oh, it is no trouble at all. This is our work. It was very kind of you to send for me."

"I shall take these things to mother and let her choose," said Ma San. "She is in there. That's her bedroom. Shall I send a cup of tea for you ?"

The Gujrati was an orthodox Hindu. He had done much for the sake of a pretty face, but could not stoop to drinking tea at the hands of a Burmese woman. He would be outcast. "No, no," he cried out hastily, "I am not accustomed to drinking tea."

Ma San smiled bewitchingly and, taking up the case of jewels, left the room. The merchant Dharamdas sat turning over the leaves of a magazine. He heard the sound of heavy footsteps, ascending. He could not see the stairs from where he was sitting. The maidservant hastened through the drawing-room to admit the newcomer. "It is the doctor," she informed Dharamdas in passing. "You will have to wait a bit, please."

Dharamdas knew he had to and he was not feeling very cheerful about it. He went on turning over the leaves of the magazine. Ma San must be busy with the doctor, still she need not have neglected him so completely. He had left many important appointments to come here.

Dr. Murphy had come punctually. Ma San ran out to receive him just as he got up to the landing. "Please come this side," she said. "My mother is in here. She is very unwell today. We had a terrible night with father and could not sleep a wink."

The doctor liked Ma San very much. She was even more beautiful than the mother and well educated too. She spoke English perfectly. He followed her to the bedroom of her mother. The room was small but well furnished.

The lady of the house sat up to welcome him. "It is very kind of you to come," she said.

"He was very violent last night. It would be impossible for us to manage, if he continues like this."

The doctor felt his anger rising against the unfortunate mad man. "I shall try my best to help you," he said. "I don't think it would be difficult to have him admitted into the Mental Home. Where is he ?

"He is in the drawing-room. Please go and see. It would be better for you to be alone, since he becomes too excited at the sight of us."

"I hope you have brought your men with you," said the lady of the house. "If he becomes violent, it would be impossible to manage him alone."

"Send someone down to my car," said the doctor, "and call up the two men I have brought with me. They are hospital assistants and well accustomed to this sort of work. If I find him very violent, I shall take him straight to the hospital."

"That would be the best thing to do," said Ma San and her mother together. The maidservant was sent down to call up the men.

Dharamdas had been getting terribly bored and angry all this while. He was about to call for someone when the doctor strode straight into the room. "How are you today ?" he asked the merchant.

"I am all right," said the merchant, rather surprised. "Whom do you want ?"

"I have come to see you," said the doctor. "I hear you have been very unwell last night."

"Who are you ?" asked Dharamdas. "From whom did you hear about me ? I think you are mistaking me for somebody else. I am only a visitor."

The doctor smiled. "Yes, I know," he said. "How do you sleep ? Is your digestion all right ?"

Dharamdas got fed up. "But I tell you, you are wasting your time. I am not ill. Ask the lady of the house or her daughter and you will understand your mistake."

"They have gone out," said the doctor, why don't you answer me ?"

Dharamdas jumped up in great excitement. "What do you mean ? Gone out ? Then what has happened to my diamonds ? I had nearly a lakh worth of diamonds with me which I gave to them to see."

The doctor got up and tried to pacify him. "Calm yourself, don't get so excited," he said. "Your diamonds are all right. You have lost nothing."

Dharamdas shook off the doctor's hand and shouted out, "You ask me to be calm, when I am utterly ruined ? I have fallen into the hands of robbers. I am done for. Oh, what shall I do ? Police, police !"

As he attempted to run out of the room,

the doctor gave a peculiar whistle. Two stalwart men in uniform appeared in the room and caught hold of Dharmadas.

"Take him down to my car," ordered the doctor.

For a few minutes there was pandemonium in the room. The Gujrati fought like a wild animal, but he was soon overpowered and gagged by the two men, who dragged him down to the car. The neighbours looked on a bit amazed. But Dr. Murphy was a well-known man, so no one tried to interfere. His car sped off almost at once, with the unlucky diamond merchant.

The reader might like to know, what Maung Gyi had been doing all this time. His anger had turned into astonishment on seeing Dr. Murphy entering the house, soon after the arrival of the diamond merchant. What was happening in that house of mystery? Why had such a big doctor called? Was anyone seriously ill? Could it be Ma San? There was no way of knowing. Even the rascally Madrasi had disappeared a few days ago.

His astonishment turned to positive bewilderment on seeing Ma San, her mother and the Burmese maid coming out into the lane together. It was exactly like a cinema show. What had happened. Why were they looking so excited? Maung Gyi ran down into the lane to see things better.

But just as he reached the footpath the motor car belonging to the ladies appeared and the women got into it. The car disappeared from view in the twinkling of an eye.

There was no time to lose. Maung Gyi looked all around him. He saw a cycle, belonging to one of his neighbours, standing near by. He sprang on it without thinking and began to chase the car. It had got quite a good start by that time.

His old mother passed a night of anxiety alone. Maung Gyi did not return. As soon as day dawned, the old woman went from door to door in search of her son. But Maung Gyi could not be found. The old woman wept and prayed the whole day.

In the evening, as she was about to set out for the police station, her lost child came back. But in what a state! His dress was torn and blood-stained and his head was bandaged.

His mother ran up to him. "What is the matter?" she asked. "Where have you been all night?"

"What's the use of telling you?" said Maung Gyi, with a sigh. "It is past and done with. Oh, what a devil!"

"Who, my son?" asked the old woman again.

"That one, of the second floor," answered her son. "But don't tell anyone. It is enough that I have escaped with my life. But I would not like people to joke about it."

Two days later a sensational story appeared in the papers. There were bold glaring headlines. "Strange Robbery, Female Bandits at Work!"

It was the story of poor Dharamdas. He had been kept confined in the lunatic asylum for a couple of days. He had obtained release after a good deal of difficulty. He had shown his cards and papers and called many witnesses to prove his sanity. But he was overwhelmed by his loss. He had been swindled out of a bag of diamonds, worth more than a lakh.

Maung Gyi had given up the cinema for good.

# BENGAL, THE LAND OF RIVERS

### By SAILENDRA NATH BANERJEE

BENGAL is well described as 'the land of rivers'. A glance at the map of the province will convince one of the truth of this remark. Rivers running from north to south, from north-east to south-west and from north-west to south-east, mark the general features of the land; whatever space is left intervening is crossed by a stream flowing east to west and even west to east; so that, as was observed about a century ago, there was hardly any spot in Bengal which had not the advantage of a navigable river within twenty miles of it.

Bounded by the great Himalayan mountains on the north, smaller mountains on the east and partly also on the west, and the fathomless sea on the south, this wide tract of country (covering an area of over 100,000 sq. miles)* has enjoyed the reputation of the richest province of India—rich on account of its agricultural prosperity, due not so much to its heavy rainfall as to its facility of irrigation with river-water laden with silt. The drainage of the mountains, hills and uplands, both far and near, containing loosened rocky soil and decayed organic matter, is carried down the great rivers which being swollen with the monsoon rains spill over the banks and in the course of overflowing deposit the rich alluvium over the entire area thus covered by the waters. This system of overflow irrigation, peculiar to Bengal, is automatic in action, and persists to render its manifold blessings over the land so long as the destructive hand of man does not interfere with the spontaneous activities of Nature.

The deposit of riverine silt is the very genesis of the growth or formation of Bengal, *i. e.*, the advance of the delta to the sea, or of the rise of the land from the bed of the sea itself. Geologists say that Bengal has gradually grown out of the deposit of sand and silt carried by the torrential rivers from upper regions and thrown down at their estuary mouths, the blockade of which led to the formation of deltas that advanced with the advancing streams more and more towards the sea. This process of delta-building went on through ages, forming a distinct geological period; nor can it be said that the process has stopped even now. The rivers have in many cases changed their courses; and there have been consolidation and fusion of deltas. The principal agency in the formation of the deltaic region is the mighty river Ganges, with one arm making a short route to the sea and with the other extended to the east to mingle with the Brahmaputra before reaching the deep. Within the two arms is enclosed a wide triangular tract which, together with the surrounding lands also within the sway of the river, or its tributaries, is called at present the great Gangetic Delta. Bengal thus presents not a meaningless network of rivers: it is the very outcome of the rivers, being formed, shaped and maintained by them. Bengal is more properly, as the derivation (*Bung* or *Beng*—tract of inundation*) implies, *the gift of rivers.* Such being the origin of the province, one is reasonably led to think that in the proper conservancy or good *regime* of the rivers, lies also its destiny.

The intimate connection of rivers with the well-being of a country can never be questioned. Wide tracts of land are deserts, for want of flowing rivers; and vast areas are now wilderness and desolation on account of the recess or drying up of rivers which formerly enlivened the soil. The presence of a flowing stream at once makes its surroundings instinct with life. Witness the case of Rajmahal, of Gaur, of Satgaon, of Jessore-Khulna: all were capital towns or trading centres of Bengal, but are now desolate because of separation from the rivers to which they owed their opulence and importance. On the other hand, other places have grown, chiefly because they have been blessed by living rivers.

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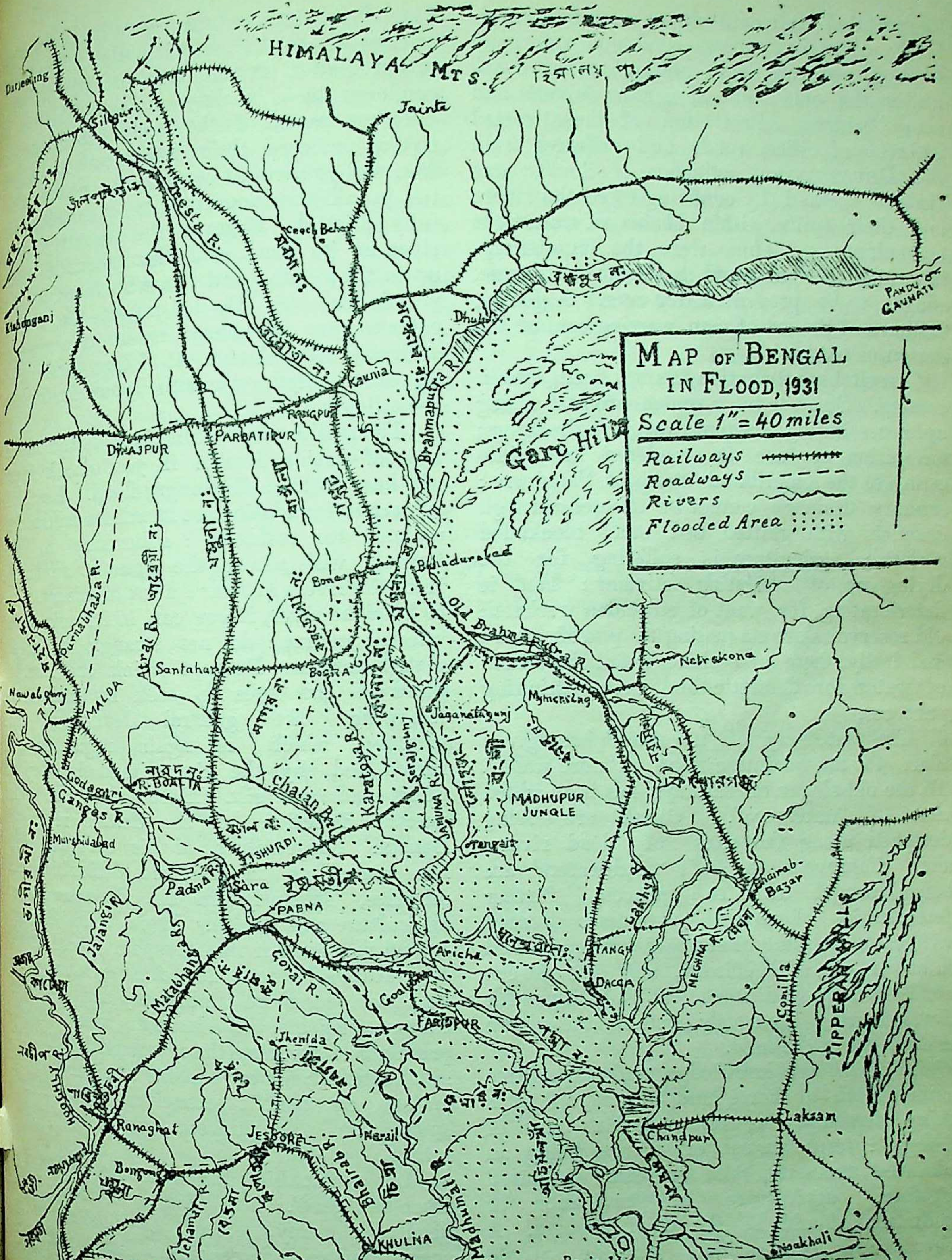
* Of this, a portion has gone into Assam and another into Behar: the area of the present Presidency of Bengal being only 78,700 sq. miles, with a population of over 50,000,000 souls.

* This derivation, adopted by Hamilton, on the authority of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* seems to be more probable than that suggested by Rennel, *viz.*, that the province is named after an old city *Bengalla*, said to be in existence during the early part of the seventeenth century, near the eastern mouth of the Ganges which carried away the site altogether later on.

Facility of navigation and transport plays an important part in the growth of trade and industry of a riverside town. But the advantages of navigation can as well be gained from an artificial canal. A river, especially a mountainous stream, has special functions of its own; and this is more so in a deltaic region like Bengal. All through its length and breadth, the province is a flat alluvial plain with well-ascertained levels and slope marked by the running streams themselves. The mountain freshets swell the rivers and spill over the banks; the 'floods' as they are called, run over the adjacent low-lying lands, enriching them with the deposit of silt and washing away all the filth and poison that accumulated on the surface. The hungry soil gets its manure food, the thirsty sub-soil gets its drink supply, and all the surface of dirty land and water gets the hygienic wash so necessary for the public health of the country. The muddy red or golden brown water of the freshets has special virtues in rejuvenating all that is beneficial and in destroying all that is harmful to man. It is the free gift of Mother Nature to preserve the higher orders of her creation. Biologically speaking, the earth also has life: its crust grows and decays. It requires therefore an occasional wash, just as we do, to keep in health less for itself than for its inhabitants. Should we not then withhold our hand from all acts which deprive the soil of its natural *sanitary bath?*

The simple yet scientific lesson of cleaning or purifying a place with fresh water is as much true in the sphere of general public health of a country as it is true in the limited sphere of domestic hygiene. Perhaps, it is much more true in the first case: for here, as in Bengal, the rivers not only bathe but also anoint the land surface, healing its sore spots by giving it a "top-dressing." Moreover the washing is effected by bountif Nature with her unlimited resources of water. Mountainous rivers in high flood are aid by the heavy monsoon rains: the result i spilling of the rivers and gentle *flowin* inundation over the adjoining lands. Th purest water mingles with the richest fertili zers and powerful disinfectants which, bein held in suspension for some time, are gradual ly thrown down as sediment, ultimately t promote the surface covered with the inunda-tion. The rain ceases, the flood subsides and luxuriant verdure holds its sway ov the fields up to the horizon. Manifold a the benefits of this riverine spill and flood when the water is allowed to follow th gentle natural slope of the country surfac unimpeded by artificial obstructions whic have made their appearance in the wake o modern civilization. The muddy water deposits its silt, thereby fertilizing the soil and making up its annual deficit or loss; reservoirs are filled with fresh water carrying with it fries of fish, which voraciously feed upon the larvae of mosquitos and other insect pests; subsoil moisture is increased, whereby plenty of water is made availabl for the dry season; weeds are destroyed to the advantage of useful plants; and channels afford sufficient water for navigation by boats, thereby securing easy and cheap waterways for communication and transport. The flood (never more than four inches deep on the avarage) naturally passes over low lands, without detriment to human habitation or to livestock: uplands mark the sites of villages composed of mud huts, parks and pastures. Such is the picture of Bengal in the eighteenth century—rural Bengal, rich in health, wealth and prosperity, and coveted by kings far and near.

The old order, however, changed yielding place to new. Our close association with urban Europeans soon taught us to regard 'rural Bengal' as a reproach to civilization. We at once constructed *pucca* houses and high metalled roads, closing down the small inlets which spread over the country like a network to distribute the flood water all around. But the age of roadways again soon gave place to the new era of railways, which


MAP OF BENGAL IN FLOOD, 1931
Scale 1" = 40 miles
Railways
Roadways
Rivers
Flooded Area
HIMALAYA MTS.
Darjeeling
Siliguri
Jainta
Teesta R.
Cooch Behar
Kishenganj
Dhubri
PANDU
GAUHATI
Kaunia
RANGPUR
Brahmaputra R.
Garo Hills
DINAJPUR
PARBATIPUR
Bahadurabad
Bonerpara
Old Brahmaputra R.
Netrakona
Purnabhaba R.
Atrai R.
Santahar
BOGRA
Mymensing
Jaganathganj
Karatoya R.
Serajganj
Nawabganj
MALDA
Godagari
R. BOALIA
Ganges R.
Chalan Beel
JAMUNA R.
MADHUPUR JUNGLE
Murshidabad
ISHURDI
Tangail
Padma R.
Sara
PABNA
Bhairab Bazar
Jalangi R.
Matabhanga R.
Gorai R.
Aricha
TANGI
Lakhya R.
MEGHNA R.
DACCA
Comilla
TIPPERA HILLS
Goalundo
FARIDPUR
Jhenida
HOOGHLY
Ranaghat
JESSORE
Narail
Laksam
Chandpur
Bongaon
Bhairab R.
Ichamati R.
Madhumati R.
KHULNA
Noakhali
Barisal
Bay of Bengal
Basirhat
CALCUTTA
Diamond Harbour
Hasnabad
BAGHERHAT

necessitated high embankments running heedlessly over and across land and water, and dealing waterways to starvation or death under the cold shade of narrow culverts and small bridges. Protection of these vested interests of cities, roads and railways from the 'DEVASTATING' influence of floods was further secured by confining torrential rivers and their spills within chains of watertight embankments. Thus were the inundations, to which Bengal owed its essence and name, sought to be prevented for ever. A glaring instance of the art of man warring against the design of nature !

Inevitable retribution has not been late in coming. Steamer trade routes are fast silting up, necessitating constant expensive dredging ; navigation at ease is rendered impossible owing to the moribund state of the rivers ; sanitary drainage cannot be effected through channels with glutted bed and blockaded mouths ; agriculture is suffering for the drying up of irrigating streams ; land is deteriorating for want of silt-laden freshets ; old reservoirs are stagnating to putrefaction ; and lastly, here and there is felt the dearth of water for domestic and even drinking purposes.

The battle-cry of 'no water' has given place to the plaintive tone of 'more water'. To the old slogan of 'railways' has been added that of 'waterways'. Canals are being designed along the sites of 'dead rivers' and improvements of 'head-waters' are being sought after to prevent further deterioration of navigable streams. Forced artificial embanking of rivers is being looked on as of doubtful efficacy, and straight-cut canals have proved inefficient substitutes for rivers flowing tortuously even in the sphere of drainage of the land.

Yet, with the knowledge and experience gained both at home and abroad, a fight is being persisted in on sectarian lines of thought : improvement of rivers being an admitted necessity, the question is raised whether agriculture or navigation or sanitation should be the chief concern. A liberal and scientific attitude would at once suggest the fusion of the several interests into a comprehensive whole, based on the life-history of Bengal. The rivers are to the province what the arteries are to the animal body. The system of circulation is one and united, though it conduces to a variety of activities in the different parts of the body. Revive your rivers, unloosen their fetters and make them free, and you will at once have your necessities in all the departments of economic life fully satisfied. Remove the bondage of the river, at its head and throughout its course up to the mouth, and you will have all that you desire of it. Do not expect the river to cater to your imaginary needs or serve your arbitrary will. You must follow and watch its course, and regulate your institutions accordingly.

The spill action of a river is the natural way of easing itself : if you check it you will have to face the angry flood. Lowlands subject to inundation are meant for cultivation, uplands for residence : adherence to this formula will secure the greatest advantage from the rivers and save a lot of misery. Try to help the river, if you can, in its unimpeded onward course : do not strangle it or its distributaries. Do not think the river is blind : it has eyes to seek its own course, following the general level of the country, which is again regulated and remodelled by the river itself by deposit of its sand and silt. Herein lies the chief natural function of the deltaic rivers of Bengal. Forgetfulness of this cardinal truth has landed us in manifold difficulties and miseries, specially in the departments of agriculture and health. It is time that we should recount our mistakes, for heedlessness of Nature's forces and functions may yet lead us to more ambitious, and so more ruinous, projects. We have to work on the principle of reviving the rivers with all their ramifications ; for to benefit a river is ultimately to benefit ourselves. Any money spent for this purpose ensures a greater return.

Let us not think for a moment that any river is 'dead'. The fact is that we have deadened many, either by neglect or by active devices. Some rivers have met with blockade at the sources, some in their courses, others at their mouths, and not a few throughout. The result is stagnation, silting up or drying up. Narrowing the courses of rivers, brooks and creeks by the construction of comparatively narrow culverts or short bridges over them is a common experience, though the evil effects of this practice are but imperfectly realized even now. Encroachments and embankments on or near the banks are admitted evils, but the remedies are not vigorously sought after. The cry for reclamation and drying up of lands, at the cost of the beneficial expanse of water, has not yet subsided, although the necessity of more water for all economic and sanitary measures is gradually increasing. We seek to extricate ourselves from this anomalous position with costly projects based on the theory that 'rivers have died a natural death, and cut canals must now take their places.' Only a moment's reflection is needed to show the hollowness of this theory: for, are not the rivers being fed as of yore by the same mountains which brought forth the rivers ?

In this case a common-sense view of the matter seems to be preferable to the so-called scientific assumptions, and the biological history of deltaic Bengal gives the key to a solution of the whole problem. "India is," in the words of Mr. F. A. Sachse, "a country in which the health and economic prosperity of everyone of its inhabitants depends first and foremost on its river system. It is a country, moreover, where many of the rivers are worshipped as gods." If this is true of India, specially is it true of Bengal. Without controversy, therefore, let us find our goal in the resuscitation of the rivers, and rejuvenate our country following up the rivers' courses as devotees, with the conchshell in our mouth, as Bhagirath did of old.

# LONDON AND CALCUTTA VOTERS COMPARED

## By SAURINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THE population of the administrative County of London was 4,484,523 according to the census of 1921. The totals of parliamentary voters and the County Council voters in 1930 were some 2,922,440 and 2,108,309. The interesting fact is that the number of parliamentary voters is greater than the number of County Council voters. The respective percentages of attendance at the contested elections of the parliamentary voter and the council voter are given below:

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS

| May 1929 | Oct. 1924 | Dec. 1923 | Nov. 1922 | Dec. 1918 | Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 65·8 | 71·0 | 60·0 | 60·3 | 45·5 | 60·5 |

COUNTY COUNCIL VOTERS

| March 1931 | 1928 | 1925 | 1922 | 1919 | —— |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27·8 | 35·6 | 30·6 | 36·8 | 16·6 | 29·5 |

The attendance at the council elections is generally very much lower than at the Parliamentary elections.

The population of Calcutta under the Corporation of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea was 1,077,264 according to the census of 1921. The total of Bengal Council voters is 32,619 non-Muhammadans plus 4,446 Muhammadans—37,065; while the number of non-Muhammadan corporation voters is 55,342, and the number of Muhammadan corporation voters is 8,889, in all 64,231.

The percentages of attendance of Calcutta Bengal Council voters at the last four elections are shown below:

| | 1920 | 1923 | 1926 | 1929 | Average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Non-Muhammadan | 31·6 | 49·8 | 40·7 | 3·9 | 31·5 |
| Muhammadan | 10·8 | 45·5 | 36·5 | 40·2 | 34·2 |
| | | | | | 32·9 |

The attendance at the last Corporation general election of 1930. the figures for which are readily available, is shown below:

| | | Average |
|---|---|---|
| Non-Muhammadans | 56·6 | |
| Muhammadans | 73·4 | 64·5 |

The percentages of attendance in the Corporation general election under the leadership of the late Mr. C. R. Das in 1924 and in 1927 were very high and over 60. It would have been better if accurate figures could be given.

In Calcutta the number of Bengal Council voters is nearly half that of the Corporation voters; but the attendance of the former is generally less.

Why this difference between London and Calcutta voters? In London the sanitary arrangements and other advantages are so great and so nicely managed that the people do not care to vote. In Calcutta, as it is insanitary the people take great interest. In mofussil municipalities which are generally very insanitary the voters' attendance is 70 or 80 per cent. On the other hand, the powers of M. L. C.'s are so small that people do not care to come in great numbers to vote for them. Even under Mr. C. R. Das, the attendance was less than half. The powers of a member of the Parliament are very great—so the people take great interest in choosing good men.

# PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

## DISCUSSION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (SUPPLEMENTARY BILL)

THE Honourable Sir James Crerar (Home Member): Sir, I move that the Bill to supplement the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, as reported by the Select Committee be taken into consideration.

I am sure, Sir, that the House will not expect from me at this stage any long discourse and will readily excuse both me and itself from such a superfluous task. The Bill has already been considered at some length for several days. It is a very short Bill and a very simple Bill, the principles of which can hardly be distinguished from its detailed provisions. The House referred the Bill to a Select Committee and thereby approved of its principles by a unanimous vote and it is therefore unnecessary for me to say anything further at this stage. In so far as matters subsidiary or relative to the Bill arise, I shall deal with them in due course when the detailed consideration of the Bill is taken up. In the meantime, I merely ask the House, since I am in the happy position of being able to present the House once more with a Bill precisely in the form in which it was introduced, to join with me in giving effect to the recommendation of the Select Committee that it should be passed as introduced.

Mr. S. C. Mitra (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I rise to oppose the consideration of this Bill. I made it clear from the very beginning that I was opposed to the principle of this Bill. When this Bill was referred to the Select Committee, I knew some Members, particularly I remember my leader Sir Abdur Rahim, made it clear that they were sending it to the Select Committee on the clear understanding that they would be free to oppose it if it was not sufficiently improved in the Select Committee. I find that the Bill has not been changed in the least, so I think I shall have their support in opposing this Bill altogether. In moving his motion for referring the Bill to Select Committee, Sir James Crerar said, "It is a very short measure containing practically only one effective operative clause." Today he says that it is a very short and simple measure. Really if you look at it from the outside, it is a Bill of three or four clauses, but by passing this Bill I can assure the House, that they will be digging the graves of the political detenus. I speak from my personal experience when I say that detenus when they return from jail after several years, become practically physical wrecks. I have been asked by several men holding important and responsible positions whether these people are slowly poisoned in jail. Otherwise why does it happen that when they come out of jail after years they are all ruined physically? Though I do not believe that there is any case for deliberate poisoning, I must agree that the effect is all the same and it is equally ruinous. Not one or two, not a few stray cases, but almost all of them who go to jail even if they had iron constitutions, come back completely wrecked. It may be difficult for some Honourable Members to realize why, when they get some food and some little comforts in the language of my Honourable friend, Mr. French, they should come back with shattered health. Sir, for that purpose of appreciating their condition you must put yourself in the position of these detenus. I tried to emphasize this point more than once that the Bengal Criminal Supplementary Act is not a penal law, that it is merely preventive; but if you search the whole criminal law in India, out of the 511 sections, there are very few sections which provide punishment for more than three or four years; while under this very simple measure of my friend, Sir James Crerar, they keep men in jail not month after month but year after year under restraint—they are sent to jail for an indefinite, an unending period and it is this indefiniteness itself which tells so very heavily upon a person's constitution. It may appear very light, but it is not at all so if you have the painful experience. You may say that even if I am asked to stay in this House for say 24 hours, what would be the difficulty provided I am provided with food? As a matter of fact many people do not go out of their office rooms for hours together, but you must appreciate, Sir, the psychological effect that once you tell a man that he cannot go out of a particular building for say five hours, that will be putting a great strain on his nerves. He might have no personal inclination to go out of the room for another 12 or 14 or even 24 hours, but once you tell him that he cannot go out that very thing will have the most evil effect upon his nerves, and that is the reason why the highest medical authorities agree that if you keep a man for two or three years in jail, he will certainly be deranged to a certain extent. So, before we decide upon this measure, we must realize what the real strain is on the physique of these people, who, mind you, are not found guilty by any court of law; Government themselves admit that it is not a penal measure but is merely preventive; nevertheless, Sir, Government make these people suffer far more in actuality than most of the real criminals for whom the penal laws of the land provide. As regards the solitariness of the jail itself, I know that even for the worst criminal when a sentence is passed, there is provision in the jail codes whereby such a person does not suffer the whole period of solitary confinement at one stretch but by periods of two or three months at the most at a time, in a solitary cell, after which there is an interval, but what actually happens in the case of detenus—and believe me, it is not at all an imaginary tale I am reciting—is that many of the detenus have to pass not only months but years in *solitary* cells! In their case even the jail codes do not provide anything because, technically speaking, they are not prisoners but detenus and should be treated merely as under-trial prisoners at the worst. Sir, I would like to emphasize this point because I personally felt, after the lapse of a year or so, the monotony and dullness of the same room, the same environment, the same scenery, the same two or three people serving and this monotony tells so heavily on individuals that it is very difficult to make you realize the painfulness of the situation unless you also have some experience of that solitary life.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : You are giving your own experience ?

Mr. S. C. Mitra : Yes, my own experience ; and I wish that you should not be misguided by the Mover of this motion when he says, "Oh, this is a very simple measure, it is nothing but transference from one place to another place ; the detenus are amply and comfortably provided for." I tell you I know that the Honourable gentleman himself does not feel it because he himself has not had any opportunity to appreciate a fraction of the difficulties and sufferings of these people. Then I shall now tell you something about the difficulties of jail life, particularly when people are transferred to other provinces. Now the jailors in other provinces do not know the status of these transferred detenus. These detenus are generally sent under military guards with special officers ; so when they go to a new place, the first impression of the jailor is that they must be treated like capital sentence prisoners. I said it once and I repeat it again and my experience has been confirmed by my friend, Mr. Phookun—who I am sorry is not here now—when he was put into a cell, after seven days he was feeling he was going out of his wits, because the strain of being couped up in a cell was so much. And Sir, I will tell you, a cell means only a small room with a small window, 6 feet high, and generally walled by corrugated iron ! You will now realize their position. (Shame, shame.) Now when these prisoners are sent out of their provinces, the jailors in the other provinces, not knowing their status, always treat them in the degrading fashion of capital sentence prisoners for the first few months. Now Government machinery will take months before even the so-called rules are supplied to the jailors in other provinces. In this connection I would like to state further that there are some jail rules which are very humiliating and insulting indeed. One of those rules is the "Sarkar, Salaam",—which means that when any jail official enters into the jail, all the prisoners must stand up in a line and salute him. You are asked to go with other base criminals, and do the *salaam* in their company, standing upright along with them. You cannot stand anywhere and everywhere and say "good-bye, Sir" but you must humbly salute him in the company of other criminals. Now that is one of the insulting things which some of the jailors in other provinces, who do not understand the status of political detenus, compel them to resort to. Then there is another system called the "latrine parade." (Laughter.) I must tell you something about that, because you must feel for yourself what the real position is. Now these people have never been tried in any court of law, they have never been found guilty by any court, and even the executive Government themselves admit that they have not sufficient evidence to secure conviction against these people. Now everyone has to submit to this "latrine parade." Imagine, Sir, cultured, educated people, some of them graduates, many of them well-stationed in life, all these cultured people being compelled to submit to the "latrine parade" by the jailor in a new jail. He will expect these people to stand, Sir, in a parade *with the criminals* to ease themselves in front of all other people ! And you can understand how it is possible for cultured people to submit to all these humiliations. (Shame, shame.)

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh : There is no privacy provided for them ?

Mr. S. C. Mitra : None. I understand the real purpose of the Honourable the Home Member is to get this Bill passed in order to stop the interviews. He has not said so plainly, but I can read between the lines to find out what is his real intention. I shall dilate upon that point later. One of the reasons explained why prisoners should be transferred to distant places is that some person, while interviewing his son, was found to have carried some letters. The main purpose of this Bill is to shut out these detenus from all connection with the outside world. Sir, when these prisoners are transferred to distant jails, it becomes impossible for the poorer people to go to that place and interview their relations. In Burma, I understand, there were about 17 or 18 detenus in the years 1926 to 1928, and during this period only Subhash Chandra Bose was interviewed by his brother. I think the Honourable the Home Member himself has said that the purpose of this Bill is to transfer all political detenus to a jail in Ajmer. The name of the place is Deoli. It is an old dilapidated fort on the boundary line; between Ajmer and Udaipur, and it is more than 80 miles from Ajmer city. I have obtained this information from Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda and am speaking subject to correction by the Home Member. It appears that there is an old dilapidated fort at this place and money amounting to two or three lakhs was sanctioned by this House a year or two ago under the heading civil works without any Member having any idea that it was for building a jail there. Such is the jugglery in our detailed estimates in the Budget under the various heads. There is a railway line from Ajmere city for a distance of about 14 miles to a place called Nasirabad and thereafter one must ride on a camel or go by bullock cart for the rest of the 60 miles. That is the grand provision that the Honourable the Home Member is making for the detenus before his final kick to this unfortunate country. If his intention is to prevent people from interviewing these detenus, let him say so plainly. If this is the end he has in view, it can be achieved even in Bengal. Why should he ruin the health of these detenus by transferring them from Bengal to Ajmer, because they are not accustomed to the heat of such a place in the summer ? Sir, let me point out to the Honourable the Home Member that these interviews are sometimes necessary even in the interests of Government.

I would like to impress on the Members on this side how it is that these detenus go on hunger strike, about which we read so often in the newspapers.

After remaining for some time in the jail—here, again, I speak from personal experience—there is such a strain on the nerves that even a quiet, calm and reasonable man becomes to a certain extent unreasonable. If they are allowed to have interviews with their relations or guardians, it helps them a great deal to rehabilitate themselves to their normal condition. I have also consulted medical officers on this point and their verdict is also the same. Now the Home Member proposes that these detenus should be put in a jail at Deoli, which is more than 80 miles from Ajmer, and more than 60 miles from the Railway station. The suggestion of my Honourable friend Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury that some provision should be made for granting travelling allowance to the relations of these detenus when they go to see them has also been ruled out in the Select Committee.

The Honourable the Home Member cited a case of letters being sent out by detenus in a clandestine way and therefore I must also give my views about the sending of letters from the jail by these detenus. I personally think that this is one of those cases which had been referred to by Mr. S. C. Sen. Can Government explain why the father has not been prosecuted in a court of law for clandestinely passing letters which he is prohibited to do? In all such cases you will find that no cases are instituted in any court of law. That is the respect which they have for their own courts of law. What happens is this, that in order to carry on the administration of the country, the Government do many things which they cannot plainly and publicly profess. There are *agent provocateurs*, who are sent to tempt young men in various jails. There they exert their influence on these detenus, and sometimes get them entangled by procuring so-called confessions. Sometimes these spies write letters purporting to have been written by some detenus, otherwise political detenus are not likely to be so foolish as to incriminate themselves by such letters. These letters are then placed before the so-called two Judges who sit on these facts in judgment. At first it was decided that the cases of detenus should be placed before two High Court Judges, but the High Court refused to have any connection in this matter, because they considered it insulting to pass judgments merely on Untested evidence. Now the Government select two Judges belonging to the Listed service or from the Civilians. Now, I tell you these *agent provocateurs* are sent to the jails in order to secure some letters which are used as evidence against the poor detenus. The Honourable the Home Member has said, "We have information that specific instructions were issued from places of detention to murder a particular Superintendent of Police, to murder the President of a tribunal, to murder a high official, to concentrate on the murder of Europeans, etc." I cannot for a moment believe it, for the simple reason that nobody would like to create evidence against himself. These are all the acts of their own spies. Even if, for the sake of argument, I accept that there was one boy who tried to pass some letters, should that be the ground to put all the detenus under the ban and thus make interviews impossible for all detenus for all times? The Honourable the Home Member seems to be of the opinion that if a man is found stealing, the simple way is to cut off his hands so that in future he may not steal anything. Or if there are burglaries, an Ordinance should be passed that nobody should go out of his house after sun-set. By some such simple means he can provide very easily for the Government of this country, and they are providing in that way. But I would appeal to the House that they must see that such drastic powers are not given to the Government because there was a single case of a letter sent from the jail.

If they are sent to a hot climate these detenus will suffer. As regards censorship, there has been an eleborate system of censoring letters. If a letter is written by a detenu to any of his relations, first it goes to the police officer and then to the jailor. I can give you examples from my personal knowledge. Recently my nephew wrote a letter to me. He was first prosecuted in a court a law, and when he was acquitted he was immediately put under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The major portion of this letter is deleted. I can give this letter to the Honourable Members of this House to see it for themselves. (The letter was shown to Members in the House). Four or five lines of this letter are left out and I understand that the letter that I wrote to him has been withheld from him. The censors will never tell a detenu whether any letter addressed to him has been withheld or any portion of the letter has been censored or obliterated. My nephew is a graduate and even if he is considered politically a dangerous fellow, he knows that his letter goes to a Member of the Assembly who is outside and yet his letter is censored. In this particular case my apprehensions are that the portion of the letter containing a reference to a case before the Magistrate has been censored. When he was under trial before the Magistrate my nephew narrated how he was tortured while in police custody and I wrote a letter to the police officials to have an enquiry made about the allegation and I think he must have written something about this in his letter which has been censored. Now, if I ask for an interview, that will be denied to me. But even if I am allowed an interview the police official will be present there, and my nephew will not be allowed to narrate the story of the police torture and the insults that were heaped on him while under police custody. As long as he will be under detention he will get no opportunity of saying anything against police officials. That is why the censorship has been introduced and is so strictly enforced. As regards interviews, they are always held in the presence of one or more police officials. There is barbed wire, and there is a distance of some feet which separates the interviewer from the detenu who is interviewed. Several detenus have refused these interviews because of the insulting conditions attaching to these interviews. They do not like their relations to be put under humiliation because the relations have to go from the police to the jailor first to secure permission and then at an appointed time you go and stop there for hours. Then the police officer comes and he gives an order as to where the relative can stand. The relative has to shout and if the relations are ladies it is easily imaginable whether they can shout from such a distance.

As regards transfer of detenus, that is a crucial point in this Bill and before I submit my own views on the point I should like to repeat from the speeches of some of the Honourable Members in this House itself. My Honourable friend Mr. Mudaliar, who is not present today, in his speech said:

"You ought to have provisions whereby there should be a strict obligation cast upon the Government. These people should not be at the sweet will and pleasure of any Inspector-General of Police or

Superintendent of Jail who tells them that while in Coimbatore they must behave as Coimbatoreans do. I do not know how they behave—but that is what a Superintendent of Jail might be inclined to say if he has not got a legislative restriction that he should treat them as they would have been treated if they had continued to be in Bengal. It is for your convenience, for the sake of the facilities which you want, that they are. transferred out of that atmosphere and placed elsewhere and there ought to be a provision that in the matter of dieting, in the matter of clothing and in the matter of those amenities which are essential for the ordinary comforts of life, they should have those amenities which they were accustomed to have in Bengal."

The main argument of the Honourable Home Member is that these detenus are inveterate or dangerous terrorists, but really that is begging the whole question. First prove that they are inveterate terrorists and then put them under any restrictions you please. Because Government call them inveterate terrorists, so they must be indefinitely put under restraint is not a reasonable proposition. The Honourable Home Member justifies his argument on an assumption which he has to prove, that is that they are inveterate criminals. If they are inveterate criminals why not prove it in a court of law?

As regards this so-called examination of the case by two judges, I have forgotten to explain it in detail. What happened in my own case was this; perhaps the Honourable Home Member will rise up and say that these detenus are charged under certain heads and they explain their case and it goes before two judges. It is a misnomer to say that there is any real charge or any examination of the case by the two judges. No definite charges are framed. The detenu is merely informed, "You are an associate of so and so, you are an enemy of British Government." In such vague terms are the charges framed against the detenu. I am speaking from my own personal experience. They will say "You have smuggled arms from 1926 to 1928." No definite period will be given so that the detenu may be given a chance to refute these allegations. I do not claim for the detenu that any lawyer should be appointed to defend him, I did not want my case to be defended by any lawyers but I merely wanted to be present before the Judge to explain anything that was considered suspicious by the police, but this humble demand was not granted. I do not even now know what were the specific allegations. If a detenu asks to be allowed to cite any witnesses, that is not allowed, and even if he asks to be permitted to appear before the Judges to corroborate his statement and to try and convince the Judges of his innocence, or even to know what are the definite charges against him, even these facilities are not allowed to the detenu. If the Government are not able to disclose the names of witnesses against the detenu, at least they can give the facts that go against a particular man. But nothing is permitted. Honourable Members might be under the impression that the cases against the detenus go before two judges who are of the status of High Court Judges and that there would be some sort of trial, though no lawyers were present. To disabuse their minds of this impression, I will submit in detail that this so-called examination by High Court Judges is a mere mockery, and as the High Court of Calcutta decided, it is insulting to ask any of the Judges to pass a judgment on untested evidence.

As regards diet I explained in detail that the food which Bengalis take is not the same as other people take in the different provinces. These detenus will now be transferred to Ajmer. It is well known that fish is one of the principal elements of diet in Bengal. I asked my Honourable friend Diwan Bahadur Sarda about Ajmer, and he said that there is no chance of getting fish anywhere near Ajmer. As regards the method of cooking I read several letters. Here is a letter which I asked the other day my Honourable friend Mr. B. Das to read. That was written by a lady about her very sickly brother who has been transferred to Cannanore Jail in Madras. His name is Ramesh Chandra Acharya. He was in jail, she writes, with some intervals for more than ten years. It is not unknown to this House that, what happens is that once a man is under suspicion he is always a suspect. After four or five years, they let him out for a few months. Then when there is a. political case and the police, whose efficiency is well known, cannot find out the culprit, necessarily all these fellows who are near about must be put under restraint because in the case of detenus no evidence will be necessary. As a matter of fact, I will tell you how these laws are applied. One of the most recent cases was that of the editor of the *Benu* who was released only the other day after full two years' imprisonment in jail. As soon as this young man was coming out of the jail, he was arrested under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act. The law says that any man "Who has acted, is acting or is about to act" in a certain manner may be arrested by any police officer and comes under the purview of this Act. Now take this particular case. This man was undergoing rigorous imprisonment in a British jail for 24 months for writing a seditious article. Before he comes out, how has he "acted, is acting or is about to act" in that particular manner? And yet he has been put in jail again under this Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): There is such a thing as thought-reading.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: Then one condition is that no proof is necessary and for a court of law to give more than two years a sessions trial is necessary. But under the Criminal Law Amendment Act Government can put a man under restraint for any indefinite period. I am not exaggerating at all. There are many detenus who have been now in jail for more than three years, and after another two years if we are here, we will hear that they are continuing in jail for any number of years. If there is a trial and a conviction, there is some period fixed, but here there is no time limit. He may pass his whole life in jail, and sometimes they come out for a few months and are put in jail again. So when this House considers the case of these detenus they should not forget all these facts. They should not think, as Sir James Crerar thinks, sitting there quietly, that it is a very simple measure and the easiest way to govern India is by ordinances and by certification. This lady writes to me that her brother is suffering from paralysis, he cannot move without the help of the two sticks and he requires a special sick diet. Now prisoners there in that jail can speak only Malayalam and Kanarese, and he cannot make them understand how to prepare his food. That is his difficulty and so he was written a piteous letter to his sister and she has sent that letter to move on his behalf. They think we have some power though they will be disillusioned when they know that we are as helpless as the relations of these poor detenus are.

Then, Sir, about the princely allowance of which my Honourable friend Mr. French was boasting so much the other day, I shall read an extract from the *Liberty* because I am speaking of a man who is well known to this House.

> "In the C. P. Legislative Council there was a volley of questions regarding Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. The Home Member admitted that Srijut Bose's movements were confined to a small yard even during the daytime and that he was not permitted even to have morning and evening walks outside the yard."

It may be known to this House that "yard" means a very small place which includes the cottage and some open space.

> "Re. 1 per diem has been sanctioned as diet allowance for him. The question of revising the allowance, the Home Member said, was under the consideration of the Government. While three Governments, the Government of India, the Government of Bengal and the Government of the Central Provinces are exchanging notes over this one rupee a day, Mr. Bose is living on the meagre allowance of Re. 1 a day. Surely this is not how a State prisoner should be treated."

Now, they say this was under Regulation III, and the Honourable the Home Mamber is just contemplating to transfer him as soon as the Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary Act is passed. Under Regulation III of 1818 a man is to be treated in jail according to his status in life. Fortunately or unfortunately Mr. Bose was a member of the Indian Civil Service. He was the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation and he was Mayor of Calcutta and you can easily understand his status in life. He was brought up in luxury and comfort. Now the idea of the Home Member here is that such a man is to be paid one rupee a day. If you tell these Honourable gentlemen who belong to the exalted Indian Civil Service to which Mr. Bose himself belonged, that in these hard days one pie of their Lee concessions is to be cut, there will be a moral indignation on the part of the whole Civil Service and even such a sweet man as Sir George Schuster will say that it is not possible to think of cutting the Lee concessions for the Civil Service. But here when they treat Indians, they are by their own law bound to treat them according to their status, and this gentleman is getting one rupee a day. He was with me in detention in Burma jail and there they used to give him Rs. 200 a month. But every little order must pass through all the little parts of this machinery of the bureaucratic Government. It will take months before some thing is settled and during that time the man's health may be totally ruined, by living on one rupee a day. Thus do they look after the comforts of these people! As regards Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta, we know he was suffering from heart disease and high blood pressure for a long time and he was advised not to go to any hill station, but soon after his arrest he was removed to Darjeeling and then, after much correspondence while his health was breaking, he was brought down to Jalpaiguri. I tell you these things to impress upon this House that it is not such a simple and short measure as my Honourable friend thinks it to be.

Then on the last occasion I asked a question as to why Government make unnecessary laws. They are dealing with these men and they send this measure for circulation to get the opinion of the public but they do not wait for this legislation; they go their own way and get these persons detained under Regulation III of 1818. When Government have a Regulation in their old stock to deal with these people, why do they forge a new law every time? I hope the Honourable the Home Member in his reply will meet this point. As the Honourable the Home Member has got much regard for my friend, Mr. Biswas, I hope he will at least accept his advice. Speaking of Mr. Biswas, Sir James Crerar said:

> "...Mr. Biswas, who gave to the House what I thing was a very fair, candid and lucid account of the issues as they present themselves to many."

Mr. Biswas had said in his speech:

> "The question is this, whether or not we should require some assurance, either to be embodied in the Bill itself or in rules to be framed under the Bill, to ensure that where such detenus are removed from Bengal to another province, certain things should be done to reproduce as far as possible the conditions of detention in Bengal—conditions as regards food, health, comfort and so on. As my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim, has said, we hope that when the Bill goes before the Select Committee, that Committee would try to insert some clause in the Bill which would make it obligatory on the Local Government to provide for these things, in other words, to minimize discomfort and risk to health as far as practicable. I say, as far as practicable, because so far as the climatic conditions go, nobody can control that. But subject to that, I say it should be possible to reproduce the conditions of detention in Bengal in the provinces to which these men may be removed."

But in the Select Committee where there were fortunately or unfortunately, such eminent members as Sir Hari Sing Gour and Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, people with big titles—there they have not embodied anything. I think they do not have the necessary experience; they were misguided there. They thought that some rules—which I understand were circulated to these gentlemen—would be made and therefore they thought those rules must be applied and there would be no difficulty. In the Bill itself they say that rules must be made by each Local Government where these people are transferred. But how are these rules applied? Every letter from these people is censored; interviews must be in the presence of police officers, who without any reason whatever can curtail interviews at any moment. But our good friends thought perhaps that every word that the Government say must be correct, just as some illiterate people think that everything printed must be true. So they accepted that there are some rules; but to see if these rules are strictly followed, have they provided anything in the Bill itself? That is the difficulty, I know, and very wisely my friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer refused to go to the Select Committee, because he knew that he could not agree to the transfer of detenus to other provinces which would involve much difficulties and sufferings; and that there is no provision in the rules by which you can protect these detenus, because Government claim that all their letters and all their communications and all their interviews must be subjected to strict censorship. Further there is no provision in the Bill to see that the rules will be properly enforced. Even as regards the Ordinances, we experience almost every day that when Government wish to tyrannize over people in spite of the rules in the statute, nothing can prevent them. I know what happened in Chittagong, which is in my constituency. I know further that there was an honourable Englishman, the Commissioner, Mr. Nelson who was asked to report about the Chittagong riots. He could not swallow all the dictations of the higher authorities: he made a report and I challenge them to contradict me. He said in his report that there was deliberate action by some police and unfortunately by some non-official Europeans who burnt houses and destroyed property. This is his finding in the report that the riots were created for reprisal. Our friends in the Bengal Council tried their best to get the Government to publish this Report or the substance of it. A journalist friend of mine came the other day from Bengal and he told me that in Nelson's Report, if anybody gets a chance to see it, he will find that he was fully convinced after inquiry that it is the same old Irish policy of Black and Tans that was being pursued and the same method is going gradually to be introduced in all parts of the country.

In my last speech on this subject I made it clear that you must try to put an end to the main cause, the root cause and try to eradicate it. It is no use trying to use these palliatives of Supplementary Bills, they will not cure the disease. My Honourable friend Mr. French made a speech the other day, and in that speech he contradicted the commission of atrocities that I referred to at Midnapore that give subsequently the cause for reprisal. He said my statement was incorrect because he happened to be there after a month and found no trace of it. I am placing evidence before you now that he was incorrect or at least he had not sufficiently tried to investigate the truth. There was an unofficial report by a committee and the President of that Committee was Mr. J. N. Basu, a very respectable man whom even the Government in their wisdom selected as one worthy to be sent to the Round Table Conference even after he had made that report. He was challenged in the Bengal Council. Mr. Prentice, who holds the same position there as the Honourable Sir James Crerar holds here, asked:

"May I ask if Mr. Basu is prepared to take responsibility for this statement ?"

Babu Jatindranath Basu said, "Yes."

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu said :

"I submit that the report of that Committee, short extracts from which were read out by Mr. Neogy in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and which with your permission I shall read to this House, shows the way in which the police have been behaving in that part of the country, which is certainly not......"

when he was interrupted. Now, Mr. French says :

"I know Midnapore district well. It is not a primitive or backward district ; it is an educated and up-to-date place, and they know as well how to bring suit against Government as in any part of India. They might have objected to going to criminal courts, but the civil courts are open. When I was a Joint Magistrate in Midnapur, I received a number of notices of civil suits and when I was there last year I got notices of civil suits also. If anything had happened it would have been brought at once into the civil court for heavy damages."

May I ask the Honourable Member what was the objection on the part of the Government themselves, when this Report was published, to bring a case against these gentlemen, to prove that their reports were false? As a matter of fact, the people in Midnapore district are *satyagrahis* ; they do not go to court. Mr. French may not know it, but I know it. I am a Congressman still today ; and a Congressman will not go to a civil or criminal court and ask for justice. That is the reason why they did not do it. But what was the reason on the part of the Government not to vindicate their conduct when it was openly challenged in the House and the Report is a published document ? Now, I shall proceed to give some facts for Mr. French's satisfaction. Later on, the same Mr. J. N. Basu in the Bengal Council said :

> "In the villages I visited in the district of Midnapore there were some cases of the breach of the salt law, that is to say, there were cases of manufacture of contraband salt. But the way the authorities dealt with the situation was that there was a police cordon drawn round the whole village, and whether the inhabitants were offenders or not, every home was entered into, the inmates seized and beaten and the household property destroyed. I am sure that even in the centre of Africa, which is backward, we do not find a situation similar to what has been happening in Bengal—in British India—for the last few months, and upon which we cannot but look with disgust and shame. Sir, why should Government be afraid of coming out into the open, and why should they not appoint an independent committee and let people produce evidence before it to see whether persons who have been injured and whose rights have been trampled upon have been really offenders against the law ?"
>
> "I personally examined several hundred such persons and found that out of those persons about 15 were really offenders and the rest were ordinary peaceful citizens who had nothing to do with the breaches of the law. If there is an independent Committee there will be an opportunity for these men to come forward and give evidence."

But, Sir, his cry was a cry in the wilderness as it often happens in this House also. There was no Committee of any sort, in spite of his challenge to publish the Report, a copy of which must be available in the Government departments. No steps were taken to refute what he said, and here the Honourable Member may stand up and say that he made an inquiry and found that the facts stated were not accurate. But I shall give more details to convince him and to show what actually happened. I am now reading from a book called "India" published in England :

> "The complaints against the Police and Excise officials can be classed under the following heads :
>
> (*a*) Assaults : The evidence of the persons examined by the visiting members of the Committee showed that there was assault by the hands or by kicks and also by canes or *lathis*. In two cases the beating was so severe that the person beaten had fainted. The assault was unprovoked. The persons assaulted consisted of villagers mostly, who were in their homes at the time of assault or passesrs-by in public places or spectators near places where salt was being manufactured. There were also among the witnesses a few *satyagrahis* or volunteers or who were villagers who desired to offer Civil Disobedience by the manufacture of salt. In none of these cases it was found that any provocation had been offered to the police or any violence had been shown or directed to the Police or the officials. The scars of the wounds in some cases were so well-marked and large as to show that the beating had been very severe.
>
> The Committees found some cases where women

had been beaten with canes and they bore marks of assault on their bodies.

At Kholakhali seven women were examined, all of whom complained of severe assault by canes, fists and kicks. Their clothes had, in some cases, been torn off their bodies.

At Subarnadighi the girl in an advanced stage of pregnancy was found to be breathing with difficulty, tears trickling down from her eyes, and she bore marks of molestation on her person. It is surprising that a case like this should have happened with a Magistrate accompanying the police party. The girl was not physically capable of creating such troubles as might lead to her being assaulted. She had also no time to concoct a story, as the members arrived at her house soon after the police left her house.

In some cases the assault was directed not only physically to hurt the person assaulted but to humiliate him in the eyes of others. Some men were made to hold their ears and to stand up and sit down several times. Some men were also made to rub their nose on the ground.

(*b*) Damage or destruction or removal of property. The Police and Excise officers have the right to make house searches under certain specific circumstances. From what the visiting members saw with their own eyes, they found that in the cases in which the police and other officials had entered the houses of the villagers there was no circumstance which could lead to a house search.

If the entry into the houses was meant for the purposes of search, it was strange that such entry was not peaceful and was followed not by a lawful search, but by the destruction of property and beating of the inmates. There appeared to be no justification for such violence and interference with elementary personal rights.

The Committee do not see any justification for the breaking of the pots and pans, the destruction of domestic stores and foodstuffs, the smashing of vegetables and the scattering about of grain at the houses of the villagers. They fail to see how the smashing of conch bangles, the making of which is a local industry, or the pulling down of thatch from the roof of huts could have been of any use."

This is all from the Report. I would not have cared to read extensively from this book if my friend Mr. French had not provoked me to give him some facts. If he wants the names of the witnesses who gave evidence, they are all published in the book; it is now public property; he can buy a copy of this book and satisfy himself. I am referring to all these things only incidentally.

Sir, I was recently reading the book supplied by Government where they have given a list of dacoities and murders that were committed; till the earlier part of 1930, the cases that were reported are only of dacoities, and not a single European was touched. But later on in the year I find a number of cases where attempts were made or even assassinations were committed on Europeans, and if you enquire for the real cause you will find that it was the inhuman and brutal manner in which the Satyagrahis were treated that gave rise to revolutionary mentality amongst the younger generation. I will finish my speech by reading a small portion from the statement of the girl who was only the other day punished by the High Court. From that statement Honourable Members will see how the young minds are working. Try to remove the causes that create that sort of mentality in the younger generation, approach the disease from that standpoint, and not by passing this "short and simple Bill." Sir, I shall now read from the statement of Miss Bina Das......

Mr. C. C. Biswas (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): It is a statement which was not allowed to be published in the Calcutta Press.

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): It was not allowed to be published except in the *Statesman*.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Censorship varies in Bengal according to whether the paper is Indian or Anglo-Indian.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: She says this:

"I am emotional in my temperament. Every act of humiliation to my country, nay, any suffering even to an animal would cause the severest pain to me which would almost make me mad till it found expression in some work of relief. All the ordinances, all measures to put down the noble aspiration for freedom in my countrymen came as a challenge to our national manhood and indignities hurled at it. This hardened even the feminine nature like mine into one of heroic mould.

I studied in the Diocesan College for my B. A. degree examination and passed my B. A., with Honours in English, and my father sent me to that college for an additional course of study for the B. T. examination in order to give me an opportunity to see the best side of British character. I gratefully acknowledge that I have immensely profited by my study under the sisters of my college. But at the same time, with the comparative knowledge of things, I felt and felt with deep anguish that the Christ-spirit was not much in evidence in the administration of a Christian Government.

The series of ordinances savouring of martial law, to my mind, showed nothing but a spirit of vindictiveness and were only measures to crush down all aspirations for freedom. The outrages perpetrated in the name of the Government at Midnapore, Hijli and Chittagong, which is my own district, although I have never seen it, the refusal to publish the official inquiry reports were things I could never drive away from my mind. The outrage on Amba Dasi of Contai and Niharbala of Chittagong literally upset my whole being. I was a private tutor to the wife of a detenu. Every day I saw with my open eyes the sufferings of the poor wife leading the life of widowhood in the lifetime of her husband, the almost demented mother, and the father every day sinking into the grave, without their having the faintest notion of the nature of the supposed guilt. I attended the court to see the trial of my own sister Kalyani Das. Her punishment to serve a term of rigorous imprisonment for attending a meeting, which could not be held, and for being member of an unlawful society, without any evidence to show that she was a member thereof except a leaflet which I learnt was published and circulated without her knowledge, was to my mind unjust. She is a graduate with Honours and lived in all the comforts of the life of a well-to-do respectable family, still for some days of her life in prison she was subjected to the ignominy of criminal and jail-dress and jail diet of an ordinary criminal and had even to pass sleepless nights and amongst such criminals. I saw all this with my own eyes and also saw the bitter tears welling out of my dear parents. I thought such must be the sufferings of many families and many men and women to be counted by thousands. All these and many others worked on my feelings and worked them into a frenzy. The pain became unbearable and I felt I would go mad if I could not find relief in death. I only sought the way to death by offering myself at the feet of my country and thus to make an end of all my sufferings and invite the attention of all by my death to the situation created by the measure of Government which can unsex even a frail woman like myself brought up in all the best traditions of Indian womanhood."

There are other portions, but I have read only the relevant portion, I have not read the whole thing, which is not necessary for my purpose. This proves another allegation why such harmless statements even are proscribed, and it clearly shows how the minds of these young impressionable youths are working. She came in contact as a tutor with the wife of a detenu, and she was seeing from day to day what was happening in the country, and that is how she has imbibed this spirit. I should like to impress upon the Government that these measures will not help; they must go to the root cause. With these words I oppose this motion for consideration.

Mr. B. Sitaramaraju (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I sympathize with the Honourable Member who has just now resumed his seat. If there is any person in this House who can tell us about the conditions under which detenus have to suffer, it is he. He has given those conditions under which the detenus are made to suffer, and the sympathy of this House is due to them.

Sir, the Honourable the Home Member has told us that this Bill is a short and simple Bill. It is a short Bill; it is a simple Bill; but he has not told us that this is a drastic Bill. It is that also. It is short, but it also makes short work of those liberties of the people, for which his ancestors fought and bled and which an Englishman to-day considers the proudest privilege which he has earned dearly for himself and his fellow subjects. The last speaker remarked that the titled gentlemen in the Select Committee were misled. I was one of the members of the Select Committee, but because I was not a titled person perhaps I was not misled. I appended a note of dissent to that report, and the Committee's recommendations are not mine in so far as they differ from my views.

Sir, the Bill, as has been mentioned, is a short Bill. It provides, firstly, for the transfer of detenus from the province of Bengal to any other province, secondly, it seeks to remove the power given under section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. So far as clause 2 is concerned, we agreed to the principle of transfer on the last occasion when the motion for reference to a Select Committee was moved, that it should go to that Select Committee. The House had practically agreed to that position taking into consideration the fact that the public opinion that was gathered was divided and therefore the Select Committee should take the whole thing into consideration and come to a decision as to giving effect to the principle of transfer without hardship. We in the Select Committee found it difficult to incorporate in clause 2 such conditions as would satisfy, at least us, as to the manner in which the detenus are to be treated. I was surprised when the Honourable the Home Member made his introductory speech to-day, that he made no statement as to the conditions under which or the comforts with which these detenus would be assured to be treated. Perhaps, when my Honourable friend the Leader of the Nationalist Party speaks on this motion, he will enlighten us as to what we did expect from the Government with regard to this, at this stage. Sir, my concern was not so much in regard to clause 2 as to clause 4; my objection was to the retention of clause 4. In my note of dissent I have stated that clause 4 would cut at the root of the fundamental rights of a citizen, and it is a disgrace to any Government which claims to be a civilized Government that it should allow such a clause to find a place in the Statute-book. When I said that, it was not a very original remark that I made. I told the Select Committee that it was not my own view but it is the view of every eminent lawyer. I thought that if I were to refer to the remarks of a gentleman who holds the highest place in the legal profession in Madras, who is as much a Government official as anybody else, being the Advocate-General of that Province—I thought I could be able to influence the Select Committee with his remarks at any rate. I am referring to the remarks of Sir Alladi Krishnasami Aiyar, the Advocate-General of Madras, who, though a titled person, though the Advocate-General of Madras, is an advocate of high reputation who has disapproved the provision under clause 4, in unmistakable terms. He said:

> "But in principle I am opposed to a provision like clause 4 which affects the only effective remedy available to a subject of questioning the acts of the executive. If the conditions of the Statute are satisfied, the detention is lawful and the High Court will not exercise the jurisdiction under section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code. If, on the other hand, the detention is unlawful because the conditions of the Statute have not been complied with or the order has not been passed, say, by the proper authority, there is no reason why the subject should be deprived of his remedy under section 491 and the principle obtaining in every part of the British Empire, namely, that a person has a right to be protected from illegal imprisonment, should be departed from in this country. I realize that there is this thing to be said in favour of the retention of clause 4, that section 491 already contains a provision to the effect that the remedy under the section is not available to persons detained under Regulations......"

Those were the remarks of the Advocate-General of Madras, with which I am in agreement. He also made a further remark. He said whether it is competent for this Legislature to provide a section like that and do away with the powers of the High Court —whether the Legislature has got that power to do away with the inherent powers of the High Court was discussed. He mentioned also some rulings of the High Courts of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Whatever may be those rulings I am prepared to give in to the Law Member if the Honourable the Law Member is satisfied that we have such power. If we have not, then, as a Law Member of the Government of India, he would advise us I expect that we should not incorporate or provide a place for it in the statute book. But, Sir, whether it is within the power of this Legislature or not, there is another place where it will be questioned if any such clause finds a place in the Act. It is unnecessary for me to go into that question. *(An Honourable Member:* "You mean in the Heavens!") Not so high above but—in the courts which always interpret the law. No doubt, the Honourable the Law Member would now say that if the procedure laid down in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act is not followed, then such a conduct is illegal, and if that is illegal, our objection does not stand. As the Honourable the Law Member is nodding his head, I assume that that is so. Section 491 provides that where a person is illegally or improperly detained then the powers of the High Court would come into operation. Therefore it is begging the question to say if the conditions laid down under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act were not complied with that it would be illegal and therefore our objection is uncalled for. I would say this. It is only when it is illegal that this section 491, Criminal Procedure Code, would come in. As has been pointed out by the Advocate-General of Madras in the quotation I read a little while ago, if the conditions of the Statute are satisfied, the detention is lawful. That is to say, if the procedure as laid down in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act is followed, then the detention would be lawful and the High Court would not exercise the powers under section 491, but if that is not lawful even under the Act, then where is the remedy. Therefore section 491 must be there to give us that guarantee that in case a person is detained unlawfully, or improperly, there is the remedy of going to a properly constituted authority to question that. I would like to know what the Honourable the Law Member would say in justification of taking section 491 away under this Bill. If the action of the executive is illegal and improper or done without sanction by competent authority, then only this section would come in. In this connection I would like to invite the attention of the House to the proceedings of the Assembly in 1925. Then the *ex*-leader of the Nationalist Party, Mr. Rangachariar, spoke as follows:

> "It is to deprive the High Court of that very small and not altogether effective power of examining the case of any person who has been arrested under this Act and detained without being brought to trial. Is it that the Bengal Government are afraid even that this shaded light of the High Court should not penetrate the dark corners of the action of the executive in this matter? What is the fear of the executive of the High Court? Why are they afraid of their own High Court in which you have got eminent judges. All that the High Court can do under section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code is to call for the record or rather to call upon the officer who detained the person without trial to show that the detention of the person is not illegal or improper."

Then again Mr. Jinnah, the then Leader of this party, said:

> "The Bengal Act gives the executive and the police the power to arrest any citizen and to detain him indefinitely or for as long a time as they desire. Now unless they strike at the root of the principle of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which is incorporated in section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code, they cannot carry on that nefarious Statute to its logical conclusion, because if they detain a citizen under that abominable Act, there is section 491 and he is entitled to ask for a writ of *habeas corpus* and the result will be that the High Court, of which I am very proud in this country, will not tolerate that for a single moment. It is for that reason that the Government wish to use their axe at that writ of *habeas corpus* under section 491. That is their scheme, that is their design. They wish to pursue that scheme and design. They wish to persist in that policy obstinately and I say once more on the floor of this House that you will regret it and you will create more trouble than you imagine."

That was the opinion of a statesman. I have given you the opinion of an eminent lawyer from Madras and we, humble Members of the back benches, feel that if we contribute our quota to the cutting away of that fundamental basic principle of the liberty of a citizen, I for one would consider myself unfit to occupy any position in public life.

I am invited to bring to the notice of the House some opinions. I wish to quote only two. One is this:

> "But if and when the Executive is misled by the Police reports not properly scrutinized and action is taken against undesirable constitutional agitators who may be dubbed as terrorists, then a chance may reasonably be given to such a person to get his position cleared by permitting him to apply for a writ of *habeas corpus* from the High Court. The support of the executive action by the High Court will strengthen the hands of the Executive and the veto of the High Court will inspire confidence in the justice of the Raj. It should not be forgotten that courts do inspire and restore this confidence which is sometimes rudely shaken by overzealous executive officials, who with the best of intentions are occasionally led astray and do not make proper use of powers vested in them. For reasons given above, I am of opinion that section 2 of the Bill may be enacted into law, but that section 4 would be dropped out."

This is the opinion of a District and Sessions Judge. I will give the opinion of the High Court Bar Association, Lahore:

> "With regard to section 4 of the Bill, I must say that my Association are strongly opposed to the curtailment of the powers of the High Court. In the opinion of my Association, this suspension of the powers of the High Court is a negation of the right of citizenship, because this suspension removes the only safeguard that the subject has against the Executive vagaries."

I need say nothing more to commend the rejection of the clause by the House, if it is not even amended as we desire.

*To be continued*

# COMMENT & CRITICISM

## Swami Nikhilananda on Vedanta

I will not attempt any exhaustive examination of Swami Nikhilananda's article on Vedanta published in the May number of *The Modern Review*. I shall only consider a few salient points on which I join issue with him.

1. His characterization of the Western philosophical method as opposed to that of Vedanta seems to me to be born of misconceptions either of the one or of the other or of both. It may be patriotic to condemn the West wholesale, but in view of the ancient metaphysics of Greece, or of the modern philosophies of Germany with all their ramifications in all the civilized countries of today, to say that "the rational philosophers of the West have mostly to take shelter under dogmatism, scepticism, romanticism or agnosticism" (as if there are no Vedantist agnostics or dogmatists) betrays an appalling amount of ignorance. In spite of his quoting Hegel and Edward Caird, the writer himself dogmatically asserts "the failure of the rational philosophers of the West to arrive at a finality regarding the real nature of Truth," with what consistency he knows best.

2. His pronouncement about the finding of Vedanta that the world is an illusion is not less sweeping and erroneous. Is this not the dogmatic conclusion of a particular school and not of Vedanta as a whole? There is no reason whatsoever to identify Vedanta with the Illusion theory when there are innumerable schools with conclusions poles asunder from that. For Bengal, a country of *Nyaya* so far as philosophy is concerned, the situation is peculiar. The Buddhist Bengal on which the neo-Hinduism, practically transformed Buddhistic idolatry, was imposed by the fiat of a converted prince supported by new-fangled legends and myths, took kindly to *Mayavada* system of philosophy, because it is Buddhist nihilism but for the name. Its real character was early detected very easily and stigmatized as *disguised* Buddhism (*prachchanna Bauddhamevatat*), not even altogether disguised according to the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri. Chaitanyadeva called it downright atheism, though preached *diplomatically* (*prabandha kariya tai nastika sastra kaila.*) Will Swami Nikhilananda venture to show that his view consists with that of the Vedanta Sutras, not to speak of the Upanishads, the fountain-head of the Vedanta philosophy? Of course, the latter contain certain interpolated passages, interpolated by those whose successors or descendants now quote them or interpret them in their interests. They were heresies, but history proves that heresy in time becomes orthodoxy. This point, however, will be settled only when like the Christian and Buddhist origins the historians and not mere theologians undertake to investigate the Vedantic origins also.

3. Now as to the finding itself. I am very glad that the Swami insists on free inquiry in the light of reason "supported by the actual and total experiences of life"—freedom of reason as opposed to submission to *guru* or scriptural revelation resulting from our latter-day "political slavery and theological thraldom," and to strengthen his position at this point he quotes from Hegel and Caird. He also says, "wordly objects are found illusory" and "worldly relations and experiences, when tried in the fire of reasoning, are found to be wanting." Now, certain pertinent questions arise which must be answered categorically. Is not reason or reasoning a worldly object and is not life with all its actual and total experiences of the world worldly? Then how does reason supported by life lead us out of the world of illusion "to know the Truth" which is outside the province of illusion? Verily, the Swami is entangled in the meshes woven by his own hand. However, when the Truth is known and the world vanishes, the *Vedantist* Swami supplies a perceiver to witness the *Buddhist* void. No psychology ever proposed a perceiver for a void. The Buddhist is more psychological and logical than our Vedantist. Without a positive content in the form of a percept the perceiver is *non est inventus*. The void can neither be perceived nor conceived. The perceiver here is a figment of the imagination, an abstraction without any existence in the fact of life which the Swami insists upon and for the lack of which he wrongly condemns the Western philosophy. So to pronounce the world to be illusory is to lay the axe at the root of existence altogether. Swami Nikhilananda seems to be unaware of the fact that his Vedanta also ends in nihilism like the Buddhist philosophy with the demerit on his side that it is disguised on the one hand and has not, on the other hand, the Buddhist temerity and candour to admit it in so many words.

For any true analysis of experience ego and non-ego are correlative factors of one reality—thought. One does not exist apart from the other. If one factor is taken to be illusory the other will in the last analysis be found equally illusory. The totality of experience of which one side is said to be illusory and the other real is an absurd conception, because, where is the *tertium quid* to bridge over the gulf between these two disparate entities? Why? Maya!

The oft-repeated rejoinder "whose illusion?" has remained unanswered all the ages. The Vedantist, for the matter of that the student of Vedanta, however exalted his position, is still under the influence of Illusion, Maya, and therefore is not entitled to pronounce on the illusory character of the world as one illusion cannot rectify another. In order to do so one must transcend the bounds of the illusory world. And one who has crossed the Rubicon and known the Truth cannot pass any judgment on the world as the world is non-existent for him—the Swami is categorical:

"They (the worldly objects) exist for us only so long as we do not know the Truth." Certainly like Sensationalism, as Prof. T. H. Green remarked, a consistent Illusionism must be speechless.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS'

# LOOPHOLES OF FASCISM

## BY SUPRAKASH DAS-GUPTA

FASCISM was born in the womb of reaction. Italian industrialists needed imperial extension. War gave them the opportunity. Mussolini, then a socialist, took a militarist attitude; consequently, he was expelled from the party on November 25, 1914, at Milan. Immediately afterwards Mussolini, in right earnest, began to fan war mentality through the columns of the *Popolo d'Italia*. The paper was founded by himself with the financial backing of the French Government. There was the king and there was the minister, but they were too weak to prevent this war mentality. The war was in the interest of the industrialists—the agrarian interests on the other hand had no concern with it.

But what was the result of the War? There was, on the one hand, heavy industry with inefficient capitalists, and unwilling workers on the other; the cost of living was rising; above all, "the nationalist aims had not been achieved: the Adriatic was not an Italian lake: the major members of the allies were securing all the plums and Italy was left out."* The result was universal discontent. Socialists were popular, but they lacked leadership. It was only owing to their nervousness that they mismanaged and bungled the whole situation. They could not handle the moments, they won in every sphere, for anti-war cry was predominant; yet they could not hold power. There were too many vacillating elements; opportunity came and went, and they woke too late. Thus, as Clara Zetkin says, "Fascism . . . is not the revenge of the bourgeoisie in retaliation for proletarian aggression, but it is a punishment of the proletariat for failing to carry on the revolution begun in Russia." There is no space here but it can be shown how clearly the workers seized everything for them, but for the lack of leadership all tumbled down. What happened then? Reaction began. According to Mr. Bolton King, "The disorders had spread panic among the richer and middle classes, and they hoped to profit from the reaction to crush socialism once and for all. An ill-cemented crowd—industrialists, landwners, tenant farmers, Army officers, republicans and syndicalists, shopkeepers, schoolboys, and criminals, above all the half-starved educated bourgeoisie, doctors, lawyers, some teachers—joined in a vague crusade, some from real fear of anarchy or sincere desire to clean high places of the State, some from revolutionary aims, hardly distinguishable from those of Communism, many from mere excitement, still more from a bitter desire to punish the workers and trample them to docility. The Fascists supplied the organization, but the impulsion came from reactionaries who hoped to smother Liberals and Socialists and Christian Democrats in a common catastrophe, and make the wealthier classes and the Army masters of the State. It was they who supplied the money to finance the movement."[*] Thus arose the Fascist movement.

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* *Fascism* by L. W., p. 9.

Fascism grew and developed inconsistently and without any real motive until Mussolini came into power. It was terroristic at its heart and therefore it was nurtured on the butcheries of Socialists and workers. "The violent smashing of the L. M. in 1919 and 1920 by armed Blackshirts is not disputed."[†] From the very beginning, the Fascists had a murderous policy directed against the workers. Nor did the policy change when they came into power and Mussolini became Prime Minister. The record of the Fascist attacks on the workers is simply barbarous. "The victims of these attacks were forced to drink castor oil, were beaten, and in many instances killed, on account of their working class sympathies." I am not going into details. But Mussolini does not himself know what may be the fate of such passionate speaking as, "What you want is a bullet in your neck. We have the courage to see that this is done, and we shall do it." This outburst was an answer to a Communist but another Liberal victim was selected for the "Fascist bullet" ; it was Matteoti, and Mussolini was the Premier. In another place he spoke, "We are not against Labour, but against the Socialist Party in so far as it remains anti-Italian."[§] But we wonder how it can be consistent. Socialist parties are formed not in the interest of the Socialists themselves but for the proletariat. Another allegation is that Socialists are "anti-Italian," that is anti-national ; the party should be "National" with all its abuses and must cease to be a Socialist party. Or what will be their fate ? They will be met with—what ? "Bullet," is the only answer—"Fascist bullet," because Mussolini does not want "vapid internationalism." "The Fascist movement proper arose in March, 1919, when Mussolini formed his first Fascio Italiano di Combattimento. (Italian Service Men's Union) in Milan." The early programme was "fascinating." "Its demands included proportional representation, adult suffrage, the eight hour day, a legal minimum wage, improved scales of social insurance, participation of the workers in the control of industry, expropriatory taxation, abolition of the standing army, nationalization of munition factories, and so on."[*] But in a later period, many of them were wholly modified or left out entirely.

Next, it developed with Mussolini-Gilotti conflict and finally forming a peculiar alliance. Peculiar in the sense, that "Mussolini meant Big Business ; Gillotti, Landlordism." At last Mussolini had to surrender to the diplomacy of Gilotti. That is to say, the man who meant "Big Business" and despised the agrarian had to deprive himself of the power of attacking agrarian supporters. Therefore, Fascism had inevitably to swallow some contradictions only to retain its power. It must needs run inconsistently. "The Agrarian section remains even today a thorn in his side. In general, the so-called 'Dissident' Fascists represent the agrarian element—the terrorist section which even today Mussolini cannot control. It is in this division of interest that is to be seen the seed of the ultimate collapse of the Fascist Government."[†]

Fascism is otherwise an intensive nationalism. Here is the doctrine : "The only real entities are nations, each independent and isolated, without obligations to other peoples, or duties to the race. The normal relationship of nations is that of actual or potential war, for war is 'an eternal law of the human race.' Without national hatred there can be no virtue, said the vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies."[*] And "National movements" are generally the outcomes of the discontented middle class of any nationality and this hatred, inherent in nationalism, ends in agression, in expansion, in imperialism. And in such actions, justification remains always at hand, justification patent to all imperialistic nations; it is "overpopulation." That is but a myth. "Italy's surplus man power must emigrate," declares Mussolini.* But in practice in African empire there are 30,000 Italians less than the number of immigrants to United States in the year 1923-24. New York City contains 25 or 26 times Italians than the whole Italian colonial empire. Italy's density is 329 per sq. mile, whereas New York City's is 21,000 per sq. mile; do they starve? On the other hand, it is an undeniable truth that this aggression is, and always has been accentuated by the capitalist class. This capitalistic greed —not of any "National State" (I am doubtful whether there is any "National State" other than "Class State") but of interested individuals,—descends in subjugating and oppressing the weaker nations and thus forming colonial countries for shameless and naked exploitation, depriving the natives of those countries from all sources of living as men. Japan wants Manchuria for the same reason; but it will be injustice if we hold each Japanese responsible for this brutality; most of them are really unconcerned, nay, sympathetic to the victim. Therefore, any force which is implied with nationalism, is liable to be tainted by such horrible consequences.

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[*] *Fascism in Italy* by Bolton King, p. 22.

[†] *Fascism* by L. W., p. 6.

[§] *Fascism and the Problem of Labour and Capital* by Sj. Sukumar Roy in *The Modern Review*, September. 1929, p. 276.

[*] *Fascism* by L. W., p. 17.

[†] *Fascism* by L. W., p. 19.

[§] *Fascism in Italy* by Bolton King, p. 40.

Fascism wants to bring everything under the supreme guidance of the State. But the State must be controlled by somebody. What is that body? Some party undoubtedly. Moreover, it must control banks, telephones, post offices, etc., but in Italy, these are left to private enterprise. A State, without any control in such affairs, is no State at all. There is always a hint of the dollar in all diplomacies. Thomas Parker Moon says very trenchantly: "No government can easily turn deaf ear to the grievances or the desires of banking, oil, and mining syndicates or of other well-organized investing interests which can bring to bear upon officialdom all the power of gigantic concentrations of capital as well as the influence of intelligence and sophistication in internal affairs. On the other hand, the diplomat occasionally finds the banker a most useful ally when it is necessary to cement an alliance with loans, or to consolidate a sphere of influence against foreign concession-hunters, or to discipline a foreign government by withholding credits." Therefore, where banking, oil, communications, etc. are in private control, what must the State inevitably do? The answer is obvious. So it is not surprising that Fascist government is in the grip of the industrialists and the bankers, and we may safely say that Fascist "cent-per-cent-idea" inevitably leads to "two-per-cent-philosophy."

Fascism means a party-supervision over all affairs. It is the "law of social equilibrium" as they say. Apart from all those questions, though not negligible, regarding how long this supervision will work, whether its function will cease at all at any time,—this supervision of "affairs" means to create a parasitical condition of a certain section of the nation, whoever they may be. And what is the "management of affairs"? Riding on two horses—Labour and Capital, and holding two reins in one hand at a time. Nation must feed this managing staff. But who these elements are none knows; whence they hail, and whence they *will* hail, these questions remain unanswered.

Fascism tries to avoid class-struggle and boasts of class-collaboration. We must revise history, if we do not recognize class-struggle as the main source of human evolution. "History of mankind is a history of class-struggle"; this is the Marxist analysis of history—and thus we get the materialistic interpretation or conception of history. Control of production is the main issue wherefrom class-antagonism is manifested. Producers and non-producers cannot control it at a time—one must overpower the other. According to Marx, "In the social production of his life, man enters into determined necessary relations independent of his will, production relations which correspond to a certain stage of development in his material productive forces. The totality of these production relations forms the economic structure of society, the real basis on which a juridical and political superstucture is raised, and to which certain juridical forms of consciousness correspond. The method of production in the material life chiefly conditions the social, political and intellectual vital process. *It is not the consciousness of man that determines his existence, but on the contrary his social existence that determines his consciousness*" [Italics are mine]. Next, even according to Hegel, Mussolini's philosophical *Guru*, the conception of State is this : "A real State and real central government only arise when the distinction of classes is already given, when riches and poverty have become very great, and such conditions have arisen that a great multitude can no longer satisfy their needs in the way in which they have been accustomed. (*Philosophy of History*). Finally, "an oppressed class is a vital condition of any society founded upon class-antagonism. The liberation of the oppressed class necessarily includes, therefore, the creation of a new society" (Marx). But Fascists undoubtedly suspect this antagonism and hence the talk of "balance," and formation of a "third party." This is no remedy. We cannot but allow the evolution run in its own course or we must declare ourselves as the enemies of progress. Better, we should develop the contradictions inherent in the passing force. Because "capitalism inevitably leads to Socialism" (Lenin ; quoted in *Mind and Face of Bolshevism* by René Füllöp-Miller, p. 234.) Capitalism is outgrown with the contradiction—the proletariat, within its womb. It has reached its final stage—imperialism, and it must burst asunder. And that is proletarian revolution. It is the negation of negation—the synthesis. We cannot check it, we should not check it. Socialists, too, befool themselves with the same absurd contention of class-collaboration—the idea inevitably creeps either into vacillation and consequently loses all psychological moments or in ruthless suppression of the two anotogonist classes, that is, brute force is the inevitable outcome, which finally breeds universal disorder and discontent. In this sense, socialists are no better than Fascists and in this sense, they are the worst enemies of the proletariat. Communists despise such vacillation and therefore class-collaboration. Hence, Dictatorship of the proletariat is the cry ; because it acts as a lever wherefrom nation's power is transmuted through the Soviet-belts. It is an insurance, rather, against the revival of the old regime. According to their philosophy, State shall have to cease to function ultimately. For what is a State ? A State is a machine of one class to suppress another class. So, the proletarian State is a necessary phase or transitory period to socialism.

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* Quoted in "*Imperialism and World Politics*," by Thomas Parker Moon, pp. 540-41.

But Fascism does not clearly mention its final aim. Because, Fascism is but an idea, born in the womb of reaction with a fallacious logic of class-collaboration. It is utopian. That is why Fascism is not a terror to the ruling class, rather imperlialists apply this reactionary "ism" as an antidote to Communism. Capitalists of all nations, must needs choose this last rock of idealism. The reason is obvious. "Idealism is the last rock to which the sinking bourgeoisie cling, where they are still for a little space defiantly standing their ground", (Gorki).

# THE KRITA, GUPTA, SAKA AND OTHER ERAS

By DHIRENDRANATH MUKHOPADHYAYA

The confused nature of the chronology of ancient Indian history makes it very difficult to reconcile Indian traditions, and Buddhist and Jaina chronicles with the evidence of inscriptions and Chinese accounts. And the uncertainty of identifying the eras in which inscriptions are sometimes dated only adds to the confusion.

In view of this unsettled state of things, when in 1887, Dr. Fleet fixed the epoch of the Gupta era at 319-20 A. D., it came as a great relief to historians as giving them something definite to go upon. As Vincent Smith said,

> "A great step in advance was gained by Fleet's determination of the Gupta era, which had been the subject of much wild conjecture. His demonstration that the year 1 of that era is A. D. 319-20, fixed the chronological position of a most important dynasty, and reduced chaos to order."

And further,

> "Most of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta period, even after the announcement of Fleet's discovery in 1887, have been removed by M. Sylvain Lévi's publication of the synchronism of Samudragupta with King Meghavarna of Ceylon *c.* A. D. 352-79."

But despite this enthusiastic view, it must be confessed that the reconstruction of ancient Indian chronology on Fleet's basis has gone definitely against Indian traditions, Chinese accounts and inscriptional evidence. In fact, Fleet's hypothesis creates more difficulties than it solves. Some very notable instances are shortly mentioned below :

(1) Hiuen Tsang's (A. D. 629-648) express statement that Mihirakula and therefore Narasimha Gupta Baladitya and Yasodharman flourished *several centuries* before his time has got to be rejected.

(2) I-Tsing (A. D. 671-695) mentions a great King Sri Gupta who built a temple near Mrigasikhavana for some Chinese pilgrims whose piety he had remarked. This temple, the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the 'Temple of China' was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages; the foundation of the temple took place about five hundred years before the writer's time, *i. e.*, about 170 A. D. This statement cannot be reconciled on Fleet's hypothesis of the Gupta era, for according to him, no Gupta King, lord of Pataliputra, existed about this time.

(3) The Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta mentions the defeat of the powerful descendants of Pushyamitra. But Pushyamitra lived in the 2nd century B. C. and Dr. Fleet's epoch would make his descendants very powerful all on a sudden some six centuries later; which, to say the least, is most improbable.

(4) Hala, the Andhra King who is placed about A. D. 50 by modern historians mentions Vikramaditya in his *Gatha Saptasati.* But Vikramaditya is identified by modern historians with Chandragupta II whom they place, after Fleet, at about A. D. 380. Here also Fleet's epoch breaks down.

(5) The beautiful terracotta medallion found by Marshall at Bhita near Allahabad depicts a scene exclusive to the 'Abhijnana-Sakuntalam' of Kalidasa. Vogel and others state that the medallion must belong to the Sunga period (1st century B. C.) But according to Fleet Kalidasa has to be placed in the fourth century A. D. as a court-poet of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, who is placed on Fleet's hypothesis in A. D. 380. This later dating of Kalidasa is contrary to Indian tradition.

(6) Kalidasa's *Jyotirvidabharana* is dated in Kali year 3068, B. C. 34, which tallies with the tradition that he was the court-poet of Vikramaditya of 58 B. C.

These difficulties have led me to examine the whole question of ancient Indian chronology afresh, and I proceed to give a short *resume* of my investigation on this matter.

Varahamihira mentions in his *Brihat Samhita* that King Yudhisthira was ruling the earth 2,556 years before the Sakakala. This Sakakala will be found to refer to the Sakya or Buddha Kala of 546 B. C. Therefore, the time of Yudhisthira was 2556+546 or 3102 B. C., exactly tallying with the universal Indian tradition of the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The Buddha era no longer exists in India as a Saka (Sakya) Kala but in Cambodia and the Extreme Orient it is still in use as the Buddha Saka Kala as pointed out by Finot in the *Bulletin L' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient* (vol. XVII—1917).

Incidentally it may be remarked that the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II is dated in Saka year 556 (A. D. 634) and Kali Yuga year 3735 (A. D. 634) from which it is clear that the date of the Bharata war ('भारतादाहादितः') is identical with the Kali era ('कलौ काले'), (vide *Ind. Antiquary,* Vol. VIII. p. 242).

It is necessary in this connection to ascertain the true dates in the life and history of Gautama Buddha.

We know from Bigandet's *Life of Gautama Buddha* and from other Buddhist sources that Gautama was born on the full moon day of Vaisakha on a Friday, he went into the solitude on the full moon day of Ashadha or a Monday in his twenty-ninth year. He attained Buddhahood or Nirvana on the full moon day of Vaisakha on a Wednesday when he completed his 35th year and his Parinirvana or death occurred on the full moon day of Vaisakha on a Tuesday when he completed his 80th year. Now, according to Buddhist tradition in April A. D. 1932, the Buddha year 2476 will be completed. Therefore according to this tradition Buddha's Nirvana occurred in 2476-1931, or 545 B. C. On *astronomical calculations* from the previous year (546 B. C.) as the date of Buddha's Nirvana all other details are found to be exactly true. Hence it is clear that 545 B. C. was year 1 of Buddha's Nirvana, the year O was 546 B. C. Calculations from other dates assumed by historians do not satisfy all the details. Hence, the true dates of Buddha's life are the following: Buddha was born on Friday the 30th of March, 581 B. C. (full moon day of Vaisakha on a Friday); he left home on Monday the 18th of June 553 B. C. (full moon day of Ashadha on a Monday) in his 29th year. He attained Nirvana or Buddha-hood on Wednesday the 3rd of April 546 B. C. (full moon day of Vaisakha on Wednesday) when he completed his 35th year and his *Parinirvana* or death occurred on Tuesday the 15th of April 501 B. C. (full moon day of Vaisakha on Tuesday) when he completed his 80th year. We should remember that during this time solar Vaisakha began about the 11th of March. The above calculations may be verified from the table of Julian day number given in Nautical Almanacs, Cunningham's *Indian Eras* and Prof. Dr. P. V. Neugebauer's *Tafeln Zur Austronom. Chronologie.* (Leipzig).

Now the Fourth Buddhist Council was held five hundred years after the Nirvana during Kanishka's reign. Hence Kanishka was ruling about 546-500, or 46 B. C. (= Vikrama Samvat 13). We have Kanishka's inscriptions from Samvat 3-23. It may also be noted that according to Buddhist Chronicles, Kanishka's birth took place 400 years after Buddha's death; that fixes Kanishka's birth at 101 B. C. which date agrees very well with the above. Now, Nagarjuna was born the very year in which the Fourth Council was held. Indian tradition places Nagarjuna as a contemporary of Huvishka (Samvat 31-60). Therefore it is clear that these Kushan Kings used the Vikrama era.

The *Rajatarangini* makes twelve reigns intervene between Kanishka and Mihirakula, with an average of fifteen years for each reign. Watters places Mihirakula about 180 years after Kanishka. Kanishka ruling from 3 Vikrama Samvat Mihirakula must be placed about 183 V. S. (= A. D. 126). Now we have Mihirakula's father Toramana's inscription dated in the year 52. This must then be in the Saka era, equivalent to 52+78, or A. D. 130 (=V. S. 188). Now Bhanugupta is mentioned in the Eran inscription of Goparaja and Bhanugupta of the Gupta year 191 who was a contemporary of Mihirakula. Therefore, we find very clearly that *the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama Samvat.*

Fleet made the Gupta era identical with the Balabhi era and, therefore, made the Krita or Malava era identical with the Vikrama era, thus making the interval between the Gupta and Krita eras one of 318+58, or 376 years. Now, knowing the Gupta era to be identical with the Vikrama era, we find that the earlier Sree Harsha era mentioned by Alberuni, the starting-point of which is exactly 400 years before the Vikrama era must be identical with the Krita or Malava era. Hence the Mandasor inscription of Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana dated in Krita year 589 where Mihirakula's defeat is described must be dated in Gupta or Vikrama Samvat 589-400, or 189 just two years prior to Bhanugupta's date (G. E. 191).

> "Vasumitra flourishing during the reign of the son of Kanishka is expressly distinguished from the other Vasumitra the President of the Fourth Council, as well as from a younger namesake living in the 6th or the 7th century, a disciple of Gunamati."

From Paramartha's life of Vasubandhu we know that king Vikramaditya of Ayodhya became a patron of Buddhism and sent the Crown Prince Baladitya to study under Vasubandhu. When Baladitya came to the throne he invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhya. Now we know Narasingha Gupta Baladitya was the son of Puragupta who has been identified by Dr. Hoernle and R. C. Majumdar with Skandagupta. It seems to me, Puragupta assumed the name Skanda (the commander-in-chief of the gods) after his great victory over the *Mlecchas.* Skandagupta had the title Vikramaditya. Hence it is clear that Vasubandhu lived about V. S. 190=A. D. 132, and not some centuries later (during the reign of Samudragupta, with some). We know that Asvaghosha, Vasumitra, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, etc. were contemporaries, Aryadeva and Nagarjuna being the younger contemporaries. In the Buddhist Chronicles it is stated that this Aryadeva was rector at Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta. Kern on the assumption of the correctness of Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era threw doubts on this statement. It cannot be true that Deva or at least this Deva was rector at Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta Chandragupta.

But if the Gupta era is the same as the Vikrama Samvat, the account in the chronicles is quite justified. Thus we see that the early Kushans, the Imperial Guptas and the above-mentioned Buddhist Acharyas belonged to the same period. Hence Daivaputra Shahi Shahanushahi a title characteristic of the Kushan

Kings—whom Samudragupta defeated as depicted in his Allahabad *Prasasti* must be Kanishka, while Samudragupta was the Crown Prince.

> "Traditions of Kanishka's conflict with the rulers of Pataliputra and Soked are preserved by the Tibetan and Chinese writers."

Hence the Vikrama era was started from the accession of Chandragupta I, Vikramaditya in 58 B. C. In the Allahabad *Prasasti* we read

> "Samudragupta's fame, which pervades the whole world, is due to his re-establishing many royal families whom he had overthrown and deprived of sovereignty."

We read exactly similar statements in Kalidasa's 'Jyotir-vidabharana' regarding Vikramaditya. Evidently, in token of the acts of magnanimity Kainshka and his descendants began to use the Samvat of Vikramaditya.

The Ara inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 41 will cause no difficulty. This date is to be referred to the Seleukid era (beginning from 312 B. C.) with omitted hundreds and is therefore equivalent to year 241=(312-241) or 71 B. C., only 13 years prior to Kanishka's contact with Chandragupta I, and hence the use of the title *Kaisarasa*, so conspicuous of the Roman Dictators of the 1st century B. C.

The Ganjam inscription of Madhavavarman is said to be dated in G. E. 300. Sasanka is described in this as the paramount sovereign of India. Now with Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era this date is equivalent to A.D. 619. As this date falls within the reign period of Harshavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606-647), this Sasanka was supposed to be the King of Gauda who slew Rajyavardhana. But with this indentity numerous difficulties arise as shown below.

Hiuen Tsang states:

> "Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the five Indias, when having enlarged his territories, he increased his army...and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon." (Watters).

So all the military operations of Harsha were over by the end of A.D.612. With Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era we find Sasanka of the Ganjam inscription as lord paramount of India including Kongoda, in A. D. 619, when according to Hiuen Tsang, Harsha was the lord paramount of northern India. This is simply absurd. We have then to assume that Harsha defeated Sasanka after A.D. 619.

> "Our pilgrim has expressly stated that the King's conquests were complete within six years and it is against text and context to make him represent the King as fighting continuously for thirty or thirty-six years." (Watters.)

That this Sasanka mentioned in the Ganjam inscription of G.E. 300 (=A.D.243) is a different one from the Sasanka of Harshavardhana's time will be evident from the Puri plate of Dharmaraja read by Mr. Rajaguru and dated in Vikrama Samvat 512. This Dharmaraja was a later descendant of Madhavavarman of the Ganjam plate of G. E. 300, showing clearly that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era. With Fleet's epoch G. E. 300=A.D. 619 whereas V. S. 512=A.D. 455.

Now, we have Kanishka's inscriptions dated from Sam. 3-23, Vasishka's from Sam. 24-28, Huvishka's from Sam. 31-60 and of Vasudeva from Sam. 78-98. As these are dated in the Vikrama era the last date of Vasudeva is Sam. 98=A.D. 40. Now the accession of Kadphises I is placed by the historians in *c.* A. D. 40. Thus we see that the Kadphises group of Kings succeeded the Kanishka group immediately. This also follows from the Takht-i-Bahai inscription of Gondophares dated Sam. 103 where Kadphises I is honoured. Dr. Fleet, Dr. Otto Frank of Berlin and Mr. James Kennedy support the view that Kanishka and his immediate successors preceded the Kadphises kings. Kadphises II was perhaps defeated by Skandagupta about A.D. 78, the epoch of the final overthrow of the Sakas.

It is interesting to note that the reign period of the later Kushans is only about 40 years after Vasudeva, *i. e.*, up to Sam. 138=A. D. 80. Are the later Kushans identical with the Kadphises Kings?

Now the Northern Satraps Hagana and Hagamasha were succeeded by Rajavula. For Rajuvula's son Sodasa we have the inscription dated in Sam. 72. Vogel suggests that Rajuvula and his son may have been satraps subordinate to Huvishka (Sam. 31-60). Therefore, we see clearly that Sodasa's inscription must be referred to the Vikrama era. Sten Konow holds the same view. Some historians like Vincent Smith, for instance place Kanishka about A. D. 78 (the epoch of the Saka era). Hence Vincent Smith tried to refer the date 72 of Sodasa to the Saka era equivalent to 72+78, or A.D. 150. But he had to admit that "there are difficulties," "The arrow and thunderbolt of Nahapana's coins connect him with the Parthians and the Northern Satraps Hagana and Hagamasha." Now the last date for Nahapana is Samvat 46. The Nasik inscription of Nahapana refers to the gold currency of the Kushans. Thus Nahapana's date should be referred to the Vikrama Samvat and the Kushan King should therefore be Huvishka (Sam. 31-60). Therefore there was every possibility of Hagana and Hagamasha to rule about Vikrama Samvat 46 (=A.D. 12), the last date for Nahapana. According to Vincent Smith, however, this date 46=Saka year 46=A.D. 124, *i. e.*, more than 100 years later than the true date. And so Vincent Smith had to admit in *The Catalogue of Coins* I. M. (Vol. i. p. 195): "Hagana and Hagamasha seem to be dated too early." We also know that Kshatrapa Nahapana's power was threatened by the Malavas from the north and the Satavahanas from the south. Nahapana was finally overthrown by Gautamiputra Satakarni in Samvat 46 and Nahapana's coins were re-struck by Gautamiputra. Therefore we see that Gautamiputra was ruling about Vikrama Samvat 46. We know Rudradamana's daughter Dakshamitra was married to Gautamiputra's son Pulumayi. For Rudradamana we have the inscription dated in Samvat 52 and 72. Samudragupta (G. E. 9-59) received an embassy from Rudradamana's son. Hence we see that Sam. 52 and 72 refer to the Gupta or Vikrama era. Rudradamana twice defeated his son-in-law Pulumayi and took most of the territories which Gautamiputra had won from the Kshaharata Nahapana about the year 46. From this we learn that Gautamiputra and his son Pulumayi were contemporaries of Rudradamana. Hence Gautamiputra and his son Pulumayi must have been reigning between Vikrama Samvat 52 and 72. Now, the accession of Hala, the Satavahana king, is placed 44 years before Gautamiputra and 65 years before Pulumayi according to the *Matsya-purana*. Hence Hala ascended the throne at the latest 52-44, or 72-65, *i.e.*, about Vikrama Samvat 8. But we know that Gautamiputra was also reigning about the year 46, *i.e.*, 6 years before Sam. 52 when he extirpated the dynasty of Nahapana. Hence Hala must have ascended the throne about Vikrama Samvat 8-6 or 2. So that he was clearly a contemporary of Chandragupta I, Vikramaditya. Hence it was quite natural for Hala to mention Vikramaditya in his *Gatha Saptasati*. Cunningham also in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Vol. I. p. 10) states 'the inscriptions of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Pulumayi clearly belong to the same period as the well-known Gupta inscriptions.'

Now, we have seen before that Nagarjuna was born about V. S. 13 (B. C. 46). Nagarjuna's famous poem, "*Suhrillekha*" (Letter to an intimate friend) addressed to the Satavahana (Sotophohana), King, Lord of the Deccan, will presently be seen to refer to Gautamiputra Satakarni who was ruling about V. S. 46 when Nagarjuna was about 33 years of age. The name of the king has been read by Dr. Takakusu as Gi-in-ta-ka =Getaka. It is now clear that the name of the king is no other than Gotami. The first two letters have been correctly read by Dr. Takakusu as "G" and "t", the last letter is apparently 'm and not "k". What Gautamiputra Satakarni along with his mother and son Pulumayi did towards Buddhism is well known as evidenced by the Amaravati and Joggaiyapeta stupas and the caves at Ajanta.

In chapter 52 of the *Periplus* it is mentioned: "During the reign of the elder Sadagonas (Satakarni) Kalyan and Sopara were two famous ports. But now after these have passed into the hands of Xandarus new prohibitive rules have been introduced and it is feared Greek vessels arriving at those ports may be taken under guards to the port of Barygaza (Broach)." McCrindle and Kennedy date the *Puripius* between A. D. 70 and 80 (V. S. 127 and 137). We know Skandagupta was reigning about G. E. or V. S. 136. Therefore Xandarus is now seen very clearly to refer to Skanda (Gupta) Raja for whom we have inscriptions dated in G. E. or V. S. 136 to 148 (A. D. 78 to 90).

Now, the reign period of the Andhra or Satakarni Kings from Gautamiputra to Yajna Sri is 108 years as given in the Puranas. As Gautamiputra ascended the throne in V. S. 46 therefore Yajna Sri reigned up to V. S. 46+108, or 154. As Yajna Sri reigned for 20 years, he must have reigned from V. S. 134 to 154 (A. D. 76 to 96). We know that Skandagupta died in G. E. or V. S. 153 and we also know that Bhatarka, the governor of Surashtra, became King on Skanda's death. We also know from D. Wright's *History of Nepal* (p. 273) that "Salivahana died shortly after the installation of Rishi Raja Bhatarka." Therefore this Salivahana or the Satavahana King is now clearly seen to be Yajna Sri Satakarni (V. S. 134-154). We know of Skandagupta's defeat of the Sakas (barbarians) and possession of the peninsula of Surashtra from the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta of the year 136 (A. D. 78), the epoch of the Saka era, which according to universal Indian tradition started from the date of the extermination of the Sakas (शक.नृपान्तकाल ). It is now clear that Skandagupta Vikramaditya was the शकारि विक्रमादित्य who attacked the Sakas from the north and the Satavahana king Yajna Sri from the south and completely routed them in G. E. or V. S. 136 (A. D. 78) from which date the Saka era was started. The Satavahana or Salivahana king having a share in the defeat the era is also known as the Salivahana Saka era. We know Yajna Sri issued coins in imitation of the Sakas. Vincent Smith concluded from this that it probably points to Yajna Sri's victory over the Sakas, a conclusion still more strengthened by the find of his coins in numerous places. Vincent Smith also remarks that some coins bearing the figure of a ship should be referred to this reign, and suggests, the inference that Yajna Sri's power was not confined to the land. Brahmanical revival got an impetus from Yajna Sri after the crushing defeat of the Sakas in A. D. 78 as is evident from the latest redaction of the *Matsya-purana* in the ninth year of his reign. (Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age.* p. xiii. f. 7.) It is interesting to note that none of the Saka or Kushan inscriptions are dated after Samvat 136 (A. D. 78) the epoch of the final overthrow of the Sakas (शक.नृपान्तकात).

We know that the Vakataka Maharaja Prithivisena's son Rudra Sena II married Chandragupta II's daughter Prabhavati. Hence Maharaja Pravarasena I, great grandfather of Prithivesena I, was an elder contemporary of Chandragupta I. We know that Pravarasena I was a great king who performed the Asyamedha sacrifice. The *Setuvandha* Kavya written in Prakrit by Kalidas narrates king Pravarasena's feats. Vana (A. D. 600), the author of *Harsha Charita* eulogizes Kalidasa for this Kavya. Ramdas, the commentator of the Kavya, states that the same was written by order of King Vikramaditya and evidently on the occasion of Prabhavati's marriage.

The Nachna and Ganj inscriptions of Prithivisena mention Vyaghradeva who was the father of Maharaja Jayanatha for whom we have the inscription dated in G. E. or V. S. 174. Therefore this Prithivisena must be Prithivesena II, great-grandson of Rudrasena II, son-in-law of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya (G. E. 60-93). Hence Prof. Dubreuil's identification of Prithivisena II as the contemporary of Vyaghradeva is correct. Prof. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India* (pp. 339-41) made some incorrect statements regarding the chronology of the Vakataka Kings forgetting that Vyaghradeva was the father of Maharaja Jayanatha (G. E. 174-177). Rudrasena mentioned in Samudragupta's *Prasasti* will now be found to have been rightly identified by Dikshit with Rudrasena I Vakataka.

The earliest inscription in pure Sanskrit known at present is that of the *Yupa* or sacrificial post at Isapur near Mathura, dated in the year 24, in the reign of Shahi Vasishka (Sam. 24-28). The inscription is only a few years earlier than that of Rudradamana. For Rudradamana we have the inscriptional date Samvat 52 and the last known date of Nahapana is Samvat 46. We know Samudragupta (G. E. or V. S. 9-59) received an embassy from the son of Rudradamana. This shows clearly that Rudradamana and Nahapana were contemporaries of Samudragupta and Huvishka (Sam. 31-60).

The Takht-i-Bahai inscription of Gondophares is dated in the year 103 which was the 26th year of his reign. Therefore he came to the throne in the year 103-26, or 77 of an unspecified era. Now, we know that about A. D. 20 Azes II was succeeded by Gondophares. A. D. 20=V. S. 77. So that the year 103 of the unspecified era clearly refers to the Vikrama Samvat. Dr. Fleet rightly referred this to the Vikrama era and remarked :

> "This places Gondophares in A. D. 47 which suits exactly the Christian tradition which makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle."

Kadphises I (acc. *c.* A. D. 40) is mentioned in the above inscription of Sam. 103. This shows that the Kadphises group of kings succeeded the Kanishka group (last date Sam. 98). Mr. R. D. Banerjee believed the date 103 to refer to the Saka era (A. D. 181) which is clearly an error.

Vincent Smith remarks :

> "Certain ancient copper-plate inscriptions of Pallava Kings have been supported for palaeographic reasons to be as old as the 2nd century A. D. But recent expert opinion is disposed to assign to them a date two or three centuries later. All authorities are agreed in regarding as a Pallava the Raja Vishnugopa of Kanchi who was defeated by Samudragupta about A. D. 340 and it is possible that Hastivarman, the contemporary Raja of Vengi also may have been a Pallava."

As Samudragupta flourished about the beginning of the Christian era, the date assigned from palaeographic reasons three centuries earlier approaches nearer the true dates. Fleet's wrong epoch was responsible for this post-dating of the inscriptions.

That the Imperial Guptas were contemporaneous with the early Kushans and not with the later Kushans will also be evident from the following quotation from Allan :

> "The high head-dress is replaced by a tight-fitting cap, while the (Gupta) king wears ear-rings and other jewellery not found on the Kushan coins.
>
> In the left hand he holds a standard bound with a fillet as on the Kushan coins. On his right is a small altar on which he sprinkles incense. This attitude may be traced back to the coins of Kanishka ; on the left of Vasudeva's coins there is a trident bound with a fillet, which was continued by his successors, this is represented on the Gupta coins by a Garuda standard also bound with a fillet ;...There is no reason to suppose that this Garuda standard is in any way copied from the Roman eagle ; . . . As on the Kushan coins the kings head is surrounded by a halo, to the left of which on the specimens which approach most closely to the Kushan original is a crescent. The presence of this crescent is difficult to explain. .."

The throne of the goddess on the reverse of the coins is similar to that on the coins of Azes I (acc. *circa* 65 B. C.) and Hermaios (acc. *circa* 10 B. C.).

> "There is no evidence that late Kushan or Saka coins circulated in the Gupta territory during Chandragupta I's time ; they belong to the North-West and are rarely found outside the Punjab. Were the Gupta coins a local development in Magadha of the late Kushan coins... one would expect the latter to be present in finds of Gupta coins just as we find the silver coins of Chandragupta II and Kumargupta I with their prototypes the coins of the western satraps." (Allan).

Coins commemorating the marriage of Chandragupta I and Kumaradevi certainly belong to Chandra Gupta I. We know that Chandragupta I was the son of Maharaja Ghatotkacha. Hence Kacha refers to his son Chandragupta I. Hence there seems to be no reason to attribute the Kacha type of coins to Samudragupta. In these coins Kacha is described as 'Sarvarajocchetta' (uprooter of all kings), an epithet befitting Chandragupta I. Samudragupta won victories as Crown Prince during his father's regime.

> "The Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta opens with a vivid account of the selection of Samudragupta as Yuvaraja (Crown Prince) by his father in the presence of the whole court. His conquests are then detailed under four heads."

*To be continued.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

**Books** in the principal European and all Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

## ENGLISH

RISE OF THE PESHWAS : *By Prof. H. N. Sinha, M. A. Morris College, Nagpur. Indian Press Ltd., Allahbad,1931. Pages 491.*

Maratha history proper consists of two distinct periods; the first deals with the Chhatrapatis, covering about fifty years and ending with the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The second commencing with that important event, extends over about a century and bears the clear stamp of the Peshwas' achievement. While many scholars have before now spent their labours on the first period, the second has long remained comparatively unexplored. This latter task has been undertaken by Prof. Sinha in his *Rise of the Peshwas* in which he treats Maratha history from 1707 to 1752 and mainly demonstrates how power slipped out of the hands of the Chhatrapatis and passed into those of the Peshwas. It is unfortunate, however, that Prof. Sinha did not wait a little longer in order to make use of the excellent and profuse materials intimately bearing on his subject, which are being published by the Bombay Government in the form of selections from the Peshwas' records. He has taken careful note of what was already available ; but his exposition lacks in accuracy and detail. He has certainly made clear the complicated political situation of the country during the first half of the eighteenth century. The decay of the Mughal Empire which Aurangzeb's bigoted policy started, continued unabated and supplied the necessary opportunity to the first Peshwa who sagaciously utilized it for laying the foundation of an ambitious plan which his brave son Bajirao and his shrewd grandson Balajirao tried their best to complete. Indian politics formed a veritable tangle of warring elements engrossing the whole of India, when these three Peshwas created some kind of an order out of the chaos. The historical sources for constructing a reliable account of this period exists in as many languages as there were nationalities in this vast Indian continent. In addition to the Marathi papers referring to this subject, there are many more in Persian, English, French and other languages, which are being slowly made available to those who possess the necessary grip and a working knowledge of the languages. Prof. Sinha fortunately possesses the three strong points required for the task he has undertaken, *viz.*, sufficient knowledge of Marathi, tireless energy and a sympathetic attitude of mind ; all these keep him fully in tune with his subject. He has well grasped the intricacies of the Maratha character ; and has correctly adjudged the merits and demerits of the various historical personages he has to deal with. His main outline, therefore, may be taken as fairly accurate ; but the rapid production of fresh materials is already rendering his performance out of date. His treatment, therefore, proves rather a discussion of probabilities, at most an ingenious guessing of the actual course of events. The papers which are being published from the Peshwa Daftar reveal many fresh characters and incidents and supply graphic circumstantial details which can impart richness and shape to history. For instance, the subject of Maratha rivalry with the first Nizam-ul-mulk who had simultaneously started to work out his own independent destiny, is yet indistinct and vague ; the Maratha penetration into Malwa and far north has not been well accounted for. Equally vague are the accounts of the Maratha undertakings in the South Carnatic, where keen antipathies existed between the various Maratha commanders themselves, between Bajirao and Raghuji Bhonsle or between Babuji Naik and Peshwa Balajirao. The pertinent details of all these incidents are only just coming out. Similarly Chimaji Appa's bold encounter with and complete destruction of the two valiant Mughal officers, Raja Girdhar Bahadur, and his cousin and successor Daya Bahadur within less than a month of each other towards the end of 1728, struck immense terror into the heart of the Emperor and his Government and [illegible] liately raised the prestige of the Peshwas and m[illegible] clear to all India that the Marathas were a power to be reckoned with. The death of Shahu, the installation of Ram Raja as Chhatrapati, the latter's impetuous struggle for power and the astute part played by 'Peshwa Balajirao in those transactions, form a fresh and novel chapter in Maratha history which can now be set in proper perspective with the help of Count Alorna's lucid and valuable report recently published by Dr. Surendranath Sen in his *Studies in Indian History*. Prof. Sinha, it may be confidently expected, will soon have to renew his labours and from the foretaste he has given us in his work under review, it is a matter of sincere congratulation that the Peshwa period of Maratha history has found in him an impartial and enthusiastic exponent. When the present investigation of the Peshwas' Daftar is completed, the history of the Peshwa period will assume a definite shape and set at rest the various questions and controversies which have long beset Maratha history. We earnestly recommend Prof. Sinha such an undertaking in the near future, and feel sure that his present production can be profitably used as an exposition for preparing the ground by all students of Maratha history.

G. S. Sardesai

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURISTS IN ANCIENT INDIA : *By Radharaman Gangopadhyaya, M.A., M.Sc.*

Of all the sciences, agriculture is the most complicated, because it has to deal with, besides other things, the three most uncontrollable factors, *i.e.*, time, weather, soil.

The modern agricultural chemist, with all his knowledge and experience, is quite unable, even now, to state how much plant food is actually available in a particular soil for particular crops ; nor can the meteorologist make with the least certainty any probable forecast of timely rainfall, etc.

But in India, this particular subject attained such an allround scientific perfection as far back as the third and the fourth centuries *B.C.* that even those modern scientific agriculturists, with at least twenty to thirty years' practical experience behind them, can realize, if honestly attempted, only its rudimentary bearings.

Mr. Gangopadhyaya, the author of the book *Agriculture and Agriculturists in Ancient India* has tried to put down the most elementary portion of the vast science, which might benefit only the most casual reader of agricultural science.

In most cases, the scientific aspect of oriental agriculture has not been touched at all ; thus, to an Western research scholar the vast secrets of scientific knowledge have not been disclosed ; while to an oriental research student, the careful study of such books, as *Krishisangraha* by Parasar, *Suvashita-Sangadhar* by Sangadhar, as well as the maxims of Khana will be of immense value to them.

Mr. Gangopadhyaya is to be congratulated for taking so much trouble and interest in compiling those bare facts in a systematic manner.

Santosh Bihari Bose

THE MYSTERIOUS KUNDALINI : *By Vasant G. Rele, F. C. P. S., L. M. & S., Foreword by Sir John Woodroffe, Kt. Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, pp. 81. Price. Rs 3-8.*

VEDIC GODS : *By V. G. Rele wth forewords by Edward J. Thomas, M. A., D. Litt. and Y. G. Nadgir, M. S., Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road. pp. 134, Price Rs. 6-8.*

Dr. Vasant G. Rele has been engaged for some time past in elucidating the mysteries of certain Hindu doctrines. We had occasion to review his book *Mysterious Kundalini* when the second edition was published. The volume under review is the third edition. This in itself is an evidence that the book has appealed to certain types of readers. Dr. Rele has tried to prove that Kundalini Yoga is a science of physical and mental exercises designed to establish a conscious control over the autonomic nervous system so as to get in tune with the Infinite. He has discussed certain methods mentioned in the Patanjal Yoga-sutra in a lucid manner but we are sorry to say that his attempts to explain the Yogic conceptions in terms of modern physiology has left us unconvinced. There is plenty of imagination in his assertions but very little of scientific discrimination. Looseness of thought is also very much apparent in his interpretation of the Vedic gods in terms of different regions of the human nervous system. The god 'Twastri' of the Vedic pantheon has been equated with the human ovum and the author asks us to believe that the Rishis who conceived of Twastri were familiar with the intricacies of up-to-date embryology. The 'Ribhus' have been identified with the upper end of the spinal cord. The author proceeds in the same fashion with some other Vedic deities. It is very amusing to learn that the *Katha Upanishad* deals with psycho-analysis and that *Isha Upanishad* is a treaties of anatomy. Irresponsible and loose thinking cannot go any further. It certainly does no credit to the scholars who wrote the prefaces for the books.

THE MYSTERY OF THE MAHABHARATA,—*Vol. 1 by N. V. Thadani, Bharat Publishing House, Karachi, pp. 432, Price Rs. 12.*

This is another book of the type mentioned above. The author believes that the Mahabharata is not a story book to be taken at its face value. It represents a conflict of six systems of Hindu philosophy. "The Battle of Kurukshetra" is fought on the common ground of Vaiseshika, "the five brothers of Pandavas are different parts of one man," "Kunti is the mother earth" and so on. The author has propounded a very peculiar theory of the Sanskrit language. According to him each letter in the alphabet has a certain subtle meaning and the different characters in the Mahabharata are to be interpreted according to the meaning of the letters comprising their names. The book provides a curious medley of philosophy, biology, physiology and fancy.

G. Bose

MALAVIYA COMMEMORATION VOLUME : *Benares Hindu University. 1932.*

This is a collection of papers written on the happy occasion of Pandit Malaviya's completion of the 70th year or, as the current phrase goes, septuagenary celebrations. It consists of more than 1,100 pages written in English, Sanskrit and Hindi languages and is divided into five sections. The first four deal with (1) literature, (2) history, politics and economics

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(3) religion and philosophy, and (4) science, and the concluding section contains greetings, appreciations and personal reminiscences. All this is prefaced by the *facsimile* reproduction of a respectful congratulation from Mahatma Gandhi who, on his way to England, had found time to pen these few lines full of tender respect for Malaviyaji; as a matter of fact, Satyagraha Asram at Sabarmati had never failed to render due homage to the patriot whose unbroken record of service to education and to India had made him the people's idol all over the country. The excellence of the contents is guaranteed by such distinguished men as Sj Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. M. N. Saha, Dr. N. R. Dhar, Sir P. C. Ray, Sj. C. Y. Chintamani and many other scholars and public men whose names appear in the list of contributors. It is a matter of congratulation for Bengal that she has supplied 25 out of a total of 87 of these notable names. Interspersed through the pages are photographs of Malaviyaji at different ages—when he was 25, 30, 50, 60, 70 years old, while the volume ends with 12 plates containing photographic reproductions of Hindu University sites and buildings. Thus there are about 50 plates in the book.

It is not possible for any single reviewer to review the different articles written to a high standard requiring preliminary knowledge to understand, and of a length varying from two dozen lines to more than thirty pages; it is therefore best not to try the impossible, not to give an estimate of particular papers. Some of the essays are in Hindi (*e.g.*, on food and on children's play) and are of general interest: they deserve to be more extensively known through other Indian vernaculars. In the reminiscences, recorded by men like Shivaram Pande, Ramnarayan Misra, Shivaprasad Gupta and M. Visveswarayya, the reader will find many new and interesting details of Pandit Malaviya's life. The appreciative remark of Sir M. Ismail, Kt., Dewan of Mysore, that Pandit Malaviya is not an "anti-Musalman" but simply pro-Indian, first and last," needs to be made better known to the public in the interests of India.

We offer our sincere thanks to the Editorial Board of the Memorial Committee, for this worthy tribute to a distinguished educationist and public man of our country, a man of whom we are all proud, a man who has combined plain living and high thinking and, what is more, a dreamer who instead of spending himself out in vague fancies has realized some of his dreams and translated them into action, as the splendid Hindu University buildings will amply testify. It is time to recognize that his services have been nation-wide, not confined to any particular community, and that gifted with persuasive eloquence he knows also where to stop and that power, purity of thought and self-control have blended together in him in an exquisite fashion.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

ETHICS: *By Nicolai Hartmann, Professor of Philosophy, University of Berlin: authorized translation by Stanton Coit, with an Introduction by Prof. J. H. Muirhead. Published by Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (Library of Philosophy). Vol. I., pp. 343. Price 12-6 net.*

Prof. Hartmann's original work in German was published in one volume. But the translator has thought fit, for reasons given in the preface, to publish the translation in three volumes. The sub-titles of these three volumes are: Vol. I., *Moral Phenomena*: Vol. II., *Moral Values*: Vol. III., *Moral Freedom.* We have volume I before us for review.

In this volume, the author points out the errors involved in ethical naturalism and also refutes Kant's position that the moral law issues from Reason and is a self-legislation of the rational will. But he agrees with Kant that the moral law is discerned *a priori*. All moral judgments involve a prior knowledge of the moral law without which such judgments are not possible. But at the same time, he is not prepared to agree with Kant that this *a priori* knowledge is a revelation of Reason. He rather holds that the apriority of this knowledge 'is no intellectual or reflective apriority, but is emotional, intuitive' (p. 185).

As against Kant's view that values emanate from Reason, Hartmann upholds the Platonic theory that 'values are essences' (p. 185)--that they constitute an objective realm. We are further told that 'values have self-existence....Values subsist independently of the consciousness of them!' (p. 218.)

It will appear from this, that so far as the nature of moral values and knowledge of the moral law are concerned, Hartmann attempts a synthesis between Plato and Kant. But he goes farther afield. As he himself points out in his *Foreword*, "the ethical philosophy of the nineteenth century spent itself in an analysis of the moral consciousness and its acts." "The objective contents of moral claims, commandments and values" were more or less overlooked. Nietzsche was, however, a solitary exception to this rule; but he was misunderstood. Hartmann attempts to achieve "the synthesis of two fundamental concepts which had historically grown up in very different fields, and in sharp contrast to each other. One was the Kantian apriority of the moral law and the other the manifoldness of values which Nietzsche—though only from a distance—had discerned." So far as the study of this manifoldness of moral values was concerned, help was forthcoming from "the ancient master of ethical research," Aristotle. Eventually therefore, Hartmann's ethics claims to be a "synthesis of greater range than that of Kant and Nietzsche: a synthesis of ancient and modern ethics" (p. 17).

There are, however, one or two points in his system which are likely to provoke adverse comment. One is his view about the separability of moral and religious values (p. 110 *et seq.*); the other is his opinion about the relation between ethics and metaphysics (p. 291). With regard to the first, Hartmann contends that the dependence of ethics on religion must now be regarded as a thing of the past. Muirhead apprehends that in this attitude of Hartmann, students of theistic philosophy will find a ground of disagreement with him.

Hartmann's attitude towards metaphysics is no less open to criticism. "Metaphysics," he says, "must heed ethics; not ethics, metaphysics The position of ethics is the stronger." "Ethics," we are further told, "with its cluster of problems is the natural advocate of man in the realm of metaphysics. It defends him against being degraded by high-flying speculation, against the surrender of his special rights to the Creator or to the world. It rehabilitates him cosmically and metaphysically" (p. 291).

But it is no criticism of a book of this kind either to indicate one's agreement or disagreement with the position maintained in it. The value of such a book should rather be judged by the vigour [illegible] freshness introduced into the study by the author and by the manner of his presentation. So judged, Hartmann's book must undoubtedly be regarded as a powerfully written volume. The problems are perhaps as old as philosophy ; nevertheless, in their study, Hartmann has adopted a new angle of vision and sometimes even new phraseology. His conception of 'moral situation' (p. 39), is full of interest. And his ideas about personality and of God as 'the absolutely impersonal being' (p. 342), though not likely to be acceptable to all, are yet full of significance.

Ethical literature is not growing as extensively as other branches of philosophy. Hartmann's book must be regarded as a welcome contribution to the literature on the subject. It is a forceful and penetrative treatment of problems of life and conduct which can never become antiquated. Hartmann himself complains that "the life of man today is not favourable to depth of insight" (p. 44). Nevertheless, we have in his book a profoundly interesting point of view and a freshness and sincerity of thought which will stimulate further investigation into questions which must continue to be vital to mankind as long as right is distinguished from wrong. We wish the book a wide circulation in the universities and other centres of learning in India.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

GOD'S LENSES : *By A. K. Muni, being the Fourth Open Letter to H. E. the Governor of Madras. Published by S. Ganesan & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 2.*

The price is too exorbitant considering both the quality and quantity offered to the public. However, in spite of a great deal of rubbish the book contains, the author's passionate appeal for total prohibition is commendable. There are many homethrusts to "My Lord" such as "Drunkenness has been described as England's national shame. The demoralization of the Native races governed by England has assumed gigantic proportions, and it is time that England should awake to this fact." The author quotes the following from an Australian legislator : Christianity and civilization mean to the natives, gin and syphilis. For every Native converted to Christianity, a hundred is made drunkards.

PURNA SUTRAS : *By Swami Jnanananda. With a foreword by Dr. Margaret Stegmann, M. P., German Republic and an Introduction by G. Satyanarayana Raju, M.A., B.L. A small booklet, 3½ inches by 5¼ inches. 175 pages, excellent get up and printing. Six chapters on Reality, Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Rajayoga, Jnanayoga and Summary.*

The author is a worshipper of Purnananda. Hence the name. The treatise affords half an hour's interesting and edifying reading to the discriminating reader. But our regret is that at the end the author has succumbed to the popular fallacy of the latter day *mayavadic* degeneration of the Vedanta, so much so that he finds in "the suppression of the knowing and of the known" the final stage in the ascent of the soul popularly called the *nirvikalpa samadhi*. This view is quite unvedic. After all, Indra's submission to Prajapati in the *Chhandogyopanishad* remains unanswered, as the latter admitting the truth of Indra's contention puts his foot heavily on the then incipient wrong tendency in some of the earliest Upanishadic utterances. Indra submits:

"Surely, Sir, in this state one does not know oneself thus—'This is I,' nor does one know these things; one rather reaches a state of annihilation. I do not see any good in this doctrine" (*Chhandogya*, viii. 11-12).

THE DIVINE DOCTRINE OR UNIVERSAL RELIGION : *By H. H. Sri-Kalki, G. I. (Prof. M. T. Narasimhiengar). Printed at the Indian Press, Bangalore. Price 12 annas.*

Our impression is and that is the tradition that the Kalki Avatar would handle a sword and not a pen. But we find him here in the latter role. So he has not only disappointed our militant countrymen but also such peace-loving readers of books as ourselves. We do not find anything in it to justify his claim as an *avatar*. It contains a few philosophical and ethical platitudes mingled with the traditional grandmotherly tales culled from *puranas*. If he has explained some Gita verses it is because it is his own teaching in a former avatar. "As Sri Krishna-Gitacharya I had no need of learning English. I addressed Arjuna in Sanskrit," so on and so forth. So far we have been able to judge, instead of sending the book to the press the author should have been sent to a mental hospital. The book contains this Sri-Kalki Nrisinghavatar's ukase issued under his seal and authority (i) to all rulers on earth ; (ii) to all religious heads on earth ; (iii) to Demigods and Deities in the heavenly regions ; and (iv) to all souls in all worlds including even the so-called saints and sages in eternal Heaven to pay absolute allegiance to him as "to meditate on Me, to see Me, to pray to Me, to adore Me and serve Me so as to please and satisfy Me—is the Sacred Duty of All Worlds ; and is the surest means to Salvation or Eternal Bliss Supreme."

However, the saving grace of the book is that it discards *Hatha-yoga* as godless and wholly dissociates itself from the doctrine of *Mayavada*, the canker that is for centuries, eating into the vitals of the intellectual and moral life of the nation. In Bengal and elsewhere there are movements to perpetuate this superstition, in the name of so-called saints and prophets. His Holiness Srikalki has vanquished the *Kala-purusha*, both a *mayavadin* and a *hathayogin*.

Dhirendranath Vedantavagish

SIDELIGHTS ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION : *By K. C. Sen. Published by the Deshabandhu Publishing Co. 74, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, Price Rs. 3.*

Open the braincap of the average educated Bengali and you will scarcely find in it a single idea which can be called absolutely his own. The author of the present volume is a rare exception to the above. He is a retired member of the Provincial Executive Service and has now attained the venerable age of three score and ten. After his retirement from service he devoted himself solely to intellectual pursuits. The result of the author's study and contemplation is to be found partly in the volume under review, packed full of concentrated thought, expressed in vigorous and forceful English. His style has a distinct literary flavour and charm. A serious drawback is the want of an index, which in the case of a book like the present, is almost indispenable, and marginal notes would also be of some assistance to the busy reader in following the development of the author's theme.

They would make the terse, epigrammatic form in which the writer conveys his, thoughts easier to understand. Many of his sentences are like knock-down blows which tell, and the amount of hard thinking condensed in them is often amazing. The book is an outstanding product of the Indian brain.

We do not remember to have come across any Bengali, hitherto unknown to literary fame, who at the age of seventy still keeps an entirely open mind and has a totally original and independent outlook on life, such as the author possesses. If. at times, the author is carried away by his ideas and indulges in extravagant language, we should remember that instances of such want of balance are not uncommon among original thinkers, witness the classical instance of Carlyle. But they see far and see true. which most practical men of sober sense do not, for their vision is limited by the work-a-day world of which alone they have knowledge. Moreover as Benedetto Croce says, "If a thinker cannot give us the light of a new truth except by veiling it in places with exaggerations and whimsicalities, let us not fail to see the light because of those few clouds."

The book does not strike any parochial, local or provincial note, but deals with the lessons of universal history and the trend of world-politics and world-thought, without drifting altogether from the author's Indian moorings. He criticizes both the Western and Eastern forms of civilization, both of which he considers to be defective and has no wild enthusiasm for the one, or vulgar contempt for the other. To him a satisfactory synthesis of the two seems to be impossible. Consequently, an undercurrent of veiled pessimism runs through the book and the shallow optimism which thinks that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds is not in the author's line.

POLITICUS

### SAMKHYA OR THE THEORY OF REALITY :

*By J. N. Mukherji, M.A., Asst. Professor of Philosophy, Morris College, Nagpur. Published by S. N. Mukherji, M.A., 5-1, Nepal Chandra Bhattacharya Street, Kalighat, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8. Foreign Price 5 Shillings.*

The work is represented as 'a critical and constructive study of Isvarakrisna's *Samkhyakarika.*' This constructive study has a destructive background inasmuch as it begins by setting at naught the traditional and current exposition of the system of Samkhya philosophy. According to the learned Professor, 'Samkhya has never been a systematic philosophy.' ... It is a theory of reality and life that rebels against the doctrine of salvation that Samkhya is said to be' (Preface, pp. v-vi). To prove these startling conclusions he does not appear to have attempted a strictly critical and historical method of research though it has been professed in the preface that 'the spade-and-shovel method of archaeologists' has been followed. It has been assumed that the *Samkhyakarika* consists of two mutually independent parts (I. v. 1-52, II. v. 53-68) belonging to two different periods and referring to two separate systems. But we are not sure if sufficient arguments have been put forward in support of this assumption. An account of the history of the growth of Samkhya literature leading to an amalgamation of various theories which was essential in a work of this nature and which could be legitimately expected here does not seem to have been considered a fit topic for discussion by the learned author. It would also not have been too much to expect the author to be a bit less caustic in his flings on the old expositors of the system who are held in so much esteem and veneration by people in general.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### VEDANTA OR THE SCIENCE OF REALITY:

*By K. A. Krishnaswami Iyer. B.A., with a foreword By Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, M. A.. of the Calcutta University. Ganesh & Co., Madras, pp. 344. Price Rs. 10.*

This is a book of rare merit and is written in a style both pleasant and lucid. The author is deeply versed in the traditional methods of Hindu philosophy and his familiarity with the Western philosophical systems makes it possible for him to compare on a common ground the two lines of thought which seem to be so radically different and unlike each other to the casual reader. There are not many books which will enable the Western scholar to understand the peculiar arguments and conclusions of Hindu philosophy, but this one is written in a way which is intelligible to the Western mind and the comparisons of the Vedanta system with the different philosophical doctrines of the West will be found to be extremely illuminating. The author is an ardent follower of Sankar, the famous exponent of Vedantic monism, and takes his stand mainly on the teachings of Mandukya Upanishad. The author rightly contends that any philosophy worth its name should take into account all manifestations of life including dream and deep sleep. The main defects of Western philosophy, according to the author, are the neglect of the dream and sleep states and an undue emphasis on the waking consciousness. The author is of opinion that so long as we remain on the waking plane, which is conditioned by time and space and which exhibits a manifold external world with its differentiation of subject and object, our search for a unifying principle is doomed to failure. The *maya* which is supposed to be the principle responsible for duality bars the way for approach to the Absolute. The author proves convincingly that the three states of sleep, dream and waking are independent of one another and it is impossible to assume any bond of union between the three from the empirical standpoint. The only underlying principle that connects the three states is what the author describes as Pure Consciousness. This pure consciousness is identical with the Absolute. The memory that we have of sleep and dreams is not the true memory that we are familiar with in the waking state. In the state of deep sleep the duality of subject and object which is such a characteristic and irremovable feature of waking life dissolves altogether without leaving a residue in the pure consciousness. The state of deep sleep, therefore, gives us a clue to the realization of this absolute principle which is called the Brahman in the Upanishads. The author's search for the Brahman is determined mainly by a consideration of the three states and his conclusions are based on what he calls the tribasic view of life. It must be admitted that this is not the only approach to the realization of the Supreme Entity. The Upanishads, Gita and the other Hindu Sastras lay down many different methods but the author has not discussed them. The book, therefore, suffers from the defect of being an one-sided representation of the Vedanta Philosophy. The author's criticisms of the philosophies of Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, James, Bergson, Croce, Gentile and others are pertinent, incisive and convincing. The chapter on the ethics of Vedanta is the weakest portion of the book. The discussion on the doctrine of re-birth and the law of Karma will leave the Western reader unconvinced. There is some confusion of thought in this chapter. When the author remarks that "capital punishment, in any form, is the resort of fools and weaklings. Nature indeed kills, but she kills with a purpose, while man kills without," he seems to place man outside nature. Then again, when he says "past Karma only determines the skeleton of the present life...but it is wrong to conclude that we are not free agents ; for every endeavour of ours based on fresh motives belies it and proclaims the native freedom of the soul," he is taking a very imperfect view of the law of Karma. It has been said in the Bhagavad Gita that Nature or *prakriti* is a blind force which determines the action of man, the soul being over-powered by the ego feelings or *ahankar* derived from *prakriti*, the illusion results that man is a free agent. The doctrine of Karma is unrelenting and does not admit of any freedom. It is clear that the author has been influenced by the dogma of free-will and he has taken a wrong view of duty as advocated in the Gita. According to the author the state of deep sleep is supposed to be the state in which we have the clearest view of the Absolute. This is not true. Had it been so there would have been no need of all austerities and penance, or any other discipline, intellectual or moral, on the part of anybody to get a glimpse of the Brahman. The state of sleep would have been the ideal state for everybody and soporific drugs would have been the panacea of all philosophies. The Hindu sastras no doubt admit that in deep sleep we do come face to face with the Absolute, but our knowledge being clouded with the *tama* of sleep, we can never have a real glimpse of the Brahman. It is like a blind man who is led to the presence of the King and who comes back with the knowledge that he has been with the King. The ideal of the Upanishads is not the realization of the Brahman in the state of sleep but in the full limelight of our waking consciousness amidst all the activities of normal life. The undue emphasis of the author on the state of deep sleep makes him forget the waking state. The Western philosophers committed the error of neglecting the sleep state, and the author has made a similar mistake in neglecting the waking consciousness. This however has not prevented the author from proving the correctness of his conclusions. The author's view on psycho-analytical interpretation of dream life is one-sided and misleading. He need not have been at all apprehensive of psycho-analysis as his problem is entirely different from that of the psycho-analysts who do not propose to explain the feeling of reality which one experiences in dream, from the standpoint of philosophy. These minor defects do not count and the book is one which no serious reader of Vedanta can afford to neglect.

G. Bose

## INDUSTRY YEAR-BOOK AND DIRECTORY 1932.

*Industry Book Department, Keshub Bhavan, 22 R. G. Kar Road, Shambazar, Calcutta.* Rs. 5.

This is the fourth annual issue of this useful book. Commercial and industrial information of various kinds has been brought together in it. The reader will find in it classified lists of trades and industries and the names, addresses and subscriptions of newspapers and periodicals published in India. There is also a list of technical institutions with their prospectuses. Among the additions in this issue are detailed descriptions of Indian markets with figures of imports and exports wherever available, explanations of various trade terms in connection with raw silk, silk manufactures and sunn hemp, information about the seasons of shipment of the principal commodities of India, an outline of the instruments of foreign remittances, details of the provisions of the Indian Factories Act, etc. The book is neatly got up.

On turning to the list of newspapers and periodicals we have found some inaccuracies. Among Bengali periodicals we find *Bharati* and *Manasi-o-Marmavani* mentioned, but both ceased to be published long ago. The annual inland subscription of *The Modern Review* is Rs. 8-8, not Rs. 9 as mentioned in the book. Similarly the annual inland subscription of *Prabasi* is Rs. 6-8, not Rs. 6 as mentioned in it. The description of *Prabasi* as a literary monthly is only partly correct, as it deals with current political, social, economic and other problems also.

## VISVA-BHARATI STUDIES Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4.

We have received the following four numbers of the Visva-Bharati Studies : *Mahayanavimsaka* of Nagarjuna, Reconstructed Sanskrit Text, the Tibetan and Chinese Versions, with an English Translation, edited by Pandit Vidhushekhara Shastri ; *Catuhsataka* of Aryadeva, Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with copious extracts, from the commentary of Candrakirti, reconstructed and edited by Pandit Vidhushekhara Shastri ; *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, By Amulyachandra Sen, M.A., B.L. ; *Nairatmyaparipraccha*, with the original Tibetan text, the original Sanskrit text, the reconstructed Sanskrit text by the editor and an English translation, edited by Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya.

The prices are Rs. 5, Rs. 8, Rs. 4, and Rs. 2 respectively. To be had of the Visva-Bharati Book-shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

These books will be again noticed separately. They are sure to appeal to all students of Buddhist and Jaina religion and philosophy as well as to those who are interested in ancient Indian literature in general.

R. C.

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# THE OLD OLD STORY

## By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

The following news has been supplied by a news agency from Allahabad:

> "Surprise was caused in certain circles by an unauthorized and premature publication of a memorial which the United Provinces Indian Civil Service Association propose to submit to the Secretary of State for India suggesting the immediate stopping of recruitment to the Indian Civil Service both in England and in India and buying out the present members on terms which would compensate them adequately for the loss of their career, one of the arguments adduced being that Indian public men would regard the service recruited by the Secretary of State as intolerable having regard to the recent events in the country."

This move on the part of the Service, coming as it does immediately before the formulation of fresh reforms in the Indian constitution, need not surprise us. Such moves have, indeed, lost the charm of novelty, because we have not yet forgotten the "White mutiny" threatened immediately before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Members of the Indian Civil Service took full advantage of the Britisher's belief that without Europeans in the service Indian administration will lose its "British character," and threatened to resign. With the shrewd instinct of his race, Mr. Montagu diagnosed the disease and applied the remedy. The pay was increased. How much it cost India would be evident from a reply given by Mr. Montagu to Mr. Lunn in Parliament regarding increase in the remuneration of certain Indian Services.

| | |
|---|---|
| Indian Civil Service | £ 3,60,000 |
| Indian Police Service | ,, 1,30,000 |
| Indian Education Service | ,, 1,00,000 |
| Indian Medical Service | ,, 2,50,000 |

No sooner had the new constitution come into force than a fresh agitation for the increase of pay was successfully engineered. In England Lord Meston and his colleagues raised the parrot cry of the 'Service in Danger' and said that, owing to changed conditions in India, a sufficient number of recruits to the Indian Services could not be secured in England. The real reason for the falling off in the number of recruits, of course, was the greater demand for men in England after the devastating war. The result of this agitation was the appointment of the Lee Commission in 1923. And the estimate of the cost of the recommendations contained in their report is given below:

Pay and Remittance Concessions.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. C. S. | 18·6 | Lakhs |
| I. P. S. | 12·7 | ,, |
| I. M. S. (Civil) | 7·0 | ,, |
| I. E. S. (Men) | 3·3 | ,, |
| I. F. S. | 3·4 | ,, |
| I. S. E. | 10·9 | ,, |
| I. A. S. | ·8 | ,, |
| I. V. S. | ·4 | ,, |
| | 57·1 | Lakhs |
| Other Services (approximately) | 13·0 to 15·0 | Lakhs |
| *Pension* | | |
| Uncovenanted Service | 1.2 | ,, |
| I. C. S. Officers holding high posts | ·18 | ,, |
| Passages | 25.0 | ,, |
| Total (first year) | 96·5 to 98·5 | Lakhs |

That the bark of these service men was worse than their bite would be evident from the following statement submitted to the House of Commons by the then Under-Secretary of State for India, in 1923, in reply to a question asked by Mr. Simpson as to how many officials in the different European Civil Services in India had retired in each province under the proportionate pensions scheme in view of the change in the conditions of service occasioned by the Act of 1919:

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

| | |
|---|---|
| Madras | 6 |
| Bombay | 7 |
| Bengal | 13 |
| United Provinces | 11 |
| Panjab | 11 |
| Bihar & Orissa | 6 |
| Central Provinces | 3 |
| Assam | *Nil* |
| Burma | 8 |
| Total | 65 |

But to this statement must be added an

explanatory note by Lord Winterton who said :

> "In many cases the retirement has not yet taken place as the applicants all have a considerable period of leave at their credit, which they are entitled to take before going on pension; and in some cases they have not yet left India. In a few cases too, permission to retire has been cancelled at the request of the applicants who have changed their minds."

The mentality of these service men found expression in the memorandum submitted by the United Provinces Association of European Government Servants to the Lee Commission. A demand for financial amelioration in various forms, a Parliamentary guarantee and the curbing of the Indian politicians' raids on their position and prospects were put forward. The question of medical attendance by European doctors was examined with particular vehemence. And the Association observed that in the absence of anything to compensate for the loss of old pleasure and pride in work the officer can justly claim higher remuneration for the "increasing unpleasantness" and responsibilities in the duties. Thus monetary compensation was demanded for factors which can hardly be equated in terms of money.

How the extravagant pay fixed for the European services has produced a baneful effect on Indians also, we all know. The Government of India Act provides :

> "There may be paid to any minister so appointed in any province the same salary as is payable to a member of the Executive Council in that province, unless a smaller salary is provided by vote of the Legislative Council of that province."

The salary of the members of the Executive Council is fixed in terms of the pay of the Indian Civil Service. And when ministers were first appointed even those who had all along been agitating for reduction in the cost of administration considered it derogatory to their prestige to accept a lower salary. And this though in Japan a minister gets about Rs. 12,000 a year and in America a minister is paid about Rs. 36,000 a year. An examination of the list of ministers would go to show that very few of them—if, indeed any—can say that in the Income Tax returns they had ever shown their personal income to be near what they have earned or are earning as ministers. No wonder the pay attracts men who would do anything to placate those on whose favour they have to depend for the continuance of their service. We know of a case in which a minister resigned office on a question of principle and with the concurrence of his colleagues who gave him the assurance that they would not step into his shoes. But no sooner had he resigned than the post was grasped by one of those who had been prominent in giving their support to his decision to resign.

The unnecessary and altogether unreasonable distinction between the superior, *i. e.* European and the inferior, *i. e.* Indian services has resulted in similar distinctions in the Indian services also. The question of amalgamating the Subordinate and Provincial Services was discussed by the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India (1913). Mr. (now Sir Hugh) Stephenson was then Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He admitted that "the class of men who enters the subordinate services now differs very little from the Provincial Service recruits and he does work which does not vary much in kind from that of the higher service." In reply to the question : "As to the qualifications of the Provincial and Subordinate Service they are drawn from the same class, but in your experience is there a class of men who would take a post in the Provincial Service but who would refuse an offer in the Subordinate Service ?" Sir Hugh stated :

> "Undoubtedly they are drawn from the same class to this extent that very much the same class of men will enter both, but the men who enter the Subordinate Service only do so with the hope of getting into the Provincial Service by promotion. They would none of them be content to enter the Subordinate Service as a career."

But as long as direct recruitment for the Provincial Service is continued only a few members of the Subordinate Service can hope to be promoted to the Provincial Service, with the result that a large number of promising young men who enter the Subordinate Service, not as a career but with the hope of getting into the higher service by promotion, retire as members of the Subordinate Service. They are naturally discontented and smart under a sense of injustice done to them simply because they could not secure recommendations from people who are held in respect in the Secretariat.

This point was more frankly placed before the Commission by Mr. (now, Sir Nicholas) Beatson-Bell, then Commissioner of the Dacca Division. He said :

> "The most important reform that I advocate is the amalgamation of the Subordinate Executive Service with the Provincial Civil Service. Taken as a body, there is very little difference between the two Services in the matter of the qualification of the recruits. In fact, those entering the Subordinate Executive Service are often superior to those entering the Provincial Civil Service. It is most galling to a man to see another man, whom he has surpassed at the University, placed at once in a position to which he can only attain after many years of drudgery. The two services should be amalgamated, the lowest grade being placed at Rs. 200 per mensem."

A self-governing India will never maintain the salaries of its servants at the high level which prevails now. And a beginning shall have to be made by reducing the salaries of the Indian Civil Service. If as the result of the new constitution European members of the Indian Civil Service consider it convenient to retire they should be given the opportunity to do so. And that will certainly give the Indian tax-payer some relief and the fact cannot be denied that he requires relief badly and immediately.

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# RAILWAYS AND ROAD TRANSPORT—NEED THEY CLASH ?

By FREDOON P. ANTIA, M. COM., PH. D. (ECON.) LONDON, F. S. S.

It was the war that really brought the automobile into its own. Its wide use on and behind the lines developed and made the public realize its enormous possibilities in the commercial field. Whereas before the war the motor car industry had to concentrate upon ordinary passenger cars, the post-war industry started as a many-sided activity. Goods trucks, heavy lorries, passenger buses and luxury coaches all occupy an important part of the canvas now.

It is the automobile again that has regenerated the highway. The road remains no longer a means of communication secondary to the railroad. In several instances it enjoys even a superior status. And though it would have been difficult to comprehend it fifteen years back, the highway has actually ousted—and continues to do so—several miles of railroad in the United States of America, Great Britain and Germany. In America, "it took the railroads from 1830 to 1918 to develop a tonnage traffic of 2,504 million tons; while the motor truck developed a tonnage traffic of 1,200 millions in a period of just 18 years" according to an authority. As far back as in 1925, at least 104 miles of railroad abandonment was directly traceable to motor competition, according to the Inter-State Commerce Commission. A representation made in January 1932 to the British Minister of Transport by the General Managers of the four British railway companies estimated the net loss in revenue traceable to road competition at £16 million per annum—£10 million to passenger, and £6 million to freight traffic. The figure is based not on 1931 statistics which would show the loss as higher still, but on the data of 1930 compared to those of 1923. In Germany, the competition has led to a severe restriction of motor transport by the State.

Nor is India immune from this clash between an older and a newer means of transport. In 1926-27, our railways had already begun "to feel the pressure of road motor competition," and had projected means to counteract it. The accepted policy was, "to meet such competition by endeavouring to afford to the public equal or better railway service than road transport can give, while taking full advantage of the additional business brought to the railways by such motor transport as can act as feeders or distributors." Amongst the efforts made in this direction is the provision of a more frequent and quicker service by rail omnibuses, or self-propelled "sentinel" coaches, alterations in the time-tables, reduction in rates and fares, special return tickets, and the opening of booking agencies in business localities. The absence of an organization in road transport, however, according to the Railway Board's admission, presents "considerable difficulty in meeting competition for short lead traffic on certain lengths," and all that the railways can do is "to endeavour to hold it." Though each line has had the freest scope in devising measures to counteract this increasing encroachment of the highway operator since 1926-27, the Railway Board has recently admitted that there is "no abatement in the extent to which railways continued to be subjected to competition from road motor transport." Where the road short-circuits the railway, it is obvious that no effort on the part of the railway would avail. But even where the road runs parallel to the rails, it is found that the latter are progressively incapable of holding their patronage. Far from the railway crushing the road, the latter is extending its sphere. And whereas previously only coaching traffic was affected, recently even freight traffic is feeling the effects. Already, therefore, the Indian railway manager finds himself faced with a situation no less unpleasant than that facing his confrére in the highly organized countries. His failure to drive the new menace out of the competitive field in spite of his unlimited resources and his immediate awakening to the menace, has begun to make him realize that there are other ways of approaching the roadsman than with a challenge to a fight. This is to invite him to co-operate with himself, and co-ordinate his services with the railway's—to accept him as a colleague in the field of transport service, a field needing the toil of both. The G.I.P. Railway has already blazed the trail in their Talegaon—Bombay service, and it is certain that other lines similarly situated—and there are few that are not—will soon follow suit. Such co-ordination is not only possible, it is very desirable too.

But if co-operation and co-ordination are desirable from the broader national point of view, does not such recommendation assume that the road is not an illegitimate interloper upon the sphere of railway activity; that each instrument has a distinct duty to perform in its own sphere of action? This is indeed so. If the nation's transport energy is to be most profitably utilized, it is essential that there should be a minimum of friction. To attain this the sphere of each as circumscribed by its inherent advantages and otherwise, needs to be definitely prescribed.

It is obvious that the railway is subject to certain grave limitations as against the motor lorry. The trackage once laid fixes down the route, so that even if it becomes unremunerative to work it later on account of extraneous circumstances, the mere fixity of the route will keep the operator from taking to a more remunerative service. In other words, the railroad lacks the flexibility—the "go-anywhere" quality of the road service. So also are the terminals fixed, and the railway can only transport a passenger or a package from railhead to railhead, necessitating road haulage at both ends with consequent break of bulk and additional handling charges. It also involves considerable expensive equipment in the way of platforms, warehouses, tracks and other terminal facilities. Even then the railroad is liable to frequent congestion. It has been calculated for example that of the 14.9 days which each American freight wagon occupies for a single trip, only 1.64 are spent on the line outside of terminal areas. Regarding England, Mr. H. W. Payne of the Great Western Railway calculated that a freight consignment moved only half the time it normally took before delivery; during the other half it was stationary in a terminal yard. Apart from the loss inflicted upon the railway, this is most undesirable in the restriction it imposes upon the free circulation of goods. Traders in Nasik—118 miles from Bombay—do not expect their goods to arrive from Bombay before 4 days of booking, those in Surat—168 miles before 6 days of booking. A lorry would take one day in the first case, and at most two in the second. It would carry from door to door without break of bulk or intermediate handling charges. The trader himself would benefit, for the necessity of keeping large stocks with its implications of interest charges, warehouse rents etc. would be obviated.

Nor dôes this necessarily mean that the railroad is to be involved in a loss to the extent that road transport can displace it in the spheres defined above. Every railroad man knows what a nuisance short haul traffic is, and what a drain upon his revenue. This applies also to less than carload consignments. It pays the railroad to carry full waggon loads longer distances at a cheaper rate per ton-mile than less—than—carload shipments shorter distances at higher unit rates. Hence the short distance terminals over and above the usual terminal charges on Indian railways. Hence also the higher unit rates for smaller consignments than for larger ones. According to one calculation, the American railway loses 12 cents on every consignment of 100 lbs. carried less than 40 miles. From data available from the late Mr. S. C. Ghose of the Railway Board, it is found that whereas a waggon would earn Rs. 5-3-0 per day hauling a shipment of 200 maunds for 50 miles, at .33 pies per maund-mile, the same waggon would earn Rs. 10-6 hauling 380 maunds for 633 miles at .133 pies per maund-mile, *i. e.*, nearly a third of the previous rate.

But it is not that the short haul and L. C. L. traffic are undesirable to the railwayman alone. To the consumer of the railway service they are as great a nuisance. Rail hauling necessitates extravagant packing and crating to forestall against loss or damage in transit and the necessary handlings. The packing charges as well as the freight on the packing material—which incidentally is rated in the same class as the commodity itself, and has been calculated at 17 per cent of the freight rate—swell the carriage bill by railroad. Road hauling does not necessitate anything like the elaborate packing and saves on all these items. Taking all the heads of expenditure into consideration, it has been found that right up to a distance of 130 miles, L. C. L. freight is cheaper to transport by road than by rail. With regard to furniture, pianos etc., this limit goes up to 300 miles.

Here then is the germ of this ideal of co-operation and co-ordination. It is obvious that the roadway and the rail are not essentially competitive instruments of transport, but complementary ones. Why not give some relief to the trader as well as the railwayman by entrusting the L. C. L. and the short haul traffic to road ? Railways could organize their own road services or operate them in co-operation with other independent organizations. Local and short distance trains, both passenger and freight, would then be eliminated. If stations follow in rapid succession on a line, the train would embark and disembark passengers and goods only at the most important ones,—the zone stations—whence the road services would operate. Thus on a 32 mile stretch with 27 stations on the Pennsylvania railroads, the freight train stops at only 4 zone stations wherefrom the neighbouring places are served by road.

The New York Central and several other American railways have also adopted this plan and it has met with such conspicuous success that according to Mr. Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, it warrants "a definite programme of constructive experimental development." Nearer home, the lead given by the Great Indian Peninsular on its Bombay—Poona service is indeed very far-sighted and is but a sign of the times. It may not be long before most of our railways own and operate road services and dispose of each shipment according as its transport is most economical by road or by rail. This will effect an economy of crores of rupees in our transport bill, besides providing better service to our trade.

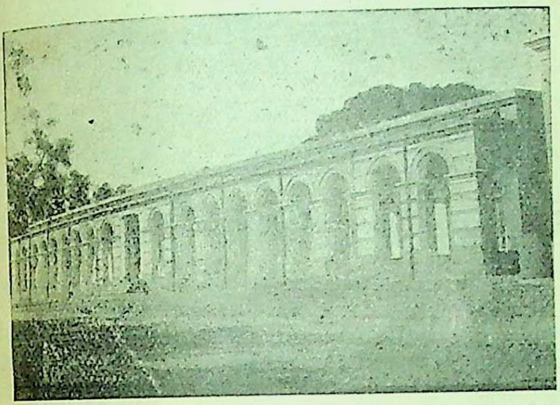
An important question has recently agitated the public mind. Is the railroad operator subjected to unfair competition by the road ? The numerous complaints lodged by the railroads in Great Britain and United States of America accuse the state of holding the balance purposefully in favour of road transport, so as to handicap the railway. Thus, whereas the railroad is by law required to lay down, maintain, operate, repair, signal and police its own track, none of these obligations, according to the railways, are heaped upon the road operator ; and in fact he is provided with a progressively improving road surface all ready to run his vehicle upon largely free of cost. In a representation recently made by the general managers of the four British railways to the Minister of Transport, it was claimed on the authority of the Report of the Royal Commission on Transport that of the £60 million sunk annually in roads, the road user contributed only the amount represented by the Road Fund, *i.e.*, £20 million, whereas £40 million came from the pockets of the rate-payer. This, however, was immediately contradicted by Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, Chairman of the Commission, who pointed out that this was a distorted misinterpretation put upon the report, which showed the road user as paying not 1-3 but 2-3 of the annual outlay on roads—the Road Fund representing "only about one half of what the motorist was actually paying in taxation." Since then, the Petrol Tax has been raised twice, bringing it up from 4d. to 8d. per gallon. So that today the road user according to Sir Arthur, "is paying a sum which probably approximates the entire cost of the roads." The conclusion, however, is inescapable that when the tax stood at 4d. per gallon, the State did subsidize road transport to the extent of £20 million per annum, to that extent holding the balance in its favour as against the railroad. It appeared indeed that in so far as the railways were rate-payers to the Government, the State was actually forcing them to dig their own graves by making them contribute to this road subsidy. The conclusion of the Royal Commission on the point is fairly non-committal—"We are satisfied that the users of mechanically propelled vehicles are not, as a class, paying too much in taxation. Nor do we think that in a general way they are paying too little."

The railwayman has yet another grievance. He is subjected to a complex structure of regulations. These appertain to his obligatioas as common carrier, the railworthiness of vehicle, wages and conditions of the staff employed, minima and maxima rates chargeable, etc., from which the road transport man is well nigh exempt. The motor lorry is thus at liberty to take away the cream of the traffic offering, leaving the railroad to handle the bulky lower classes of traffic like coal, ores or timber. The low class traffic, obviously, cannot pay its way without the higher classes of traffic to aid it, and the railway is in its turn forced to put up its rates, with the result that more and more of the traffic is diverted to road. It is a vicious circle, from which there is no escape. The railroad may sink deeper and deeper into the mire, and end by abandoning the line, when the road transport man may exact monopoly rates. This is only the repetition of the canal vs. railway phase of a century back.

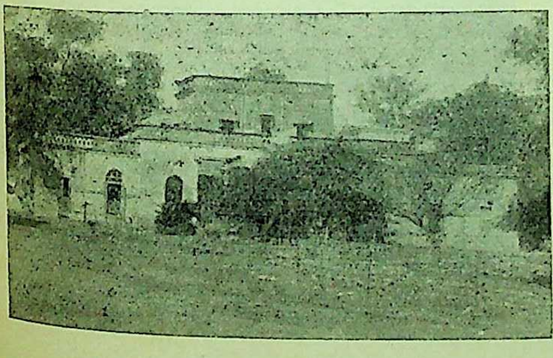
It needs to be recognized that the railway is and shall continue to be the principal instrument of transport, at any rate for such expansive areas as India and the United States. Then the tremendous waste involved in competition could be averted by an official policy of co-ordination between the two instruments of transport, preferably operating under a single control. A backward country should at least actively exploit the one advantage that accrues to it through its backwardness. It can profit by experience gained by others at their own cost. And we in India are in this position today.

# A MEDICAL SCHOOL IN A SMALL COUNTRY TOWN

IT is a well-known fact, on which Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar dwelt in his presidential address at the last session of the All-India Medical Conference held in Calcutta, that the number of our trained medical men is too few for India's vast population. This number requires to be increased by all possible means. And, of course, the quality of the education given in our medical institutions should also be improved. Medical education is necessarily much more costly than general education—we refer to medical education according to the allopathic system. And it may, therefore, seem that, whereas high schools for ordinary education may be founded and conducted even in villages by private endeavour, private medical schools—not to speak of medical colleges—cannot be founded and conducted except in big towns. But an example will show that it can be done even in small district towns.

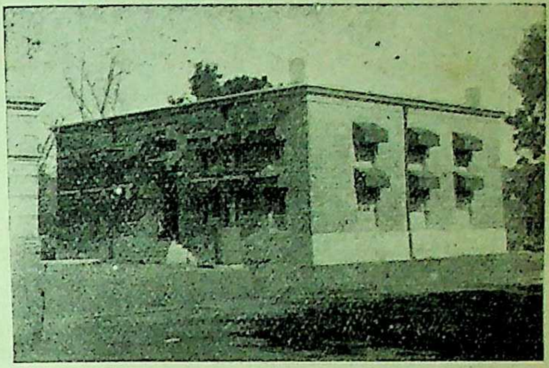


School Building



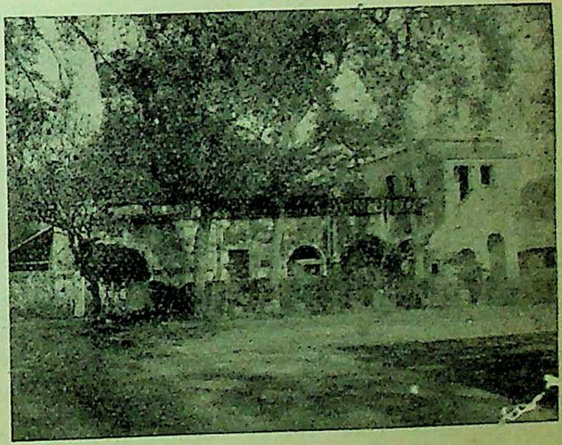
Nilambar Bhavan
Outdoor Department and
Male Medical Ward (top floor)

The Bankura Sammilani Medical School was founded, as its name indicates, by the Bankura Sammilani, a society which exists for welfare work in the Bankura district of Bengal, in the year 1922. It was after years of patient work under difficulties that the school was recognized by the State Medical Faculty, for whose final examination fifty students were sent up this year. Its school, hospital and hostel departments are situated in separate extensive compounds on high open ground outside the town. Each department is easily accessible from the others. The dissection hall is situated near the river at some distance from any inhabited house.



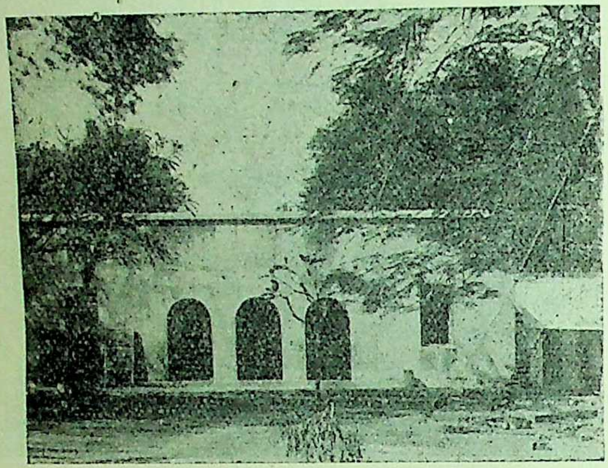
Pathological Laboratory

The buildings with the grounds where originally both the school and the hospital were located are the free gift of Mr. Rishibar Mukherji, Bar-at-Law, formerly Chief Judge of Kashmir.



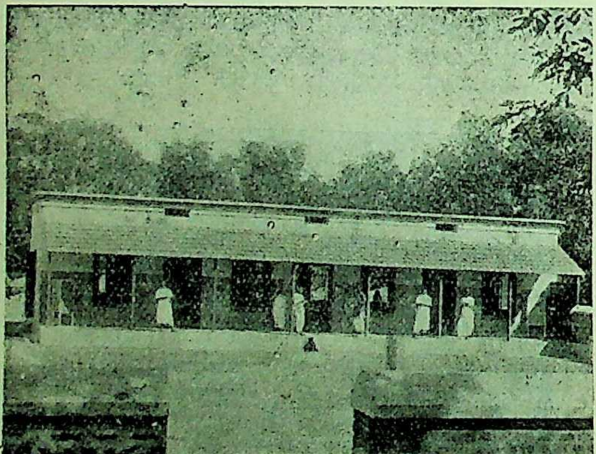
Resident Surgeon's Quarters
(Hospital)

These, with the tank and wells, are situated in the midst of 78 bighas (about 26 acres) of land. The biggest edifice here has been named Nilambar Bhavan, after the late Nilambar Mukherji, formerly Governor of Kashmir, who was the elder brother of the donor. Water is supplied to the hospital from the school's own water-works. Besides the original buildings many new buildings have been constructed. The school hospital



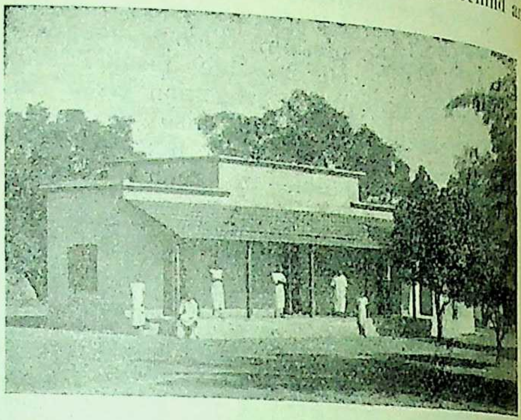
Male Surgical Ward

has 83 beds at present. Owing to co-operation with the district *sadar* hospital, with 36 beds, the students have the advantage of clinical training there also. Efforts are being made to increase the school hospital buildings, so that there may be more beds, more patients, and consequently more students, whose average number at present is 200.



Female Surgical Ward

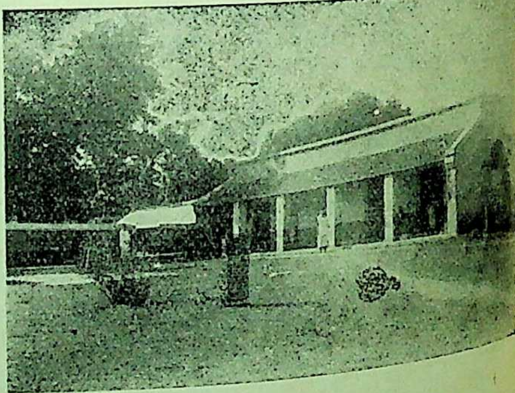
Students come to this school from all parts of Bengal. Patients belong mostly to the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Manbhum and Midnapur. There being experienced and highly skilled physicians and surgeons among the school staff, difficult cases are treated in the hospital and difficult surgical and obstetrical operations, like the Caesarian section, performed. 265 major operations were performed in 1931, the total being about 960 from the foundation of the school. In the cottage ward of the hospital, patients can occupy a room each with a small enclosed yard and kitchen behind and



Surgical Operation Theatre

veranda in front, under the care of a relative, for a small daily fee of twelve annas only.

The buildings in which the school is at present situated were formerly the Government Settlement Office. When the settlement work of the district was finished, they were no longer of any use to the Government. So, on the application of the school committee, they were given to the school. This act of the Government is praiseworthy. But even at the strong recommendations of the District Magistrate, no money grant of any kind has been received by the school. The annual expenses of school and

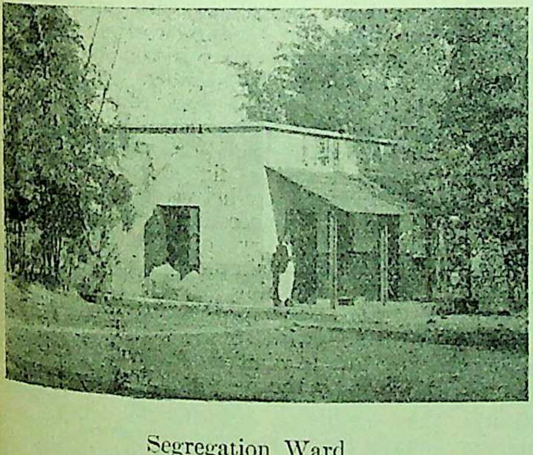


Female Medical Ward

hospital combined in the years 1928-29, 1929-30, and 1930-31 were Rs. 58,224, 55,971 and 53,8 respectively. The only grants received are those from the district board, the municipality and the Red Cross fund, which in 1930-31 were Rs. 1500, 600 and 200 respectively. The fees received from the students form the largest item of the receipts. Donations and subscriptions are also obtained. Every year there is apprehension of a deficit of some twelve or thirteen thousand rupees, which is met with great difficulty. Donations and subscriptions from the generous public are thankfully received and acknowledged.

Maternity Operation Room

All the subjects prescribed by the State Medical Faculty, except Physics and Chemistry, are taught in the school itself. These two sciences are taught in the local Wesleyan College by its professors, with the kind permission of its authorities. For this help the school committee is grateful to the Wesleyan College and its professors of science. Efforts are being made to make the school self-contained as regards the teaching of Physics and Chemistry also. The school is provided with its own Museums and Laboratories of Anatomy, Materia Medica, Physiology and Pathology.



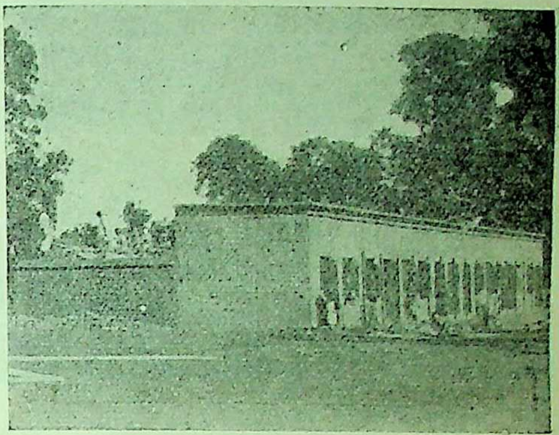
Segregation Ward

The hostel is located in the midst of a garden. There are play-grounds for football, cricket, badminton and tennis, and arrangements for physical exercises and gymnastics. There is a common-room and reading-room.

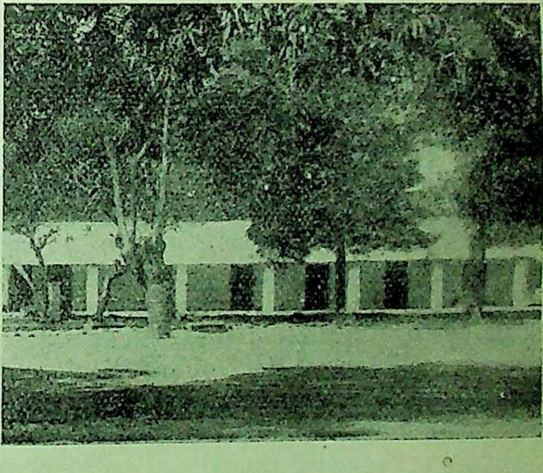
The School Committee consists of:

Ramananda Chatterjee, *President* : Dr. K. N. Das, C. I. E., M. D., *Principal, Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta*, Rev. A. E. Brown, *Principal, Wesleyan College, Bankura*, B. N. Banerjee, *Retired Executive Engineer*, Rai B. K. Neogy Bahadur, *Government Pleader, Bankura*, Rai Shaheb R. N. Mukherjee, *Editor, "Bankura Darpan"*, Rai R. S. Bhattacharyya Bahadur, *Rtd. Additional Magistrate*, R. Mukherjee, Esq., *Bar-at-Law, Ex-Chief-Judge, Kashmere*, Rai H. K. Raha Bahadur, *Rtd. Deputy Dir. Genl. Post*, and Babu Brajadurlav Hazra, *Rtd. District Magistrate, Vice-Presidents*.

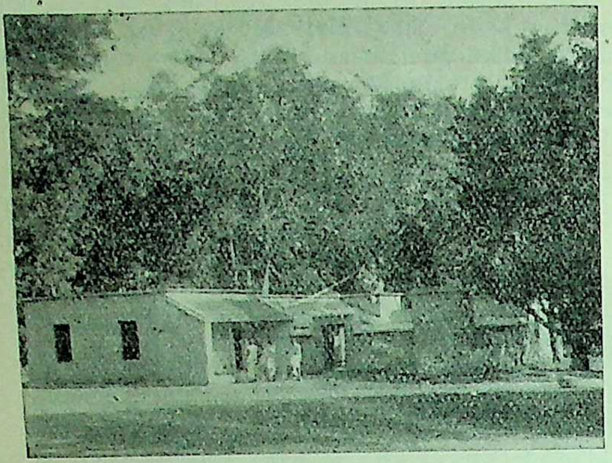
Kedar Nath Ash, *Pleader, Alipur, Treasurer*. R. N. Sarkar, *Advocate, Calcutta High Court, Secretary*. K. C. Rai, *Pleader, Alipur, Asst. Secretary and Asst. Treasurer*.



New Cottage



Hostel Wardens' Quarters



Private Ward

Abani Kanta Mandal, and Radhikaprasad Banerjee, *Asst. Secretaries*. N. Sarkar, M. A., *Incorporated Accountant, Auditor*. Rev. A. E. Brown, C. I. E., M. A. (Cantab), B. SC., (London), (on furlough), and Prof. P. K. Banerjee, M. SC., F. C. S., *Honorary Superintendents.*

The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bengal visited the institution on 8th July 1931 and was pleased to pass the following remarks:

"I visited the Hospital and the School this afternoon with the Civil Surgeon and met the Superintendent and the teachers of the School.

"I have already had good reports of its workings from Col. Stewart, who inspected the School for the State Medical Faculty, and am glad to find my impressions confirmed. It is obviously a very live and very active institution. The new buildings, laboratories and wards are of very good design and construction. The old ones will, I hope, be replaced in time; but wonderfully good work is being done under very unfavourable conditions and the staff obviously take a very keen interest and pride in their work. They have a good class of cases for instructional purposes in their wards and the standard of work seems quite good. I am very glad to inspect such a needful and progressive institution and wish it all success."

The teaching staff and the present Honorary Superintendent, Professor P. K. Banerjee, are entitled to this praise from competent quarters for the good work they have done.

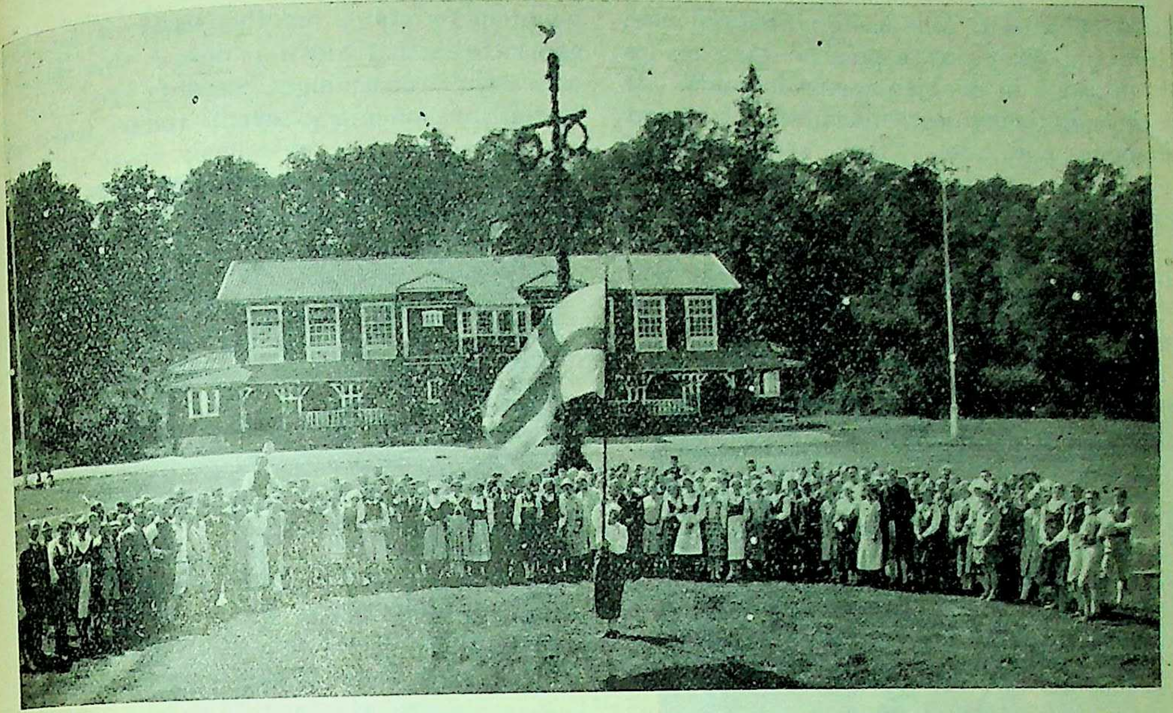
# SLOYD IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION

## By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

TOWARDS the middle of the last century there arose an educational movement in Sweden, which is of peculiar interest for all those educationists and teachers who, with the introduction of mass education and the opening up of the possibilities for further reforms, have been thinking of and working for a systematic development of our present-day curricula. This movement was of a political and economic character in its origin, but finally transformed itself into a purely pedagogic movement. An account of this movement, known as Sloyd, may prove to be of value to educationists in this country as showing the inter-relation of political and economic questions on the one hand and educational ones on the other, and also as demonstrating how an educational movement can help towards the making of a nation. It is my object to describe the system very briefly, and with this object, I shall begin by quoting a passage in which the birth of Sloyd is described by its historian:

"In the countries of the North, the light nights of the short summers are soon succeeded by long, dark winter evenings. The agricultural population being about 60 per cent could not work in the fields and meadows, but in accordance with their ancestral traditions were obliged to get into work at such times for livelihood, within the four walls of their houses. And, therefore, all the family-members, including the servants, used to gather together round the stone hearth; and while they were listening to northern legends from an elderly person or singing a ballad or a hymn together, their fingers remained busy. The men-folk made axe-helves, spoons, ladles, benches, tables and other necessary articles either for farm-work or for home—very often ornamenting each object with tasteful but simple designs, while the women-folk plied a spinning wheel or a loom or sew a vest for their own use or for the men-folk. Such works, executed with simple aids by persons not belonging to any guild whatsoever, had in Sweden for long ages, gone by the name of Sloyd.

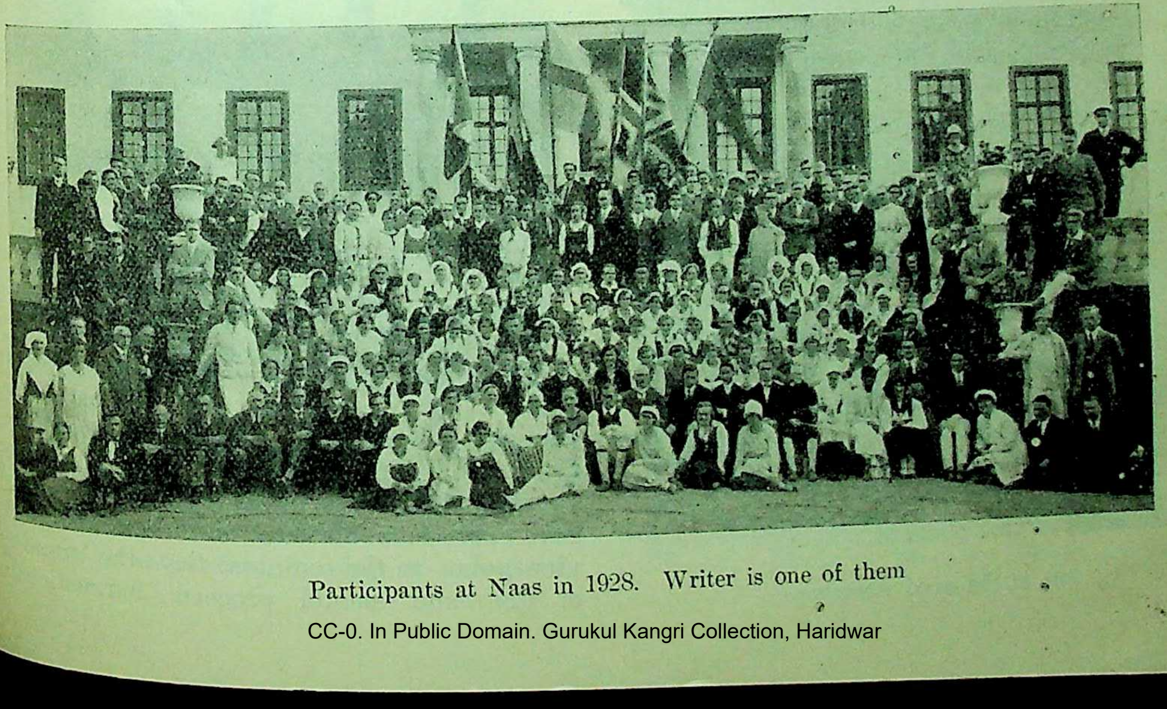
"But, the sudden development of industrial machinery and the consequent natural progress of the co-operative movements in Sweden, the practised ability in Sloyd began to diminish gradually and, in some places, even disappeared altogether. Various sorts of such Sloyd-work which, in former times had been performed at home, were now taken up by the manufacturers of rising industries. The improved system of communications—such as railways, canals, etc., rendered it considerably easier for the country



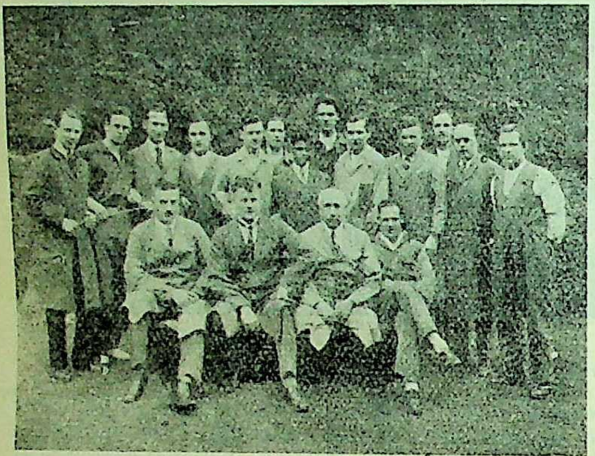
Solemn 'May Festival' at Naas, Sweden—outside the Lecture Hall

people to procure those articles that they used to make previously with their own hands. But such progress always carries with it certain disadvantages and dangers which can not be avoided. It is certainly true that when the work within the family is changed into work inside the factory and when the handicraft is transformed into machinery-work, a great amount of time-saving can be reckoned upon: and the time saved becomes time gained when it is profitably utilized. If, on the contrary, this be not the case and if the hour which was formerly devoted to productive activities, is now being spent in idleness or what is surely worse—in wrong-doing, the hour saved becomes an hour lost; and that is so not only from a moral but also from a national-economical point of view."

The late Otto Salomon, the writer of these lines and the historian of Sloyd, was the man who subjected Sloyd work to the pedagogic adaptation by which it could be included in in the school curriculum as one of the chief



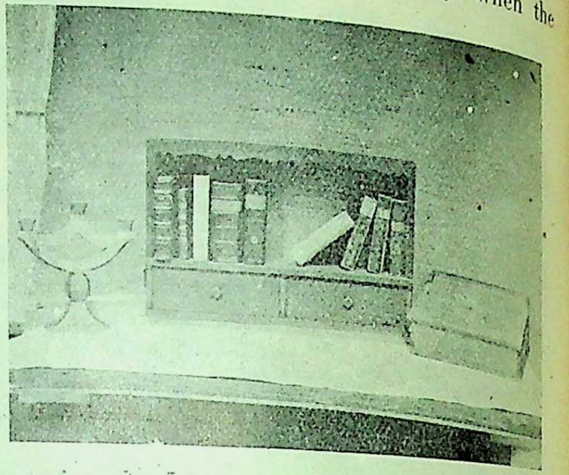
Participants at Naas in 1928. Writer is one of them educational media. This has invested Salomon with an importance as a pioneer that makes him rank high in the history of education. It was through the earnest efforts of this great pedagogue and, also, the assistance of his generous and philanthropically-minded uncle, August Abrahamson, who placed all his wealth and estate at the service of his enthusiastic nephew, that the Sloyd-system was introduced and became a part and parcel of national education in Sweden.



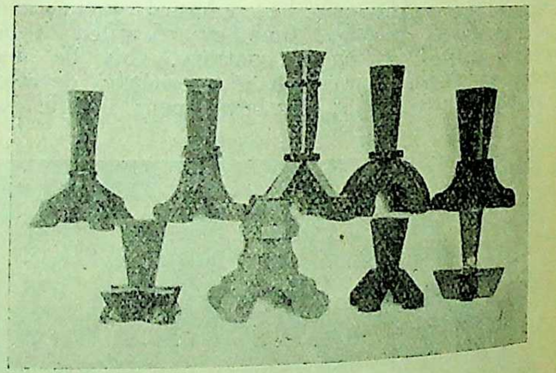
A striking group of participants from 8 nations in Metal Work

It is indeed remarkable how, in spite of the influence of industries and machinery, the people of Sweden came to that intuitional understanding and took measures to re-instate the Sloyd of their forefathers in such an honourable position as it holds today. In this connection, I am tempted to state, on the basis of my own experience, that Sloyd is one of the reasons why the charming Swedes are not a victim to machines even today when the country itself has been highly industrialized and, also, it is for the same reason that the spirit of invention and creation counts for so much in the Swedish character. Moreover, the Sloyd-character has complemented their industrial life in a strange but a very harmonious way.

One of the wood workshops

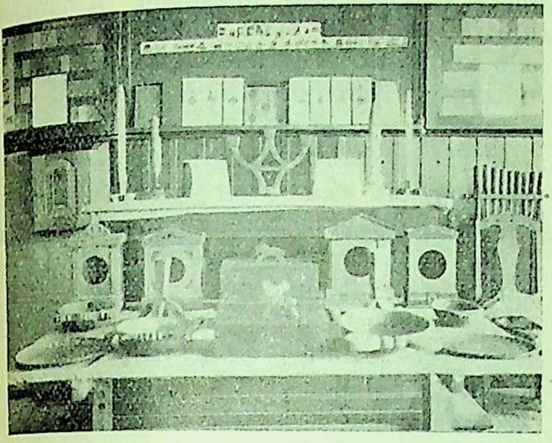


Specimens of Wood Work



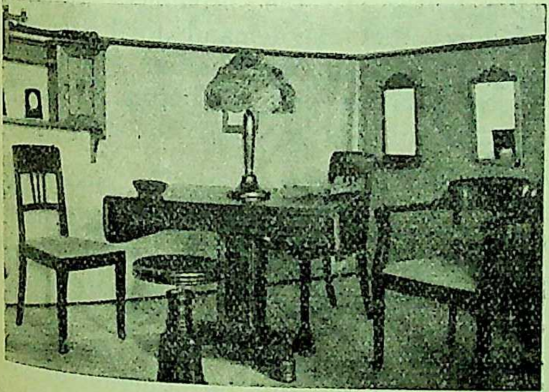
Different kinds candle-stand, most suitable for the children to execute

The history of educational movements tells us that for centuries past almost every leading educationist of repute, such as Pestalozzi, Comenius, Franke, Rousseau, Froebel, etc., (not to mention numerous others) gave expression, although each from his own view-point, to the opinion that the training of the hand should proceed harmoniously and simultaneously with that of the head and heart; and Sweden ranked first in translating those theories into practice with the most satisfactory results. Foreign scholars avail themselves in considerable numbers of the facilities provided at August Abrahamson's foundation at Naas, Sweden.



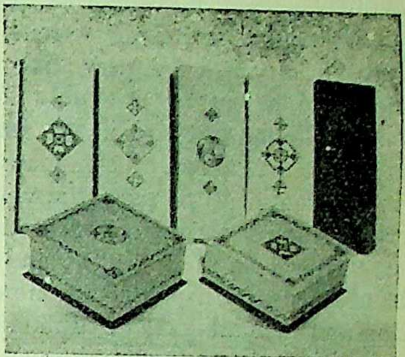
An exhibition of Sloyd Work by children

Since its start, with the late Otto Salomon at its head, teachers in hundreds from all parts of the globe have flocked there. And, gradually, Naas, the home of Sloyd, has become the international centre of cultural association. Here, even now, scholars and teachers from different countries gather together in quest of learning. A spirit of fellowship vibrates in the air of Naas.



A few specimens of Wood Work. The designs are meant for the students of 'continuation course's

In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention that, during a period of fifty years, about three thousand foreign scholars attended the Sloyd courses at Naas, and among them teachers from England and Scotland numbered more than nine hundred, in spite of the fact that pedagogical courses of Sloyd began in both these countries at a much later period. At present, Dr. Rurik



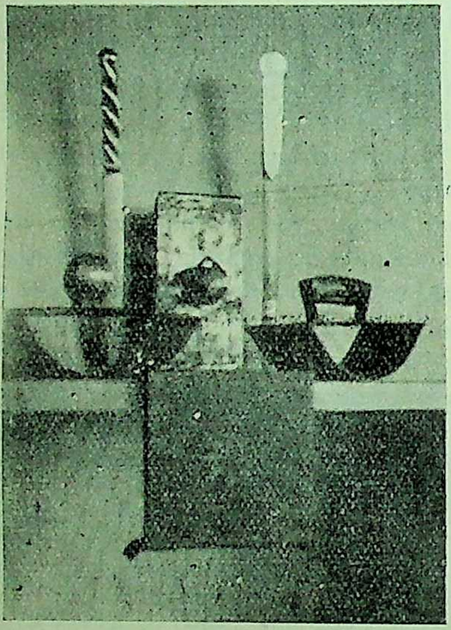
A few fine and useful card-board works

Holm, a striking personality and a great thinker is the Director of the Naas Seminarium, which is now a State institution with all its original independent character.

Now, turning our attention to India and making a survey of our present-day educational system, we see that every year students in thousands are coming out of the universities with their diplomas and degrees; but that their book-knowledge does not help

An exhibition of useful objects made in class

them, in most cases, even to earn their livelihood. Many of them go about in vain quest of jobs. It is clear that no Government can provide all of them with employment. We hear our leading people telling young men to take to some independent means livelihood, and also to strive at the same time, for the creation of new fields of activity. We also often hear of suggestions to revive home-industries, and it seems that the country has also responded to some extent. It is, indeed, essential in a country like ours to open up such new paths not only for mere means of livelihood but also in the interest of national economy. Yet, how many people think it is essential to prepare the young from the very beginning through education, which alone can give them the initiative and the self-confidence necessary to undertake new courses of action and face all sorts of difficulties and responsibilities—known and unknown? Where is the way out and what is the right way?



Specimens of Bell-metallic work

It is not the object of this article to go into the details of the subject. My aim is to draw the attention of both school authorities and the public to this vital question. It is vital, because our present-day system of education fails to provide such training. Let me, however, in view of a reform and of a part-solution of our educational problem, which appears to have been hitherto the cause of unemployment among the youth to some extent, touch on some concrete aspects of Sloyd, namely, how it is to be started in and amalgamated with our every-day life.

*The educational aspect of Sloyd*: It is the training of the hand and eye along with that of the brain that brings "the co-development of faculties producing a harmonious unity. It is to lead the children through education into the fullest, noblest and most faithful relations of which they are capable with the world in which they live.

"The power of doing increases the love of creating, and thus energy is developed—an educational factor which ought to be turned to much account. The self-reliance which springs from it must ever be regarded as one of the highest educational gains." It follows that the training of the hand raises the dignity of labour, for it fosters interest in manual labour.

*Socio-economical aspect*: It is clear that this great interest in manual labour, thus created by the introduction of Sloyd, will naturally stimulate the life of the home-industries. Moreover, a trained hand cultivates the brain, and thus produces an inventive mind for production and an aesthetic taste in the products. For, is it not a fact that, generally, a large number of the articles that we often use, is manufactured directly or indirectly, with the help of the hands? The more the hands are trained, the better are the products. It, therefore, follows that the demand for better products and their due appreciation will be always greater on the part of better trained public, and there lies the key to the progress of industries.

Naturally then, the Sloyd-training just in the early years of life will result in productive activities among children when they come out of their schools and seek a career.

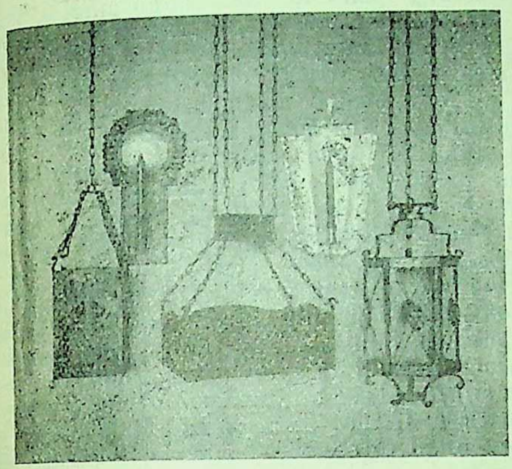
*Sloyd in schools*: Let me now give some hints on the introduction of Sloyd as a general subject of education in schools:

1. The instruction should be methodical, and given in a systematic way.

2. A well-chosen pedagogical series of models should be furnished as a guide for instruction. The series of models must be

useful objects which one can use in daily life and which are good when viewed from an aesthetical point of view.

3. For beginners paper and card-board work is the most suitable. Bench-wood work and then light bell-metallic work will follow to the end of the school-career.

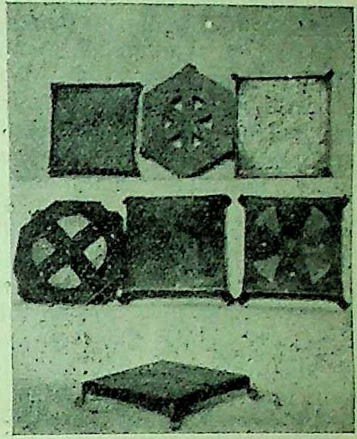


Domes for hanging lamps. An back—two wall candle-stands

4. Children always naturally find great pleasure in constructive activities. Therefore, as a fundamental principle, the subjects of instruction will be optional and not compulsory. To impart such training by artisans is out of the question. But it should, at all costs, be done by pedagogy-trained persons, without which its educative value will never be secured and the goal in view will not be attained. Therefore, it is highly necessary to train the teachers first.

5. For the children who are decidedly not going in for higher studies after the school-career, arrangements should be made for continuation courses whereby every such student will be taught at least one of the various kinds of hand-work thoroughly.

When it is a question of spreading new knowledge, a new kind of work, or of reviving that which is on the verge of extinction, there are two different ways to adopt. One can try to influence either the adults or the children. It is, therefore, necessary on the one hand to arrange short courses for adults chiefly for manual training or to form associations in different parts of the country where manual traing should be a part of other cultural activities; on the other, to establish some model schools where children will receive an orderly and all-round education. The surest way on the whole seems to be the last one, as it is well-known that the mind of a child is more receptive than that of an adult. Therefore, the foundation must be laid in each branch of knowledge as early as circumstances and means permit, at least by way of experiment. The future always belongs to the rising generation, and that is why all social and economic questions can be finally solved as only a question of education.



Different kinds of tea-pot stands

* * *

# INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

### Indians in Malaya

As a member of the Indian Immigration Committee, Dr. N. K. Menon of Penang rendered invaluable service to the Indian community of Malaya. He was outspoken in his speeches, and, on several occasions, he had the courage to tell the planters and the Malayan Governments that the Indian labourer would no longer live in Malaya under miserable conditions. But the doctor's frankness did not please the ruling demigods of Malaya in the least. The result was that he has not been re-nominated for the second term of office on the Immigration Committee. The authorities responsible for the work of nomination should have appreciated that Dr. Menon was merely voicing the deep-rooted sentiments of the Indian community and that he was not indulging in any sort of extremist agitation. After all, the doctor had only pleaded, though rather vigorously, for the establishment of better wage systems, healthier living conditions and humane treatment aboard the British liners which are engaged in carrying immigrants between India and Malaya. These are but the least demands of the Indian community, and Dr. Menon strived hard to achieve them during his tenure of office.

Dr. Menon's successor on the Committee, Mr. V. N. Pillai is another distinguished member of the Indian community in Malaya. For about fifty years he has played an admirable role in the affairs of Malayan Indians. As a trusted friend of the late Mr. P. K. Nambyar, Mr. Pillai is the founder of various Indian organizations in Penang. Though a high-caste Hindu, he has done a good deal to elevate the untouchables. At present he is also the chairman of the Indian Unemployment Committee and a justice of the peace for Penang. His services to the community has won appreciation not only from Indians but the Malayan Governments as well and it is the hope of the community that he will follow in the footsteps of his worthy predecessor in the discharge of his duties.

There is another point which I should like to mention.. The Indians in Malaya have a new danger to face at present and that is the cry which the Malayans have raised; "Malaya for the Malayans." They cry aloud like the Burmans who have of late adopted slogans against Indians, and their venom seems to have been directed against the Indians only. Yes, of course, Malaya is for the Malayans. But in the early days when the Indians were toiling hard to clear large jungles, helping the construction of towns and modern buildings, etc., was not Malaya then for the Malayans? By all means the Malays can have the country, but they should also realize that Indians have invested millions of dollars in their country and many of them have even adopted this as their mother-land. They cannot be expected to leave it. But it is amusing to find that the Malayans should turn their guns only against the Indians. What about the Chinese?

The cry of the Malayans against Indians is only perhaps the beginning of a series of unpleasant things. Any way, who is at the bottom of all this? The Indians' position may swiftly lead to the lot of our countrymen in Africa, if the Indians in Malaya and those at home fail to see the danger at this early stage.

### The Next Agent in South Africa

It is reported in the papers that Kunwar Maharaj Singh will succeed Sir Kurma Reddy as the next Agent in South Africa. The selection is undoubtedly the best that could be made under the circumstances. Kunwar Saheb has been interested in the problems of Indians overseas for the last fifteen years. He was deputed by the Government of India to visit Mauritius, British Guiana and the East African colonies to study the problem of our countrymen settled there and he produced admirable reports about the conditions there. He created a great impression on our fellow countrymen overseas on account of his sturdy patriotism, winning manners and genuine sympathy for the cause. His complete freedom from communal and racial prejudice will be a great help in the solution of these problems.

We were really sorry to read in the papers that an important Moslem organization dragged this issue of the appointment of an Agent in South Africa to the communal arena and that an effort was actually made by the Government of India in that wrong direction. We are certainly not opposed to any Moslem as such being appointed as our Agent. A gentleman of Justice Sir Abdul Qadir's eminence would have served our cause in South Africa quite creditably. It is of no importance to us at all whether he is a Moslem or a Hindu or a Christian.

We should have certainly welcomed the appointment of Sir Abdul Qadir because, besides possessing other requisite qualifications, he is free from communalism. In fact this question should never have been made a communal one in any case.

Objection has been taken in certain quarters against the appointment of Kunwar Maharaj Singh on the ground that he has been an official all his life. The *Leader* of Allahabad has given an effective reply to this point in the following word :—

> "The apt comment on the reported appointment of Kunwar Maharaj Singh as Agent to the Governor-General in South Africa would be that it should have been made three years ago. At that time, too, his name was very much mentioned but was left out we believe for the only reason that it was thought desirable that Mr. Sastri's successor should be a non-official too. It would be objectionable if the place were reserved for an official, but we do not suppose that any sensible man would say that a person in every way qualified for the position should be kept out of it for the only reason that he is an official. At all events Kunwar Maharaj Singh is no longer an official of the British Government. He has had a highly distinguished career in service and, while always efficient, he managed at the same time to win and retain the confidence of the public as well. He knows well the subject of Indians overseas and it is safe to anticipate that he will be an eminent success in South Africa ; the more because he will have the Kunwarini Sahiba by his side to assist him in social work.

As the *Leader* is the most important journal in the United Provinces where Kunwar Saheb has worked as an official all these years, its opinion should carry weight.

## A Tragedy and a Warning

Returned emigrants from colonies suffer a lot of troubles in India, and as a worker in their cause I have come across a large number of people whose life has been made miserable on account of their economic plight or social difficulties. The worst of such cases came to my notice the other day when an old man of sixty came to my office and related his tragic story to me.

Mr. N. Sumaroo returned from Natal to India in July 1928 with three sons and a daughter. They brought with them seventeen hundred pounds. Mr. Sumaroo belonged to a village in the district of Basti and after his arrival in Calcutta he started for his place by train at Howrah. As soon as the train reached Burdwan, half a dozen persons, who had dressed themselves as sepoys, came to his compartment and asked him to vacate it as the Sarkar wanted to see him. Mr. Sumaroo being a simple-minded person, who had returned to the motherland after fifty years, was easily deceived. He was taken to a distant lonely place with his children and his belongings and there made to sit under a tree by the robbers, who took away all his belongings along with seventeen hundred pounds. Sumaroo was left quite destitute and it took him three months to return on foot from Burdwan to Calcutta with his small children. Then he drifted to the slum quarters in Matiaburz, a suburb of Calcutta, where our friend Pandit Bhavani Dayal saw him and wrote about his case in his report regarding the condition of returned emigrants. But the worst thing was yet to follow. On April 20th, 1930, Sumaroo moved to a local Dharmashala with his children. He lived there for three days. On the evening of 23rd April he went out of the Dharmashala with his eldest son to buy provisions leaving the daughter and two sons behind. He returned after half an hour and was surprised to see his daughter and the sons missing. He reported the case to the police who promised to make enquiries. We do not know what they have done. The three children have been missing since 23rd April 1930, and poor Sumaroo has been living a miserable life in the Refuge at 125 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, for the last two years. The daughter was fourteen years of age and was fair-looking.

It is to be noted that the Government of India took upon themselves the responsibility of receiving and looking after the repatriated emigrants from South Africa and this fact was specially mentioned in the Cape Town Agreement itself. And though the Government made some sort of arrangement at Madras for the reception of returning emigrants in Southern India they neglected those of Northern India altogether. Many a time their attention was drawn to their negligence but they have practically done nothing on this side. This negligence on their part is to a certain extent reponsible for such tragedies as those of Mr. N. Sumaroo.

When our people in South Africa agreed to the scheme of assisted emigration to India they put their faith in the words of the Government of India that they will receive and look after these returning emigrants on their arrival. Their faith has been betrayed so far as North Indian emigrants are concerned. The tragedy of Mr. N. Sumaroo is a warning to colonial Indians who must think thrice before departing to India.

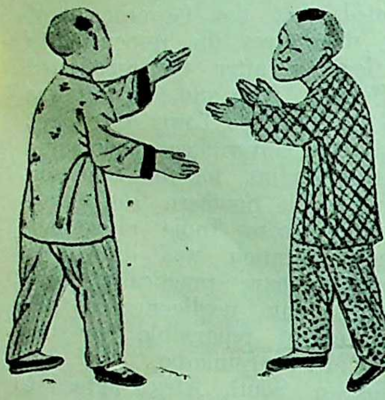
## A Suggestion to Colonial Indians

A number of people from different colonies have written to us to send them regular news about the political conditions in India. This is not an easy thing to do. A general summary of the events of the week will require time. The most practical thing would be to subscribe to important journals in India. Those who can read English may subscribe to the *Modern Review* (subscription Rs. 11-8 ; address 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) and the Weekly *Hindu* (subscription Rs. 21, address Mount Road, Madras). The Hindi reading Indian may get the *Pratap* of Cawnpore for rupees eight annually and the *Vishal-Bharat* for Rs. 8/8. These journals represent more or less the Congress point of view. For the liberal point of view the *Servant of India* (Poona) and the by-weekly *Leader* (Allahabad) may be subscribed.

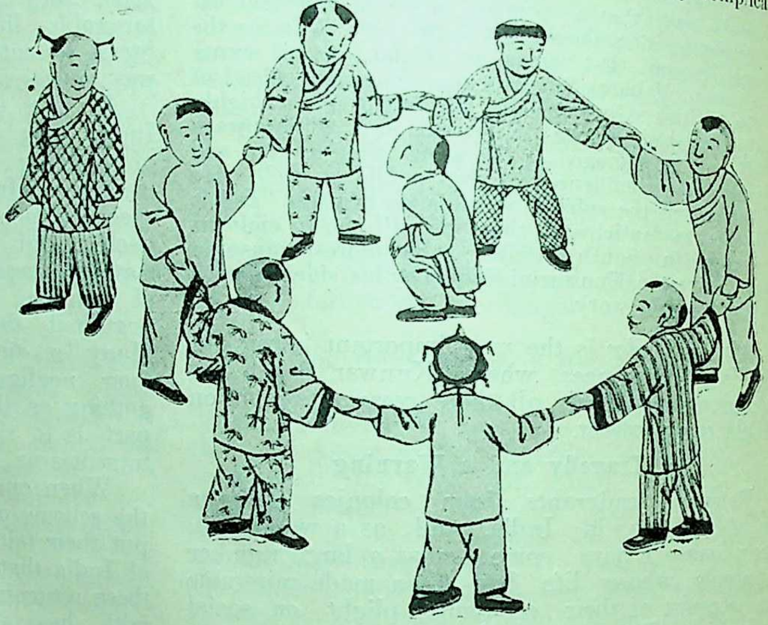
# GLEANINGS

## Chinese Juvenile Games

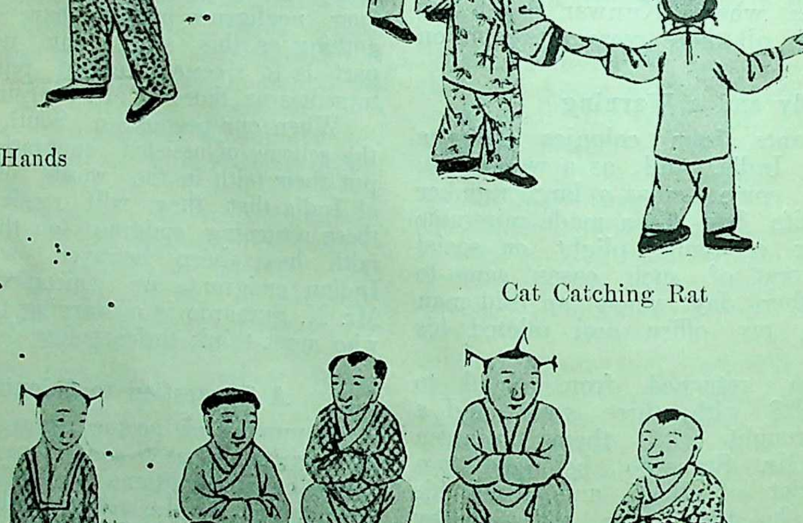
Chinese games or play, like their language, science (in all branches), architecture, instruments, tools, government, philosophy and everything else Chinese, have never gone beyond what may be called the natural stage, or the condition resulting from necessity. Therefore, for psychological purposes, they are highly interesting. Many years ago I collected a number of games that came under my personal observation. Many of these games I have not seen played for years. A Chinese friend of mine, now in his eighty-fifth year, recently informed me that a number of games he had played in his youth he had not seen played for seventy years. The games played by Chinese children are in many cases interesting, but in very few are they complica-



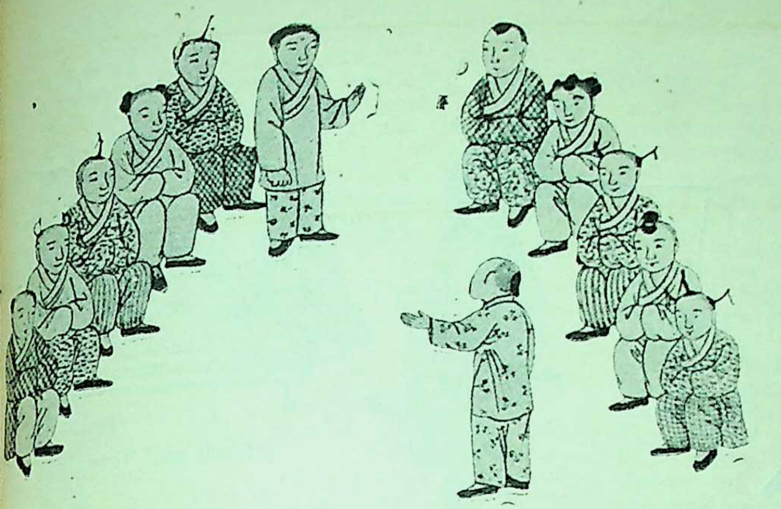
Clapping Hands



Cat Catching Rat



Hiding the Handkerchief



Guessing Game

ed. However, the play life of Chinese children is as rich as was the play life of Western children a century or two ago. Here I give a few of the most interesting games with illustrations.

1. *Ta-hua-pa-chang.* Hand Clapping. In this game the palms of the hands are always struck against each other cross-wise: that is, the left hand of the player, for example, striking the left hand of other player, and between the strikes each claps his (or her) hands together very rapidly so as not to lose the motion of "clap-and-strike, clap-and-strike." During the course of the game they sing a nursery rhyme of which the first couplet is as follows :—

"On the First Day of the First Moon, our Old Lady strolls amongst the flowered lanterns.
Lights a few sticks of incense and worships Buddha."

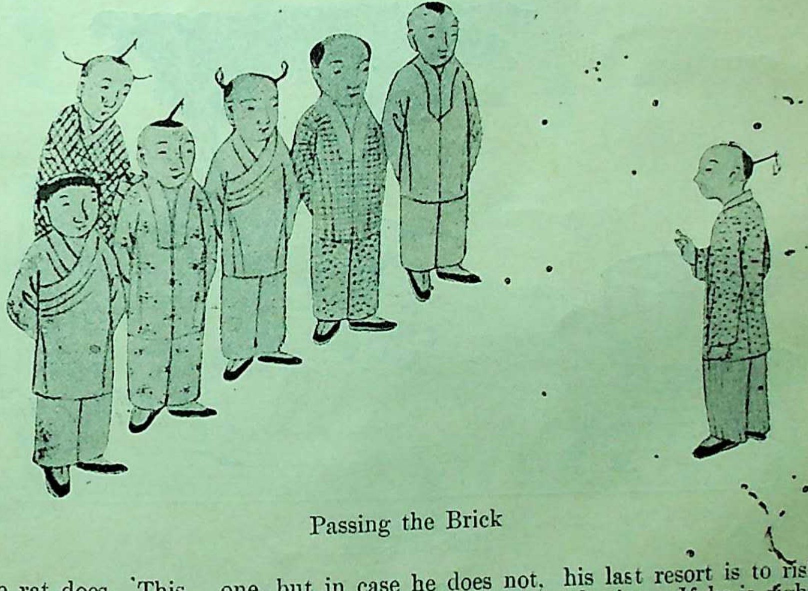
2. *Mao-na-hao-tzu.* The cat catching the rat. The children select one of their number to represent the cat and another to represent the rat. The remainder form a ring with the rat inside and the cat outside, when the following conversation takes place :

*Cat* : What o'clock is it ?
*Gang* : Nine o'clock.
*Cat* : Is my big brother at home ?
*Gang* : He is (*if he is ready*) : he is not (*if he is not ready*).
*Cat* : Isn't it time to eat ?

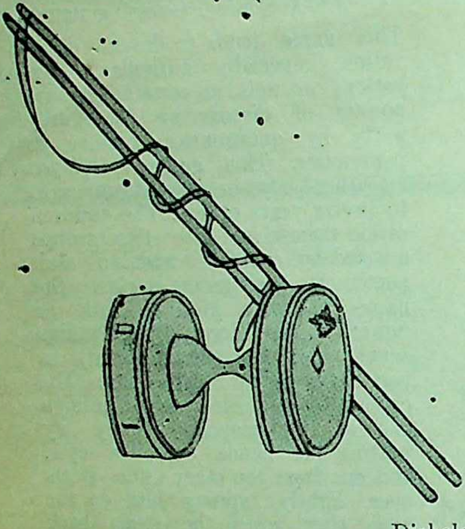
During this questioning the children revolve the ring five times, representing the five watches of the night. Then they stop, the rat being careful to keep at the opposite side of the ring from where the cat is. The cat jumps into the ring at this side, and the rat out at the other, the cat always having to go in and out of the same holes the rat does. This is continued until the rat is caught and "eaten". The eating causes great merriment.

3. *Tiu-shou-p'a.* Hiding the handkerchief. This game it is unnecessary to describe owing to its similarity to our own game.

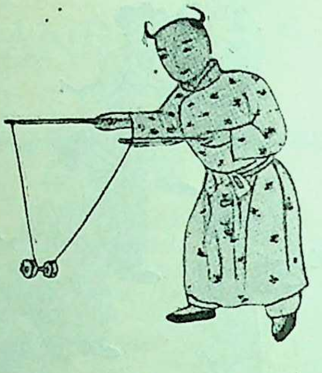
4. *Pao-hua-ming.* Guessing names. This game tends to develop observation, especially auricular observation, as well as certain detective powers of discovering the guilty party by questioning, gesture or pantomime. This game is played by either boys or girls from eight to twelve years of age. The children divide themselves into two groups selected by captains, and to each person in each group is given the name of some kind of fruit or flower. All except the captains squat down (sometimes stand) in two rows facing each other. The captain on one side then blindfolds one of the players, usually by putting his hands over his eyes, and one from the other side steals over, lightly tapping him on the head, after which he steals back and squats down as before. In case his playmates are uncertain as to whether his position is exactly the same as it was before, they all change more or less in order to keep the blindfolded one from guessing who it was who left his place in the ranks. The hands of the captain are then removed, and the boy walks over to the other side, examines carefully to see if perchance he can discover any trace of guilt on the face of any one of them, or if he can discover by change of position, discomfort in squatting or otherwise the guilty party. He "makes faces" to try and make him laugh. He gestures, grimaces, does everything he can think of, but the others on their part try to look blank and unconcerned, or perhaps all laugh together, allowing no tell-tale look to appear on ~~their faces or in~~ their eyes. Often his pantomimes will discover the guilty one, but in case he does not, his last resort is to risk a guess, and he makes his selection. If he is right, he takes the boy to his side ; if wrong, he stays on the other side. This side then blindfolds one of its number, and the whole is repeated until one side or the other loses all its men.

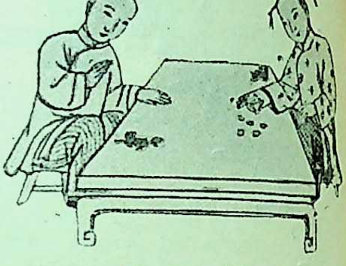


Passing the Brick



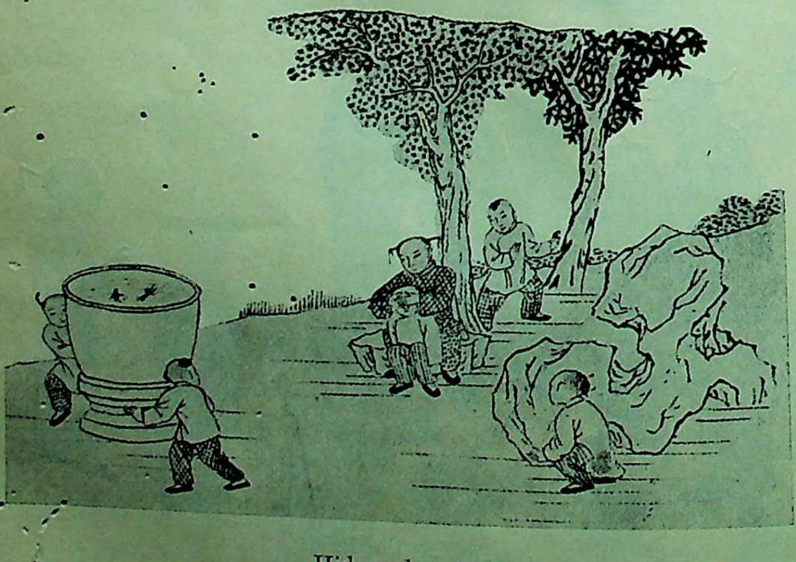
Diabolo





Pitch and Toss

5. *Ti-ti-chuan-erh.* Passing the brick. A number of children stand in a row facing each other with their hands held behind their backs. One of the players stand in front of them and one behind. The one behind holds in his hand a piece of brick or tile ; and, as he passes along the row, calls out, "Where is the brick, where is the brick ?" Then suddenly dropping the brick into the hands of one of the row says : "Here is a peach, here is an apricot." The one who now has the brick stands perfectly motionless so as not to show by any physical sign that he has it. The player who stands in front must now guess who holds the article ; and as he walks along the front of the row keeps singing out, "Where is the cock's head, where the hen's ?" Each time he stops he taps his knees with his fists. When he thinks he has spotted the one who holds the brick he sings out. "Come hither." If he makes a wrong guess he must continue until he discovers who holds the brick. When he succeeds in guessing right, the holder of the brick takes his place. This game, like No. 4, tends to develop observational powers.



Hide-and-seek

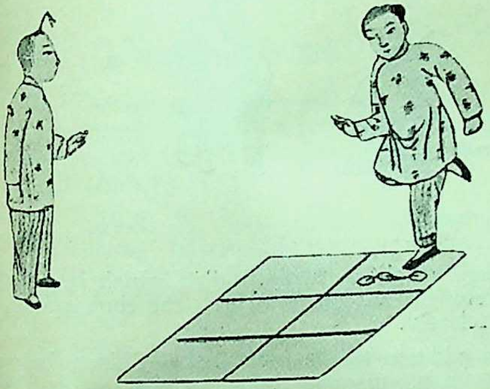
6. *Tou-k'ung-chu*, or *chung.* A form of diabolo usually played by one player, although several may play it together. The point of the game is to keep the top spinning on the cord, to throw it up into the air and catch it again on the cord. An expert can keep the top spinning for an hour or more making it curl round his head, neck, between his legs, much as they do in shuttle-cock. In former days there was a class of itinerant diabolo players who collected a few cash for each performance.

7. *T-iao-fang-chien.* Hopping from one room (space) to another. Six or more squares about a foot square are drawn with chalk on the floor, each square representing a *chien* (division) of a Chinese house. A piece of brick or tile, or a couple of cash laid on top of each other and tied with string called a *tzu-erh* is kicked by one player as he hops on one foot from one division to another. The point of the game is that neither the *tzu-erh* or foot must touch any of the lines or fall outside of them ; also, the player must keep hopping or stand on one foot during the game. If he drops the lifted foot he also loses. Should the first player decide to make his home (*chia*) in any *chien*, he may monopolize an entire *chien*, or he may leave a narrow space or path called *kuei-tao* (devil's road) running through his *chien*, in which case the second player coming up behind may kick or throw his *tzu-erh* through the devil's road and then hop through or over it ; or he can, if he wishes, establish his own chia in the division he is in. When all the *chien* have been occupied, the game is finished. The winner is the one who has succeeded in establishing the greatest number of *chia*.

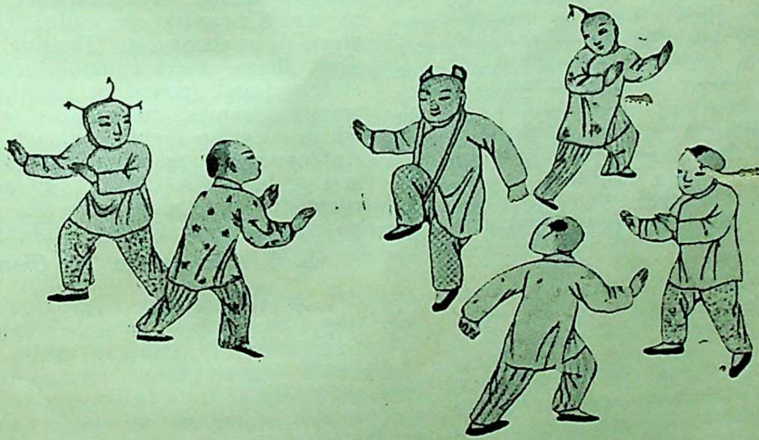
8. *Ts'ang-meng-ko.* Hide-and-seek. As will be noted in the illustration, one of the players stands inside a chalk ring with his (or her) eyes covered with the hands, the rest hiding behind various objects. If the one (seeker) in the ring either sees or catches one of the hiders, the latter takes his place in the

ring. But if all the hiders succeed in entering the ring without being caught or seen, the seeker has to continue until he succeeds in his quest.

9. *Pang-ch'ueh-t'ui.* Bandaging the lame leg. A strip of cloth made into the form of a loop into which one leg is passed and hung by the loop round the neck is rather a frolicsome game. To see the boy (or girl) hopping round in all directions trying to catch one of the players is great fun. If he succeeds in catching one of the players the latter takes his place, and is then blind-folded (the first player is not). His part is naturally more difficult as he has to hop round blindly. If he fails to catch any of the others, which is generally the case, they all rap him on the head until he has got his bandage off.



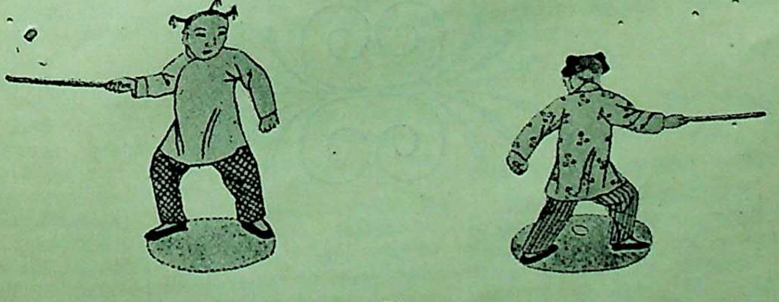
Skipping Rooms



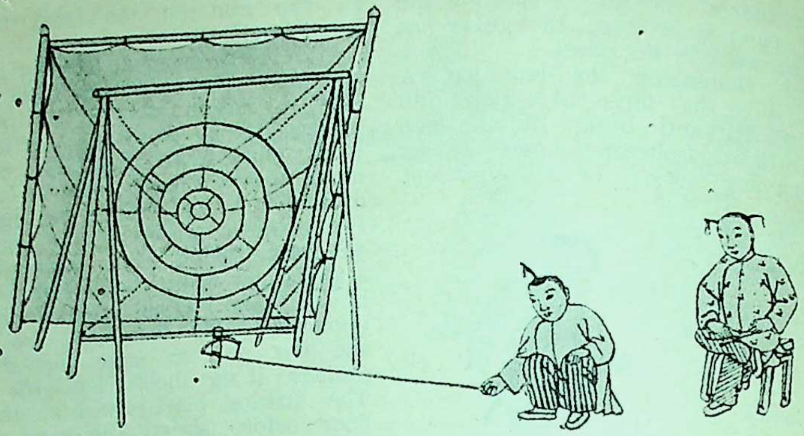
Lame Leg

10. *Ch'ua-tzu-erh.* Tossing the *tzu-erh.* This game is a great favourite with little girls, several of whom have a certain number of beans, coins, pebbles, broken pieces of pottery, or tiles, or similar objects. Each must have the same number of pieces; no more, no less. Each takes in her hands the number decided upon and holds her hands behind her back. One of them (generally the quickest) slips one hand out from behind, and the opponent inwardly makes a guess how many beans (or whatever it is) she has in her hand. If she thinks, for example, that her opponent holds four, she, too, opens her hand. If she has one or more than the other, she has first innings; if she holds less, she has second innings. The articles played with are then all thrown on the floor before them. These are picked up one by one, thrown up into the air and caught on the back of the hand and released, when another article is picked up and tossed, and so on until the game is finished. Failure to catch on the back of the hand loses. There are several variations of this game, much as in our game of pitch-and-toss, which it very much resembles.

11. *Ta-ka-erh.* Tipcat. This game is somewhat similar to ours. Played with a stick or bat and a piece of wood pointed at both ends. This, on being struck, flies into the air and is hit with the batting-stick. One boy (or girl) stands in the ring with both feet on the outer edge of the ring. One of the players puts the tipcat (called *ka-erh*) on any spot he chooses inside the ring, and the one standing in the ring is allowed three strikes to put it outside at a distance of, say, twenty feet. One of the players



Tipcat



Hitting the Snow-goose

now picks up the *ka-erh* and throws it back into the ring. If he fails, the one standing in the ring "tops" it with his bat, and as it flies in the air strikes it back, the other returning it with his hand as before. The point is that the *ka-erh* must be returned to the ring before the game is finished.

12. *Ta-ti-ku-tzu*. Hitting the snow-goose. As will be seen in the illustration, the snow-goose or target is nothing but a rude construction of five concentric bands or rings made of coarse wire representing the bull's eye, inner, magpie and outer, and suspended from an equally rude framework. At the back of the target is another frame with a piece of cloth attached to serve as a buffer for catching stray pellets. A small peg is driven into the ground close to the target, to which is attached a bow made of bamboo, the bent ends of which are connected by a strip of leather. To this is attached a fine rope or cord, the other end of which is rove through a hollow brass bullet, which is projected by the force of the recoil when the cord is drawn back and released.

In addition to the above, the Chinese have games with birds, insects, animals, even snails. Many of their games are similar to our own, but always played differently, and would not be known to us by their curious names. For example, a game corresponding to our Tit-tat-toe is called The Cow's Eye. Jack-straw's is known as Digging for Gold, and so on. They have kicking and bumping games, hopping, striking and pounding, hunting and catching, quick reaction games, numberless guessing games, games which develop skill, games illustrating various employments and games which develop the parental and protective instincts. This account is by no means complete, but may serve to give some idea of the games played by Chinese children.

(L. C. Arlington in *The China Journal*)

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS

## A Dialogue on Birth Control

*The Theosophist* publishes a dialogue from a skit of Bernard Shaw's which will show in what light men and women regard this question. It runs as follows:

Mrs. Farrell. If they could only see the seamy side to General Sandstone's uniform, where his flask rubs agen the buckle of his braces, they'd tell him he ought to get a new one. Let alone the way he swears at me.

Mitchener. When a man has risked his life on eight battlefields, Mrs. Farrell, he has given sufficient proof of his self-control to be excused a little strong language.

Mrs. Farrell. Would you put up with bad language from me because I've risked me life eight times in child-bed?

Mitchener. My dear Mrs. Farrell, you surely would not compare a risk of that harmless domestic kind to the fearful risks of the battlefield.

Mrs. Farrell. I wouldn't compare risks run to bear livin people into the world to risks run to blow dhem out of it. A mother's risk is jooty: a soldier's is nothin but divilmint.

Mitchener [nettled]. Let me tell you Mrs. Farrell, that if the men did not fight, the women would have to fight themselves. We spare you that at all events.

Mrs. Farrell. You can't help yourselves. If three-quarters of you was killed we could replace you with the help of the other quarter. If three-quarters of us was killed how many people would there be in England in another generation? If it wasn't for that, the men'd put the fightin on us just as they put all the other dhrudgery. What would you do if we was all kilt? Would you go to bed and have twins?

Mitchener. Really, Mrs. Farrell, you must discuss these questions with a medical man. You make me blush, positively.

Mrs. Farrell. [grumbling to herself]. A good job too. If I could have made Farrell blush, I wouldn't have had to risk me life so often. You n your risks n your bravery n your self-conthrol indeed! "Why dont you conthrol yourself?" I sez to Farrell. "It's agen me religion," he sez.

Mitchener [plaintively]. Mrs. Farrell: you're a woman of very powerful mind. I'm not qualified to argue these delicate matters with you. I ask you to spare me, and to be good enough to take these clothes to Mr. Balsquith when the ladies leave.

Though theosophists do not regard birth control as an unmixed evil still they place matrimony and parentage on a higher level. Here are the views of two masters of theosophy on the matter:

Know, O Brother mine, that where a truly spiritual love seeks to consolidate itself doubly by a pure permanent union of the two, in its earthly sense, it commits no sin, no crime in the eyes of the great Ain-Soph, for it is but the divine repetition of the Male and Female Principles—the microcosmal reflextion of the first condition of Creation. On such a union angels may well smile! But they are rare, Brother mine, and can only be created under the wise and loving supervision of the Lodge, in order that the sons and daughters of clay might not be utterly degenerated, and the Divine Love of the Inhabitants of Higher Spheres (Angels) towards the daughters of Adam be repeated. But even such must suffer, before they are rewarded. Man's *Atma* may remain pure and as highly spiritual while it is united with its material body; why should not two souls in two bodies remain as pure and uncontaminated notwithstanding the earthly passing union of the latter two.........

Woman's mission is to become the mother of future occultists—of those who will be born without sin. On the elevation of woman the world's redemption and salvation hinge. And not till woman bursts the bonds of her sexual slavery, to which she has ever been subjected, will the world obtain an inkling of what she really is and of her proper place in the economy of nature. Old India, the India of the Rishis, made the first sounding with her plummet line in the ocean of Truth, but the post Mahabharatan India, with all her profundity of learning, has neglected and forgotten it.

The light that will come to it and to the world at large, when the latter shall discover and really appreciate the truths that underlie this vast problem of sex, will be like "the light that never shone on sea or land," and has to come to men through the Theosophical Society. That light will lead on and up to the *true spiritual intuition.* Then the world will have a race of Buddhas and Christs, for the world will have discovered that individuals *have it in their own powers* to procreate Buddha-like children or—demons. When that knowledge comes, all dogmatic religions, and with these the demons, will die out.

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## Torturing Babies

The following note on experimenting with children also occurs in the same paper:

The worst possibility of animal vivisection is that it should lead to the skilled and needless torture of human beings for so-called scientific purposes. Even humanitarian medical men have foreseen it, and now it is upon us. And a brave entry these "behaviourists" make, commencing their crazy tortures on helpless babies! Dr. John B. Watson, formerly professor of psychology, and director of the psychological laboratory in John Hopkins University, reports:

"We were rather loth at first to conduct experiments in this field, but the need of study was so great that we finally decided to build up fear in an infant. We chose as our first subject, Albert B., an infant weighing 21 pounds at 11 months of age. He was a wonderfully good baby. In all the months we worked with him, we never saw him cry, until after our experiments were made!"

How did they make Albert cry? A white rat which he had played with for weeks was presented to Albert. He began to reach for the rat. Just as his hand touched the rat a steel bar was struck with a carpenter's hammer immediately behind his head. The infant jumped violently and fell forward, burying his face in the mattress. He did not cry, however. But at the second experiment he began to whimper, and finally he began to cry; at the end of five days he was frightened of everything he had played with. The experiments on Albert were stopped because he was adopted by an out-of-town family. Think of the twist in his nature which these inhuman scientists had started, the fear complexes which would dog his whole life!

Experiments were later made on children ranging in age from 3 months to 7 years. Snakes are used in these horrible torments of children. "Just as I show the snake," says Watson, "I can make a terrible noise, and cause the child to fall down and cry out completely terror-stricken. Soon the mere sight of a snake will have the same effect."

The process of conditioning the child by a sort of fire ordeal is then described, the child's fingers being heated in a candle flame to produce a negative response, the whole purpose being to prove that the burned child dreads the fire! But who other than a devil would experiment on a new-born babe? Fear reaction, we are told, "can best be observed in new-borns just when they are falling asleep. If dropped then, the response usually occurs."

Over against this travesty of the healing art, there is happily an increasing number of doctors opposed to vivisection and the useless cruelties of physiologists and psychologists. "Experiments have never been the means of discovery," says Sir Charles Bell; his own discoveries have been made by legitimate means —thought, insight and intellectual grasp. Ellis Barker emphasizes the immense superiority of clinical experience.

James Douglas, a well-known London author, writing in the *Sunday Express* says: "I will issue a challenge to these torturers of children. Instead of their torturing babies, let them allow us to torture them. I would undertake to cure Watson in a week, if I had him at my mercy with a hammer and a steel bar. I would undertake to make him jump farther than any helpless baby. I could condition his reflexes so violently that he would begin to reflect. And I would guarantee that my laboratory notes would be more interesting than his piffle."

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## Utility of Forests

Preservation of forests constitutes one of the duties of the State. The *Sunderbans* of Southern Bengal have been ruthlessly destroyed to the great disadvantage of the people. So, it is high time that we should take note of the following extracts on the utility of forests appearing in *Scientific Indian*:

Forests are a national asset and civilization is in urgent need of them. To agricultural countries like India, their importance cannot be exaggerated. They check the consumption of stable manure as fuel which can be used for enriching the soil. They supply timber, valuable grazing fields, especially when the monsoons fail; fibres for ropes; grass for thatching; bamboo and a score of other requirements. They have a direct effect on the fertility of the soil on which they grow, on the maintenance of water supply, and on the climate.

But the importance and necessity of forests is deeper and greater than the mere utilization of their products. They prevent good soil from being washed away into rivers and carried into the sea. They check erosion and denudation resulting in landslips, tremendous floods, silting and destruction of fertile valley land. The thoughtless destruction of forests obliterated mighty empires like Babylon, and whole populations as in China, where it rendered millions of people homeless and destitute. The burning plains of the Gangetic valley are in a great measure the result of the removal of its "dark and gloomy forests" referred to in the 'Mahabharata,' and later in the records of the Chinese pilgrim in 600 B. C. who travelled through "leagues and leagues of dismal forests" in the now almost treeless districts of Bihar.

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## Congress and British Policy

Mr. J. H. Cassels, M. A. dwells at length on British policy with regard to Indian aspirations represented by the Indian National Congress, in an article published in *The Mysore Economic Journal.* He says:

That the British policy—I call it *British* because, it is now professed to be that of all the three great Parties in England—towards the Congress is ill-conceived and cannot succeed can be made plain in a few words. The Congress has had a career extending over forty-five years. Its history is the history of India during the past half a century. It has struggled hard to realize an ideal, an ideal which cannot be held —and it has not been so far held—to be either wrong or unconstitutional. In fact, that ideal has been applauded and even held up to admiration by unbiassed and practical, hard-headed Englishmen. Indians of all classes—Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, not to mention others—have worked for it. Thousands have paid and prayed for its success and thousands are to-day suffering in its name. Its great merit has been to unify Indians, as a race, as a nation and as a political entity. That it has succeeded beyond measure has been openly acknowledged in the highest quarters. It has wrung admiration from its opponents, who have had to agree that it represents the best organized political party in India. It is, of course, something very much more; it is the Indian Nation. It is the only voice heard to-day in India; it is, in any case, the only organization whose co-operation is sought by the powers-that-be. How has this all come about? The Congress came into being at a time when the Indians were beginning to shed off their insularity. Contact with the outside world had made them realize the benefits of unity. Education, travel and the example of successful foreign nations made them evolve new ideals. The result has been a general desire to shake off lethargy; to aim at union; and to realize nationality. The Congress cannot therefore be ignored; nor can it be set at naught. Like pre-Constantine Christianity which divided the

Roman world into Pagans and Christians, the Congress has divided the country into Indians and Foreigners. The Christians of that age looked to a non-Roman unity, because, Rome was against them; they decided on a common action independent of Rome; they looked on themselves as Christians first and Roman subjects afterwards; and when required to accept this secondary allegiance they ceased to feel themselves Roman subjects at all. When this was the case, it seems idle to look about for reasons why Rome should proscribe the Christians. If it was true to itself, it must compel obedience; and to do so meant death to all firm Christians. History is repeating itself to-day in India. Indians unable to secure Britain's good-will in their struggle for attaining their ideal of nationhood, after half a century of genuine, selfless work, feel that they should look for unity independent of Britain. That is, to be sure, the meaning of the recent history of the Congress, if it has any meaning at all. Congressmen look on themselves as *Indians* first and British subjects afterwards. And when they are required to accept this secondary allegiance, they cease to feel themselves British subjects at all. All this may be and is truly deplorable but that is the reading of the present position in the light of history. If this be so, it is meaningless to look about for reasons why Britain should proscribe Congress activities and compel obedience to itself. Doing this has meant filling the jails with Congress prisoners.

If history is any guide in the matter, there can only be one end to this struggle. With Constantine, Christianity ceased to divide; it may be said with justice that it rather became a bond of union. With the recognition of the Congress and its ideal of full nationhood, a change would come over India which would disillusion the croakers and the conservatives. The Congress was attacked because it introduced disunion and division, in one sense; it would stand blessed, when it helped to bind India to Britain in indissoluble ties of political amity and good-will. What that would mean in the economic field, there is no need to mention.

Those who are accustomed to probe matters or take long views of men and things will see that many things have combined to produce the Congress creed and mentality. The peace the country has enjoyed, the active trade in which its inhabitants have engaged, the community of feeling caused by the possession of like interests and like privileges, the diffusion of Western ideals throughout the country both by education and the free passage of Europeans throughout the country, the facility with which Indians have travelled beyond the seas to almost every part of the world, the use of a common tongue, the one administration to which the country, despite the States, have rendered common allegiance, and the common suffering they are to-day undergoing in the pursuit of their ideal—all these have tended and are tending to make India a single brilliant whole. Even those on the Frontier have been visibly affected by the Congress ideal. The upheaval in the N.-W. F. Province has no other meaning to the discerning student of politics. The light has spread there. The hills and dales have not proved an impassable line; the black night of barbarism has been dispelled by the light of Indian idealism. On every side this light has radiated far beyond the Frontier, as Afghanisthan well testifies to. In this way—and trade, travel and the fear of being swamped by foreign nations—have tended to Indianize the Frontier, whose primitive people are making allegiance to the Congress their first *sine qua non*. The Congress ideal has won its battle both in and out of India. That is the meaning of the position as we find it to-day.

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### On Free Will

In *The Aryan Path* Prof. C. E. M. Joad examines the position assigned to will by modern psychology in the light of Plato and Schopenhauer who were greatly influenced by eastern wisdom. We quote him in part:

> One of the best treatments of the subject of Free Will with which I am acquainted is that of St. Thomas Aquinas. The great difficulty in the conception of freedom is that choice is never without a motive, the motive, let us say, to have A rather than B, and the motive may, and often is said to determine the choice. How, then, can the choice be free? The essence of St. Thomas's account is that while I am deliberating between A and B, making a comparison of their respective "goodnesses" on which my act of choice will depend, there is a definite stage of indecision, a period in which I am "indetermined to either alternative." When the comparison is finished and the estimate 'A is better than B,' is made, the period of indetermination is over; my will is now *determined*, determined, that is, to take A and leave B, and what it is determined by is my own judgment of their relative worths. Now in making this judgment it is admitted that I shall be influenced by all the factors upon which modern psychology lays stress, by the violence of present desires, the persistence of prejudice, the effects of past habits, the drive of unconscious impulses and, as Plato insists, the bias arising from the sum total of my choices in the past; nor is it contended that it is easy to eliminate the influence of all these factors. But what is necessary as a minimum condition of freedom of choice are the admissions first, that the elimination is sometimes achieved, that we do sometimes make an *impartial* comparative judgment of the relative worths of two goods of which we cannot have both; and choose in accordance with our judgment; and second, that what is achieved sometimes can in theory be achieved always.
>
> Can the admissions be made? I think that they can, but only if we are prepared to accept a metaphysical hypothesis such as that of Schopenhauer, which asserts that the Will, or, as I should prefer to call it, Life is an active spontaneous dynamic principle; to say in fact, that it is really creative in the sense that it can bring something out of nothing. For it is precisely this that Plato's contention that, although biassed by past choices we can nevertheless make new ones which are not determined, Schopenhauer's view that, although we are normally corks bobbing on the waves of impulse and desire which are the Will, we can turn the Will against itself, and the affirmation of Hindu philosophy that, although we are influenced by the force of past Karma, we can ourselves mould that force, can in fact make our own Karma imply. In other words, the doctrine of free will implies a metaphysical view of reality as itself freedom with the corollary that that freedom is objectified in our own wills. To reason about the matter is to be convinced by the cogency of the arguments that make for determinism. It is only to a faculty of intuitive apprehension, to our consciousness of the

fundamental character of our own experience in choosing, that the fact of freedom is revealed.

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### Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia

*Man in India*, devoted to ethnology and anthropology, publishes, from time to time, papers on the cultural relations between the races of India as well as those of other climes. Dr. Panchanan Mitra is contributing a series of articles to *Man in India*, dwelling on this aspect of our studies. In his "Cultural Affinities between India and Polynesia," the learned doctor traces the relations of the races of India with those of Polynesia with regard to dress since Vedic times. From this we make the following quotation :

*Dress* :—The use of bark cloth is continuous from Assam to the Pacific, its sacredness and antiquity being recognized and leading to the use by hermits of *valkala*. The Alekh sect in Orissa even recently used the bark of Kumbhi tree. The method of extracting the fibre from certain plants, *wauke*, *mamake*, *maaloa* and *poulu* is mentioned by Malo thus: "It was man's work to cut down the branches after which the women peeled off the bark and having removed the cortex put the inner bark to soak until it had become soft" (p. 73). The oily juice of the fully ripe cocoanut meat with turmeric and juice of a fragrant mountain vine were used to impart an agreeable odour to the tapa loin cloth or malo of an alii. The commentator of *Katyana Srauta Sutra* (XV, 5, 7 *et seq*) and *Satapatha Brahman* (V. 3, 5, 20) suggest that it was thrice soaked (in ghee ?) and made of linen or a flax-like substance. The extraction of Rhea fibre barks in Upper Assam is almost the same separating the bark and soaking in water afterwards.

The waist to knee skirt is the common dress for women in Hawaii and present in Samoa for men and present in Tahiti, Austral and Rapa for men and women. This style of drsss would be continuous from East India to the Pacific as is evident from the bas-reliefs in Bharhut and Sanchi and the modern dress in Southern India and Chota Nagpur and Assam and Burma and reminds us of the kilt in the Highlands. The Hawaiian name is *Malo*; and *malla* and *kaccha* are familiar in Bengal and known in old Pali literature. The superfluous cloth in the front evidently is a style which could have come only from cotton area and weaving of longer cloths while bark or fibre cloth would require just sufficient wrap round the waist tied with a belt which as in Chota Nagpur or Assam area is always more useful as carrying all the weapons and ornaments. The shawl or overdress was of feather in Hawaii and of pseudo-woven fabric in New Zealand from their flax was of *tapa* in Rapa and of matting in Taumotus. This is different from Tiputo. This upper garment again is familiar in Eastern India. *Barasi* is found in the *Kathaka Samhita* (XV. 4) and the *Panchavimsa Brahmana* (XVIII 9, 16) a garment which the commentator of the latter place explains as made of bark. In the *Rigveda* (X. 136, 2) *Mala* used of the garments of the Munis is explained as leathern garments or merely soiled garments by Ludwing and Zimmer but from the survival of the word *Malla* or *mala* in Bengali we may think from the light from Polynesia to mean a knee-skirt and Malaga not a washerman but a maker of such garments. The turban of Indian style though in white *tapa* is known from Samoa and sandals made of *hibiscus* fibre or cane or *ti* leaf though not of boar skin as the Vedic *Upanah* grass sandals being still known from various parts of India. There is a style of garment called *Poncho*, a sleeveless upper garment widely spread in Oceania and America. In its simplest form it is a rectangular piece doubled with hole, the sides being sometimes sewn. It is absent in Australia. In Melanesia it is present in New Guinea, Solomons and Baining Islands. In Polynesia, in Samoa and Tahiti it is made of *tapa*, in Cook Islands it was restricted to clans though made of *tapa*, in Society Islands it was used for war. In Micronesia, a mat slit was used in Gilbert and Carolines. In Indonesia it is found in the Phillippines, Celebes and Borneo, generally made of two pieces of cotton sewed side by side. In the New World it was widespread and more perfected and probably spread in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is said by Kerr to be absent in Asia but it has been found in the Assam area worn by women for dancing and ceremonial. The women of Hawaii formerly used banana leaf in the same fashion.

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### Personality in Buddhism

Ven. P. Vajiranana Thera, London, contributes an article under the above title to *The Mahabodhi Society*. He says in part:

In Buddhist psychology there are fifty-two *cetasikas*, mental properties, which modern psychologists term dispositions, and consider as unconsious factors, *Cetasikas* in Buddhism are identical with the conscious mind in all respects, and they rise and cease with consciousness, sharing its object and base. These are as follows: seven *cetasikas* or mental properties called '*sabba-citta-sadharana*', which are common to all spheres of consciousness and shared by every faculty and act of consciousness:—contact, feeling, perception, individuality, or oneness of object, psychic life and attention. Six are termed *Pakinnaka*, particular dispositons :—desultory application, sustained application, the resolve to effort, pleasurable interest, conation or the desire to act.

Fourteen dispositions are placed in the category of immorality :—dullness, impudence, disregard of consequences, distraction or volatility, erroneous conceptions, conceit, hate, envy, egotism, worry, sloth, torpor, and perplexity.

In the moral category there are twenty-five properties ; faith, mindfulness, prudence, discretion, disinterestedness, amity, mental balance, composure in relation to the mental properties, composure of the mind itself, the buoyancy of the properties of the mind, the buoyancy of the mind, the pliant condition of the mental properties, the pliant condition of the mind, the capacity for functioning of the mental properties, the capacity for functioning of the mind, the proficiency of the mental properties, the proficiency of the mind, the rectitude of the mind, right speech, right action, right living, pity and appreciation.

These fifty-two mental states or mentations run right through the mental processes, connected with the senses, and with the variations of stimuli; and they become more or less evident according to the nature of the sense object. In the course of the gradual development of consciousness they disappear with reference to their functions.

In the analysis of personality these fity-two psychic phenomena [illegible] divided into three groups—*Vedana*, anna, and Sankhara. The Vedana group contains ly 'feeling of sensation,' and the Sanna group perception of senses.' The remaining fifty form the group of Sankhara. The consciousness which owns these three groups, is taken as a separate group.

Consciousness, feeling, perception and Sankhara, or formative activities of mind, have their relations to the physical body which contains the organs of the six senses, including the brain and nervous system as their centre.

Our personality is based on these five aggregational groups—the physical body, sensation, perception, mental activities and consciousness; and it is constantly changing as these five groups change in their processes towards progression or retrogression.

Hence personality is not a static identity of an individual being, but a distinctive character of psycho-physiology of beings, which in Buddhism is called Dhamma-dhatu in its widest sense. To develop personality or character it is essential to study the mind and the mental processes as explained by the Buddha.

In His words, "All principles of things have their origin in mind; when mind is exactly known, all principles are known. Moreover by mental corruption beings are corrupted; by mental purity beings are purified."

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## Is the Unification of Hindu and Muslim Cultures possible?

In these days when separatist tendencies among the different religious groups of India are rampant, it is not untimely to turn over the pages of history and see whether attempts at cohesion were ever made, and if made, how far they were successful. Professor Tej Singh, M. A. has contributed a thoughtful article to *Prabuddha Bharata* on this subject and cites the example of Emperor Akbar. The Emperor's endeavours to bring about a cohesion between the Hindu and Muslim cultures, though not new to the student of history, deserve our attention most today. The Professor very ably describes in the following:

> This work consisted of bringing about a *rapprochement* between the different cultures prevailing in the country, which were the root cause of differences. People grow stiff when we try to impose our religious views on them, but they behave more passively when we approach them through the beauties of art and the refinement of thought or language. "The Mohammadan rulers," says Havell, "found in the practice of the arts and in the unprejudiced pursuit of learning for its own sake the best means of reconciling racial and religious differences." Akbar made the Muslims study the Hindu books and brought the Muslim books within the reach of the Hindus. There grew up a tendency among the people to fit in Persian and Arabic words into the framework of old Hindi or Brij-Bhasha. The result was Urdu as the common language of Northern India. It was not suddenly sprung on our people in the reign of Shah-Jehan. It gradually grew by the assimilation of the languages spoken by the Hindus and the Muslims, and the evidences of its earlier formation are met with in Chand's *Rai Rasun* (1193), Amir Khusro (1325), Kabir (1440-1518), Guru Nanak (1469-1538), Tulsi Das (1623), etc. It combined in it the literary genius of Brij-Bhasha, in which the imagination works descriptively, with that of Persian and Arabic in which imagination is reflective. In the former, as Azad has shown in his *Ab-i-Hayat*, the method of the writer is to impress the reader with the richness of realistic detail, while in the latter simile after simile and metaphor after metaphor are heaped upon the kernel of fact, which is often very small in comparison with the dome of reflection built on it. One is essentially sculptural in design and execution, while the other is picturesque, verse upon verse of exquisite diction being strung together without any central unity, in a truly mosaic fashion. Urdu combined the virtues of both and would have taken up the position of the *lingua franca* of all India, had not the anti-Akbar policy of Muslim kings drawn it back again to Persian influences of the Ghazal and Kasida. Yet the Masnawis of Muhammad Taqi Mir and the writings of Azad, Hali and Nazir show that Urdu or Hindustani stands a fair chance of developing as the national language of India. It had the best chance in those days when the different vernaculars prevailing in India were much nearer each other than they are now. The existence of English as the common language of the educated India, having no affinity with the vernaculars, has so isolated them that they have developed indigenous features, making them quite alien to each other. Namdev's Mahrathi, Guru Nanak's Punjabi and Kabir's Hindi, as found in the Granth Sahib, are so like each other that anybody knowing only one of them can easily understand the others. But that is not the case with the same vernaculars now. Patel is linguistically more distant to me, a Punjabi, than Namdev, and Tagore more distant than a Bengali writer of centuries ago.

## The Kathakali of Malabar

Mr. N. K. Venkateswar contributes an interesting paper on Kathakali of Malabar to *Triveni*. The *Kathakali* is an indigenous art of Malabar, and we make no apology for making the following excerpts from the article, as it will make us acquainted with the nature of this art:

> The *Kathakali* is the hoary, purely indigenous, pantomimic dramatic art of Malabar, and makes an unforgettable impression on the mind with its original and extraordinary technique. The *Kathakali* is a compound art and its predominant dramatic character is vividly reinforced with Dance, Music, Poetry and Painting.
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> The stories enacted in the pantomimic play are mostly the legends and *Puranas* common to the whole of India, and the drama was evidently born in a pious desire to glorify the gods and divine heroes. The life-events of Rama and Krishna formed the earliest dramatisations, and the *Kathakali* literature which has ceased to grow only in recent times gradually included the whole gamut of the major Hindu myths. Most of the plays are moral in texture and on the *Kathakali* stage the one running theme is war, war between good and evil, between gods and demons, between the great universal moralities and the great universal temptations.
>
> The literature of the plays consists of vernacular songs and Sanskrit verses succinctly outlining the subject-matter selected for enactment. The *Kathakali*

orchestra is chiefly made of singers, drummers and cymbal-strikers, who stand immediately behind the actors. The singers render the songs and verses and the actors enact their contents by means of gestures and poses, by intricate language of eyes and delicate concatenation of face expressions. The song and verse that briefly narrate the story played are not meant for the audience but only for the actors who carefully translate them into the language of pictorial gesture. The alphabet of the hand-poses contains sixty-four signs which, with their numerous combinations, cover a wide extent of communication. The alphabet of eye and face is chiefly employed for the expression of the emotions. In the *Kathakali*, the face is literally the loud and eloquent index of the heart and mind. Courage, wonder, fear, pity, tenderness, anger, love and almost all other emotional qualities of the mind have each its visible signature, lightly and cunningly displayed in some part or other of the living canvas of the face. How astonishingly well does the gifted actor project his feelings! The eyeballs unroll evanescent miracles. The dark eyebrows utter the hidden secrets of the heart. Contending feelings speak with a brace of tongues in each eye and even the same eye delivers opposite moods at the same time. The face becomes the open drama in which the story is drawn in successive shades and touches of lineament. And then there is the dance. The great and gifted actor dances to the measure of the melodies that surge within himself in his total absorption with the character he represents, and the tide ebbs and swells while the drums, cymbals and songs allure his efforts with tender loyalty. In fact, in his best form he is more a dance than anything else; the poses, gestures, indications and movements are all blended together into one supreme rhythmic picture that tells a story and shows a cosmic glimpse at the same time. There are many and various kinds of dances in Malabar, and each represents a vision or a dream. In the *Kathakali* the dance rises to beautiful versatility and comprehends the music and meaning of different things. It is psychological, rhetorical and allegorical, and its rhythmic excellence has not perhaps been exceeded by any other kind of dance in India. The gamut of movement often rises from gentle lingering notes or tranquillity to sound and speed like a sudden burst of thunder and lightning on a calm sky spangled with slumbering stars, and often the evolution is almost instantaneous so that the extremes are blended in one wild sweep of art. The singer pours out his verses in unflagging stream. Drums and cymbals beat to the measure of dance and symbol. The blazing brass-lamp fed by a congregation of wicks, and radiating fantastic arms of shadow and light, enhances the heightening allegory. The story goes forward and thickens and the audience seated on mats and under the open sky is all agape.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in the *Kathakali* is the elaborate, exquisite or extravagant facial make-up of the *dramatis personæ*. In some characters, the painted face with its fluttering border-lines and fences nearly approaches a work of art. The facial make-up with head-gear and body-garments covers a large variety. The idea underlying the making-up of the characters is to portray them as fully as possible in accordance with their natures. In the *Kathakali* one may never "smile and smile and yet be a villain." Here is a candid world in which the sheep and goats proclaim themselves.

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### Muslim Culture and the Bengali Language

Among the Muslims, as among other religious groups, there are people who differ on many a vital point affecting the body-politic. Mr. S. Wajid Ali, Bar-at-Law, too, propagates certain views in his paper on "Muslim Culture and Bengal Muslims' appearing in *The Muslim Revival* which will provoke even the brothers of his faith to criticism and discussion. No thoughtful person will, however, take exception to his views in favour of the culture of Bengali by his co-religionists of Bengal. Because it is through the cultivation of Bengali alone that the Muslim culture and all that it connotes can be preserved and fostered. He says:

Over fifty millions of people live in Bengal, of whom more than twenty-six millions are Muslims. There are more Muslims in Bengal than in Turkey, Arabia and Persia, all put together. The language of this vast population is Bengali. That is the language they speak, that is the language they read and that is the language they understand. If they are to be acquainted with Islamic culture, it must be done through the medium of this language. There is no other means, possible or available. And yet we are so foolishly arrogant, so much eaten up with snobbery and vanity that we think it beneath our dignity to cultivate this language, or even, to speak in it. Those of us who have money enough to rent a house in Calcutta, or, are by some trick of fate, brought here by the exigencies of service, at once, without the least shame or compunction, give up our mother-tongue Bengali, and take to talking in Urdu, hoping, by that simple device, to take an honoured place among the aristocrats of the Muslim world. This contemptible vanity is proving fatal to our race collectively, and to ourselves individually. The race is losing the services of its educated men; and the lives of individuals are wasting away in inanity, shorn of the only possible, and adequate means, they can have of self-expression. Men do not become aristocrats by borrowing the garments of the great. There is only one road to name and fame, and that is the road of solid achievement in the service of your people. If you have an ancient lineage, well and good; if not, little does it matter. Establish your own line, be the founder of a new aristocratic tradition!

Let me strike a note of serious warning. If we do not take to the study of the Bengali language, and do not give it the place of honour in our lives to which it is legitimately entitled, and use it as the vehicle for the expression of our thoughts, our aspirations, and our culture, Muslim culture is doomed in Bengal, and, with it, the Muslim race is also doomed. Separate electorates and reserved appointments will not avert the catastrophe.

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Eight Years After Lenin's Death

Lenin died in 1924. The eighth anniversary of his death furnishes an occasion to *Nashi Dostichenia* ("Our Achievements"), a Russian paper edited by Maxim Gorky, to survey the achievements of the years that have passed by since the death of the great revolutionary leader. This record, the editor says, shows steady progress in the path chalked out by Lenin, so that "the workers, the members of the collective farms, the intelligentsia of the Soviet Union can now say to the world:"

"Look at the map of the USSR. The immense territory of the former "prison of peoples"—the Russian Empire—glows with the lights of new industrial constructions. North of Vologda, in Khibin, under the shroud of Polar night, appatites are drawn from the bowels of the earth to enrich the soil of the collective farms. East of Moscow, near Nizhni-Novgorod, rise the buildings of the gigantic new motor-works, and farther to the east, on the ridges of the Urals, the first blast furnaces of Magnitogorsk shine out like beacons of the new metallurgic base of the country. South of Saratov, at the Stalingrad works, 140 tractors leave the conveyer daily, 140 tractors, which, together with the products of the Rostov, Kharkov and Putilov works, help to mechanize the country that was formerly known as "straw Russia."

South of Orenburg and Omsk rises the new industrial Kazakstan—yesterday a backward country of nomads, today the builder of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, of Karaganda, and other bases of socialist construction. Over 1,000 machine-and-tractor stations, hundreds of mechanized state farms new industrial centres, electrification, radio, and aviation—these are the means by which the wilderness that was Russia has been fought and destroyed. This is our new country."

In 1932, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, the toiling masses of the USSR have full right to be proud of their country. They may also add, that this country is the only one in the world which ignores unemployment; that following the instructions of Lenin, illiteracy will soon be completely eliminated here; that the importance of the cultural workers is ever on the increase in the USSR. Lenin said that in the Land of Soviets the teachers must be raised to a height, that they could never attain in any other country. His words have come true.

These are the achievements, with which we are entering on the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan. But the first Five-Year Plan is only the first stage in the carrying out of the great historical task set by Lenin: to overtake and to outstrip those capitalist countries, that were more advanced technically and economically. Lenin foresaw that socialist construction would, even in its first stage, increase tremendously the rate of our development. The USSR has said in the words of Stalin: "From 50 to 100 years divide us from the more advanced countries: we have to cover this distance in 10 years."

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## Educational Progress in the Soviet Union

The most concrete proof of the claims made by the Soviet workers regarding the progress made by them is perhaps to be found in the field of education. On the eve of the fifth year of the Five-Year Plan, D. Sulimov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, presented a report on the cultural construction of the R. S. F. S. R. before the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The following extracts from it, taken from *The Soviet Culture Review*, give an account of the educational progress in Soviet Russia:

> In this sphere the programme marked out by the Five-Year Plan has been exceeded long since. In 1929, 1,500,000 received instruction, in 1930—5,500,000 and in 1931—10,500,000. 1931 was, in fact, the decisive year in the campaign against illiteracy. In 1932 the controlling figures foresee the wiping-out of illiteracy among 3,800,000 people. These are the last illiterates in the RSFSR.
>
> A new task has arisen in this connection: the raising of the standard of literacy. In 1932 the number of those trying to improve their scanty education will increase 1½ times, from 6,700,000 in 1931 to 10,300,000 in 1932.
>
> Another victory in the educational field is the introduction of general compulsory elementary education. In 1931 all children from 8 to 11 years of age were admitted into schools.
>
> In 1931 the economic growth of the country allowed of the realization of the most important part of the communist education of the young—the introduction of the polytechnic system in schools.
>
> The introduction of seven-year courses of compulsory education in 1932 marks a significant step towards the raising of the standard of education in this country. 2,969,000 pupils, as compared with 1,879,000 last year, will be admitted to the new schools.
>
> It should be noted that the compulsory seven-year course has already in 1931 been introduced in a number of towns and industrial districts.
>
> In 1931 the number of pupils in the schools of factory and works apprenticeship was 152,000; in 1932 it will rise to 293,000. In 1931, there were 76,000 students in the workers' universities and in 1932 there will be 155,000. 323,000 students were admitted to the technical schools in 1931, and in 1932—473,000 will be admitted. These figures refer only to the schools which are directly under the authority of the RSFSR. If we take all the other

technical. schools in the RSFSR, including those established by the government of the USSR, the number of students rises to 491,000. In 1932, 70,0000, will be admitted. There were 83,000 students in the colleges of the RSFSR in 1931 and in 1932 there will be 136,000. If again we take all the colleges situated on the territory of the RSFSR (including the central colleges of the Soviet Union) the number of students in 1931 was 246,000 and in 1932 it is expected to increase to 365,000. The number of university students in the Soviet Union in 1932 will be 365,000 or 32 to every 10,000 of the population. This means that the Soviet Union will be ahead of Germany, which has 14 to every 10,000, England which has 18 to every 10,000 and France with 8, 6 to every 10,000.

About 75 p. c. of the students in the Soviet colleges in 1932 will consist of workers and peasants. All the students are supported by the state. Hundreds of millions of roubles are expended on this annually.

The expenditure on education will be increased enormously in 1932. In the RSFSR alone this will be 2.5 billions of roubles.

The increase in the scale of teachers' salaries for 1932 varies from 25 p. c. to 30 p. c.

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## Foreign Interests in China

Foreign vested interests in China, which are mostly commercial, are the most serious obstacle in the way of her attaining full sovereignty and the source of all her troubles in the field of foreign politics. A Japanese writer gives an estimate of the extent of these financial interests in course of an article entitled "Commercial War in China," published in *The Japan Magazine* :

> In China, Japan and America are vying severely for superiority in the commercial world, while England seems to have lost somewhat the brunt of her commercial attack.
>
> An American authority on China estimates foreign capital invested in China at $1,250,000,000 for Japan at $1,250,000,000 for England, at between $200,000,000 and $400,000,000 for Russia, with $250,000,000 for America. English capital is same in amount as Japanese capital ; yet it is only one-fourteenth of the total English capital invested in foreign countries, $17,000,000,000. The money is invested in Central China, South China and the Yangtse region with Shanghai and Hongkong as centres, and comprises chiefly $165,000,000 in Chinese Government Bonds, $400,000,000 in immovables, $95,000,000 in railway investments and $10,000,000 in mining investments. American capital is only one-fifth of the Japanese and English capital, owing to fact that America was much behind the two other countries in entering the Orient. Still her characteristic dollar policy was firmly established in China, while the world war diverted the attention of Europeans from the country. She won the goodwill of China by religious and charitable work, and by it some rights and interests, including financial railway and communications advisorship. American capital invested in China for the past three years is put at $125,000,000 ; of which and $70,000,000 is said to represent religious and charitable work.
>
> Russia retains the Chinese Eastern Railway simply as a survival of monarchical days. Germany and France are less energetic than in bygone days, while America in company with England is watching fo a chance to encroach upon Japan's markets and commercial rights. Japanese capital in China is too important to be compared with the English and American investments ; and $1,250,000,000 of it, or $2,500,000,000 converted at par, represents nearly the whole amount of Japanese capital invested in foreign lands. Of this amount 75 per cent is in the South Manchurian Railway, and hundreds of millions of yen are sunk in spinning and marine transport business in Shanghai and vicinity. The number of Japanese residents in China surpass by far the English, Russians and Americans. The population of Shanghai is 2,500,000, of whom 25,000 are Japanese ; English and Russians are each 8,000 and the Americans 4,000.

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## Making Milk Safe

A recent article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, the official organ of the association which includes the majority of the physicians in the United States and Canada, has definitely pronounced in favour of the pasteurization of milk to render it safe for human consumption. A writer sets forth in *The Scientific American* the advantages of submitting milk to this process:

> Health authorities today are convinced that raw milk is no longer a safe food, and they say so resoundingly throughout the length and breadth of America. In written and spoken word their message comes like a clarion call to 20th century America. Henceforth he who consumes unpasteurized milk is courting sickness, possibly death. Dairymen may take every possible precaution in the way of cleanliness of cows, stables, equipment, and employees, but this is not enough. To insure absolute safety, so our health men declare with remarkable unanimity, milk must undergo pasteurization before entering the human body.
>
> Many a householder, heeding this advice and learning that 10 per cent of all deaths caused by tuberculosis in children under five years is due to bovine infection has hurriedly changed his or her standing order at the local dairy, principally for the sake of Young America.
>
> On the other hand, any thought of drinking pasteurized milk is spurned by thousands of people especially the older classes who were raised on raw milk. They have never suffered any ill effects from it and they distrust pasteurization, regarding it as a mode of destroying the health-giving, body-building elements in the milk. Most authorities assure them that this belief is an absolute fallacy, but vast numbers remain unconvinced and they find support in the discoveries of some scientific workers who profess to have proved the superiority of raw milk from a nutritional standpoint.
>
> The fact remains that pasteurization has made enormous strides in America in the last 25 years. Looking back, it seems a strange thing that, although Louis Pasteur, the genius who discovered the process, revealed it to the world as early as 1864, nearly a half century passed before it came into general use in America.
>
> New York City may be cited as typical. As late as 1903 only 5 per cent of the milk supply of New York City was pasteurized. About ten years prior

that time pasteurized milk had been introduced into New York by Nathan Straus, the well-known philanthropist, who established his infant milk depots there. He did so on the advice of Professor Jacobi and Professor Roland G. Freeman and the result was a tremendous diminution of the infant death rate among the poorer classes to whom the milk was fed. It is acknowledged that this action on the part of Mr. Straus constituted the real beginning of the use of pasteurized milk in America.

By 1912 about 40 per cent of New York's milk supply was being pasteurized. In 1914 the proportion had risen to 88 per cent, and in 1921 approximately 5 per cent of the milk sold in that city was pasteurized, the remainder coming from certified herds.

Once established as an effective instrument for disease prevention, the practice of pasteurization spread rapidly. A glance at the formidable list of disease germs capable of propagation by milk has caused many a consumer to swing away from the raw product and has given many a municipality such concern that it hastened to inaugurate compulsory pasteurization of all milk supplies sold within its limits.

Of the maladies transmittted by milk, bovine tuberculosis has caused deepest concern. In part this has been overcome by the inauguration of the tubercular test and the accredited herd system under which enormous strides toward the goal of tuberculosis-free cattle have been made in recent years. But thousands of herds remain outside the scope of these plans and the municipalities, though they have full control of their respective milk supplies, in many cases continue to permit uninspected herds to furnish milk within their borders. Bovine tuberculosis thus remains a very real danger, especially where children are concerned. Pasteurization is regarded as the only absolute safeguard against this pernicious disease.

The second ailment of bovine origin which has taken a vast toll in America is septic sore-throat, resulting from the consumption of milk manufactured by cows with diseased udders.

The third danger, known as Bang's disease or undulant fever, has played a prominent part in the new popularity of pasteurized milk. In recent years contagious abortion, the source of this affection, has seemingly become more prevalent in dairy herds. Regardless of the care exercised by dairymen, the undulant fever germ is likely to creep into milk, even into that from accredited herds. One well-known dairyman has expressed the view that that disease may have been prevalent for years, but that only recently have medical authorities definitely diagnosed it.

The list of disease-producing germs of human origin which can be passed along in cow's milk includes typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhœa, septic sore-throat, human tuberculosis, diphtheria, scarlet fever and others of less importance. Typhoid fever is the most common of the milk-borne diseases. As in the case of infected water supplies, it has caused many serious outbreaks in different towns and cities of America. It is noteworthy that in the case of nearly every afflicted municipality, the epidemic has resulted in a compulsory pasteurization measure, even though this may have been a case of "locking the stable door."

## Prison Labour

*The International Labour Review* contains a very valuable article on "Prison Labour." The introduction to this article summarizes only the problems to be faced in dealing with this subject:

At a cursory glance the domain of prison administration seems to be widely separated from that of social policy. More careful examination will show, however, that there are numerous points of contact between the two.

In recent years there has been growing recognition of the fact that the causes of crime have often to be sought in bad social conditions; and efforts are being increasingly made to prevent crime by appropriate social measures. Such measures are of particular importance for those parts of the population which are likely to enter upon a criminal career if their social conditions are not improved: this applies in the first place to the prison inmates themselves. From the point of view of social policy it is therefore necessary to give special attention to prisoners.

The essential element in the penalty of deprivation of liberty, in the modern sense, is the requirement that prisoners shall work. But wherever human labour is performed in conditions of subordination, dangers arise; and with prison labour these conditions and the resulting dangers are pushed to the extreme. As a rule the work of prisoners is performed under compulsion. Thus a penalty involving the obligation to work may easily become the cause of social evils; it is therefore important to bring it within the field of social policy.

The dangers arising out of rigid subordination in working conditions are not confined to the persons directly concerned. In particular, industries using free labour may be exposed to the competition of prison labour. Since the introduction of the system complaints to this effect have in fact been raised by free industry in many countries. The substance of these complaints is usually that the free worker is compelled to offer his labour on terms similar to those imposed on prisoners, with the result that the conditions of free labour tend to approximate to those of prison labour, to the detriment of the former.

As the events of the last few years have shown, complaints of this kind are not limited to the national sphere. There is a steadily increasing body of opinion that international trade suffers from the competition between free and prison labour.

In these circumstances it will be readily understood that international bodies have had to concern themselves with questions arising out of prison labour. On all occasions when questions of social policy and prison administration have been under discussion two questions have come persistently to the fore: working conditions in prisons, and the competition between prison labour and free labour. It was found that these two questions could not be dealt with separately. The regulation of working conditions in prisons is substantially determined by the criminal law. The relations between free labour and prison labour vary with the nature and organization of the latter. It is therefore only possible to discuss these two questions when all the circumstances are considered in their natural interconnection and as a whole.

## Boycott—China's Historic Method

The use that China has made of the weapon of boycott in recent years is known to all. It is stated in a very interesting article contributed to *The World Tomorrow* that the use of this social and political sanction is not a recent discovery of the Chinese people. They have been long used to it in their social life, and the weapon has only recently been transferred to the field of international politics :

> Thirty-five years ago, shortly before the Boxer uprising, I visited China—a China that had existed for forty-five centuries without a radical change in her laws. The observations I record here are concerned chiefly with the use that the China of that day made of the boycott in her domestic life, and refer to rural China rather than to her great ports, which are no more representative of the social and economic life of that country than is New York City representative of the rural life of the United States.
>
> Outstanding in my recollection is the fear and respect that each member of a community had for the boycott as the chief method of enforcing social and economic laws. The boycott was practically always equivalent to the banishment of the offender from the community, since through it he could neither buy nor sell ; neither could he employ or work for any other member of the community. In the case of a more serious offence his business was confiscated ; otherwise he was allowed to dispose of it to some other member of the community. The boycott was invoked for the most part against those convicted of graft, exploitation or general dishonesty in business. Thieving, violence and robbery were punished at the whipping post. Beheading was reserved for absconding bankers, business men who forged cheques and for politicians who misapplied public funds. Minor misdemeanours were punished by ridicule. But the largest number of offenders were reformed.
>
> The boycott as a social weapon emerged out of the actual experience of the Chinese people. In the last thousand years of its history, for instance, China has had no such thing as a liquor problem, yet it would be silly to hold that during all the centuries of her existence she has never had to face that question. Long centuries ago China learned the abuses of alcohol and learned likewise to apply the influence of the boycott against the manufacturers of liquor and against those who were prone to overindulge their appetites. The one lost all business connection with the community and therefore had to leave, and the other because of drunken inefficiency could get no work and was likewise compelled to seek elsewhere for a likelihood.
>
> The price of each commodity was fixed at the New Year and was never changed except when material was used that had to be imported. This variation in price the community bore as a whole. The manufacturer suffered no losses since he did not overproduce and since the prices of domestic material, labour and transportation remained fixed. The bankers and brokers' earnings were likewise permanent, regular and fixed, the boycott being directed at any member of the community who failed to support and patronize them.
>
> Racketeering in business was unknown ; business transactions of whatever kind or nature were made public. Nothing was more certain to draw the sanction of the boycott than secrecy, and the same publicity and openness that characterized their business affairs permeated their family and social life. Each home was kept fully open to the inspection of neighbours. Since secrecy was in no way tolerated, gangster life was altogether unheard of.
>
> None of the communities I saw maintained a standing army or police force. The armies of the war-lords were largely supported by foreign capital for the purpose of exploiting the different communities. In no community were groups of delinquents even allowed to congregate, much less operate under police protection. Public offices in China were regularly filled by their best scholars, and the ignorant did not dare aspire to position either in business or in government.
>
> To prevent the accumulation of enormous fortunes and fabulous incomes each community determined upon a limit of profit for individuals, manufacturing plants or brokers. Any refusal of the moneyed class to submit to the limitation automatically precipitated the boycott against them. Under such a system today Henry Ford would be given all expenses and depreciation on his business together with an income ample in every respect, while the ninety millions of private profits he extracted from the general public in 1931 would be turned back for the use of the nation.
>
> When one considers that the wage for common labour at this time was from three to eight cents a day, and that skilled labour was limited to twelve cents a day, he can appreciate that such a civilization must needs be stable and permit of no such extreme fluctuations as characterize our own economic scheme. Any sudden disturbance would destroy large portions of the population and entail starvation as well as degradation. It should be pointed out, however, that one servant or one patient in the hospital could be adequately fed at a cost of one cent a day.

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## Armenia Since Soviet Rule

Armenia has recently celebrated the eleventh anniversary of her union with the U. S. S. R. This fact furnishes an occasion to M. Henri Barbusse, the well-known French writer, to review the history of Armenia under Soviet domination in *The New Bharat*, a very interesting quarterly published from London as a journal of Indians abroad. After recounting the sufferings of the people of Armenia before their union with the Soviet Republic, M. Barbusse says:

> Armenia had reached the end of her sufferings. First, by sovietization she had regained external security. She did not begin on the path of economic development until 1923, the date when the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of the Transcaucasus was formed, of which Georgia, sovietized in 1921, and the Soviet Azerbaidjan were members. A year afterwards the Transcaucasian federation joined the great continental family of the U. S. S. R.
>
> Henceforward, Armenia was free. We cannot be too insistent about the clear and true meaning of the word liberty in this case.
>
> The conception of national minorities which forms the basis of Soviet rule is such that all the federated republics find in their very union the possibility of developing to the maximum their culture and language. It is a principle diametrically opposed to that of denationalization by force practised by the Imperialist regime. The Armenian language has become the

national language of Soviet Armenia, Armenian culture is so encouraged there that it is in full flower at the present time.

She has found peace in the Federation, combined with dignity and power, and without giving any concession which might hinder her national development (quite the contrary, as facts show). Peace in all its guises. It can be said that there are no longer wars of race and religion in Armenia. All the local minorities, including the Turkish minority that the Dachnak Government was exterminating, enjoy complete liberty in developing their own culture, and co-operate sincerely with the Armenian workers.

The Armenian, the Georgian, the Turk, the Kurd, the Russian—who had no other thought in the past but to fight with one another throughout the Caucasian territory—now only think of working together in perfect union. People who have gone there can no longer deny this state of mind, which has grown out of the new state of things. And those who remember the past are amazed as if it were a miracle: the results of an organization that is human because it is intelligent.

Let us take note and remember that putting on one side big enterprise, and only looking at the ordinary budget, the resources that Armenia could find in herself in the first years of Sovietization was not more than eight million roubles. In 1927, expenses rose to twenty-one million roubles, and the budget deficit was thus thirteen million roubles. This deficit has been efficiently overcome by Caucasian collectivization and Soviet collectivization : rational brotherhood.

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## The Promulgation of Universal Peace and Abdul Baha

Mr. Horace Holley writes in *World Unity* on the significance of the spiritual movement started by Abdul Baha, the great religious figure of Persia:

In this period of climax, when emphasis shifts abruptly from the material factors of civilization to the spiritual elements of humanity, fresh light is thrown upon the significance of a life like that of 'Abdu'l-Baha. Connecting the years 1844 and 1921, it formed a bridge between the forces resolved in the past and the new forces to be resolved in the future. In the light of present need, it seems a life providentially shaped to interpret men to man and man to himself. One end of the bridge rests upon the firm assurance of the ancient word of love ; the other end rests upon the equally firm assurance that the word is not ancient but modern—that the mind and heart of man will be fulfilled in a civilization uniting and co-ordinating the races, nations and classes of humanity. "The re-formation and renewal of the fundamental reality of religion," he said many years ago, "constitute the true and outworking spirit of modernism, the unmistakable light of the world, the manifest effulgence of the Word of God, the divine remedy for all human ailment." Before the shattering effect of the European War was visible, he also said, "At present universal peace is a matter of great importance, but unity of conscience is essential, so that the foundation of this matter may become secure, its establishment firm and its edifice strong ;" and, "The fundamentals of the whole economic condition are divine in nature and are associated with the world of the heart and spirit." Above all, "The gift of God to this enlightened age is knowledge of the oneness of mankind." And, while the West attempted to transmute technical proficiency into political and economic imperialism, "There are periods and stages in the life of the world of humanity, which at one time passed through its degree of childhood, at another its time of youth, but now has entered its long presaged period of maturity, the evidences of which are everywhere apparent. Therefore the requirements and conditions of former periods have changed and merged into exigencies which distinctly charecterize the present age. Man must now become imbued with new virtues and powers, new moralities, new capacities." "It is our duty in this radiant century to investigate the essentials of divine religion, seek the realities underlying the oneness of the world of humanity and discover the source of fellowship and agreement which will unite mankind in the heavenly bond of love."

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## American Culture

*America* has the following editorial note on the development of American culture:

It was a too cynical critic, perhaps, who wrote that it should be an easy task to discuss culture in the United States, since there was so little of it. Americans, in general, were in too much of a hurry, he thought, to interest themselves in a product of so slow a growth. Even the universities, in other countries traditionally the homes of culture, went at a pace which made academic leisure impossible. Their aim appeared to be larger endowments, new departments, and more groups of buildings, to house the schools of business, engineering and agriculture. Useful as these arts are, and even necessary, it can hardly be said that they stimulate growth in culture.

In his address to the mid-year graduating class at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Harry T. Collings found fault with us for rating our progress in terms of "purely materialistic achievements." The criticism comes with added force when it is remembered that Dr. Collings is not a venerable professor of Greek or esthetics, but Professor of Commerce in the Wharton School of his university. These materialistic tendencies, Dr. Collings observed, lead us to glorify quantity rather than quality, and so do not even lift us to the level which rates us as "good business men."

Worse, however, is their effect in another sphere. From a material point of view, our standards of living are high, "yet among what other people has mob psychology such sway ?" We do not think for ourselves, but follow the prevailing fashion, whether it be in business, in dress, or in amusement. Only extremes can appeal. Jazz serves us for music, marathon dancing for amusement, "best sellers" for literature, sky-scrapers for architecture, and the Sunday supplements for art. In business, we can point to the craze for "instalment buying," an aberration we indulged in to the extent, according to Dr. Collings, of mortgaging for years to come billions of purchasing power. Dr. Collings probed a sore spot when he said that too often we put economics first, where ethics should lead and direct. That practice, disastrous to esthetic and moral culture, is not even good business.

A much-harassed professor of medieval history in a State university once remarked, after reading the recommendations of the State regents, that as a citizen, he was not disposed to quarrel with the appropriations voted by the legislature for the welfare of the cow. The university had its school of agriculture, an excellent institution deserving of proper support. As a teacher, however, he wished that the regents and the legislature could be brought to understand, that well-bred men and women were of as much importance to the welfare of the State as well-bred cattle. But he had never had any success in persuading the legislature of the truth of his contention.

In this and in other departmens, the great State universities labour under difficulties from which the private institutions are comparatively, but by no means wholly, free. The now openly discredited theory that the chief aim of education is to teach the young how to make a comfortable living still controls some of our legislatures and their appropriations, but the governing boards of the private schools are usually more enlightened. Yet, as Dr. Flexner has shown, the academic authorities are not always anxious to take advantage of the liberty thus granted them. It is encouraging to note, however, the growth in the number of students who are reading for honours, particularly in the humanistic studies. The old-fashioned classical school will yet come into its own, and regain the place of honour which it occupied for centuries.

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### The Muhammadans, the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi

*Unity* wrote the following editorial note on hearing of the news of the resolutions adopted at the Muslim Congress at Lahore:

~~Gandhi~~ has an unshakeable trust in justice and truth, and in time as the friend of both. To many far less patient persons it is incredible that the Mahatma can be so serene in the face f multiplying difficulties. But he is unperturbed because he understands the forces of right that are working on his side, and is willing to give them time to produce their results. How frequently and effectively he is justified, is shown anew by the recent action of the Moslem Congress in India. Persistently we have been told that the 70,000,000 followers of Mohammed in India are opposed to Gandhi, and are staunch supporters of the Crown. But if this is the case, how has it happened that Britain has now been defeated in holding the allegiance of these faithful subjects? British diplomatists are not usually outwitted in this fashion. As a matter of fact, of course, there has never been any such alienation between Hindus and Moslems as English propagandists have represented. Moslem politicians, like other politicians, especially leaders of a minority group, have been glad to take advantage of a tangled situation to further their group ends. But at bottom these politicians have always had to count upon a popular sentiment strongly set in favour of *Swaraj* and in support of India's great champion of *Swaraj*, Mahatma Gandhi. Now, characteristically without warning so far as the newspapers are concerned, the Moslem Congress has refused further co-operation with the British Round Table Conferences, has laid down extraordinary demands for British recognition, and has taken the first steps in preparation for a non-violent campaign of resistance against the *Raj*. This is a terrific blow to Britain—the dispersal into thin air of all the elaborate conspiracy for the feud of Moslems against their own nationalist cause. Meanwhile we think of Gandhi siting quietly in his prison-cell, spinning his *Khaddar* like the thread of fate which binds the destinies of men and nations.

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### Arguing About Religion

If we have been convinced of the futility of arguing about religion, we shall surely be unconvinced by the following editorial note in *The Christian Register*:

*Nothing was ever gained for religion by arguing about it.* Thus runs a sentiment which we have heard with our ears and seen with our eyes from the days of our youth. It is absurd. Nine-tenths of all the gain we make in religion comes of discussion and debate. History is marked off in epochs by great men in undying books which have been nothing but arguments for changing faiths. Without the disputations there would never be any religious progress. Indeed, there would be no religion at all but for men telling why and why not in the issues of life. That is all doctrine is,—argument.

To these terse sentences we come after pleasant irritation on reading the perfectly naive inconsistency of a sophisticated writer in *Harper's Magazine*, a woman, who gives ten pages to a negative argument on immorality, and succeeds pretty well at that; but the very opening sentence of this contribution, which led off the issue, was, *literatim*, the following: "Nothing, perhaps, is so pointless, so utterly wasteful of time, energy, and patience as any argument about religion or any of the subjects associated with it." And then ten pages!

We see this sort of untruth—not intentional but mischievous, just the same—everyday. Another example in a tract is also obtruded at the very beginning: "Words spent in trying to prove the existence of God are words wasted." Thereupon the materials offered as proofs are adduced in a cogent and inspiring discourse.

We wish all our brethren, lay and ministerial, would scotch this thoughtless rhetoric. If by argument were meant testy fault-finding or bigoted opiuionation, these negative people would be telling the truth in a measure; but they mean what they say, argument, which is simply reasoning against and reasoning for, in a manner orderly both as to logic and respect for others.

Today the books published continually on religion are more in number than any other kind except fiction; they clinch our argument.

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### How to Make a Revolution

Signor C. Malaparte, an Italian Fascist leader, has written a very interesting book on the modern technique of overthrowing established Governments. According to this author, the old method of armed insurrection directed against the military forces of the State is utterly out of date under modern conditions. The arguments of this writer are summarized in a leading article in *The New Republic*:

There exists today a modern technique of insurrection. This is the assertion of a most suggestive, if slight and sketchy, work on the new branch of knowledge, written lately by an Italian Fascist leader, Signor Malaparte, who has really given us a latter-day version of "The Prince," altered to suit modern dictatorships and modern technology. Malaparte's model is not Mussolini, as one might have expected, but Trotsky. For him, it is Trotsky who in October, 1917, first employed modern tactics of insurrection. While Lenin may be said to have been the master strategist of the revolution, directing its conduct and defence upon a larger and longer plan, Trotsky personally carried out a *coup d'etat* in a manner that was a great departure from precedent and established, so to say, a classic model for our time.

Examination of the papers of Lenin and Trotsky, written at the time of the revolution and afterwards, shows us that Trotsky did actually devise a new insurrectionary formula. Whether it was the formula that played the decisive rôle, rather than the men and the times, or whether it might be made to work almost everywhere, as Malaparte holds, is another and more difficult question. Trotsky himself has commented that the operations of the Bolsheviki benefited greatly from precise planning, that they were executed skilfully, but were "elastic." At any rate, it may be illuminating to reconstruct briefly the momentous events of October, 1917, both according to Malaparte's analysis and Trotsky's own accounts in his autobiography and elsewhere.

In the autumn of 1917 the Bolshevist faction was preparing for a revolution. Lenin and the other leaders were for declaring a general strike and bringing about a mass uprising. In this they were, however, opposed by Trotsky :

> Trotsky, too, desired an immediate insurrection ; but he opposed the idea of a mass uprising. His plan of action envisaged concentration upon a narrower zone by a small minority, a compact force of workers, soldiers and sailors, who were trained for insurrectionary tactics and whose operations were to be carried out in perfect order and with a cold violence,
>
> "Insurrection ... is a machine," Trotsky said. "To set it in motion we need technicians ; and only technicians can stop it ... We need armed detachments, led by engineers."
>
> Amid the fearful disorder of Petrograd, war-weary, famished, overflowing with a rabble of 200,000 deserters, the Military Revolutionary Committee worked day and night in the Smolny Institute, while couriers, informants, agitators, Red Guards, came and went, or preserved contact with it over the telephone. Trotsky's plan was approved somewhat reluctantly, as the intra-party communications show. The other leaders continued their own efforts toward disaffecting the troops, calling a general strike and working for a mass uprising, while Trotsky made cool preparations for taking over all the vital machinery of the State at a single stroke. An early date was set for the insurrection ; then it was delayed ten days, Trotsky later recalled, "for agitational and technical preparations." What happened upon the given signal was not an old-time "palace revolution," or a military or political uprising, but a technological *coup d'etat.*
>
> With the aid of Antonov-Ovseienko, a former military officer, mathematician and chess player, Trotsky studied plans of all the government institutions and technical services of the capital. The disposition of gas, water and electric mains, of telephone, telegraph and power centrals, food and fuel stores : all these were marked out. The city was divided into sectors and the small detachments of Red Guards, numbering only 1,000 in all, were assigned to each vital point under the leadership of such experts or mechanics as were available.
>
> The Kerensky government, informed of the Bolsheviki's intentions, waited only for mob movements ; it increased the police and military guards about the Ministry buildings and the Winter Palace, where the Duma sat talking, worrying, debating. In the meantime Trotsky's shock troops went methodically about their "invisible manoeuvres." For the time being they were unarmed, training, studying the ground assigned to them in inconspicuous groups of three and four. They reported the vital parts of the State's bureaucratic and technical machinery to be unguarded. In some cases they filtered through the lines of military guards and set up machine-gun nests in a position to fire upon the backs of the defenders. One of the city's four power stations fell quietly into their hands, several days in advance. This is why Trotzky declared to his colleagues : "There will be no civil war. Our enemies will capitulate at once."

The calculations of Trotsky were fulfilled to the letter in the events that followed. In a few hours the Provisional Government capitulated and the Bolshevists came into power. The example of the Bolshevist revolution, the writer says, would be felt in many countries, for :

> Thus a new tradition of revolution has been created in the pattern of the Bolshevist *coup d'etat.* Chinese Communists, according to Malaparte, have been taught the new technique at a school in Moscow. In Berlin, the Fascists of Hitler, the Red Guards of the Communists, are said to march about, unarmed, at their "invisible manoeuvres," preparing to seize the vital parts of the economic and civil organism. Against such tactics, legal and police measures have proved to be vain. But is it true, as Malaparte contends, that the new technological methods may be used everywhere with success ?
>
> The revolutions that we have watched during the past fifteen years have all varied remarkably. Each one evokes the "unforeseen, the elemental," as Trotsky has observed, although success may well depend upon the degree of preparation and planning. But can the "cold and violent" insurrectionary tactics of a Trotsky alone prevail ? Lenin tells us of all the favourable omens he perceived in the Russia of 1917 : universal exhaustion after war, approaching famine, the civil chaos out of which the Soviets arose to impose order. And does not Trotsky, too, recall how the bourgeoisie (*i. e.* the capitalist class) was prostrate, how the workers came streaming to the Red banner ? The making of these preliminary conditions was the handiwork neither of Trotsky nor of Lenin.

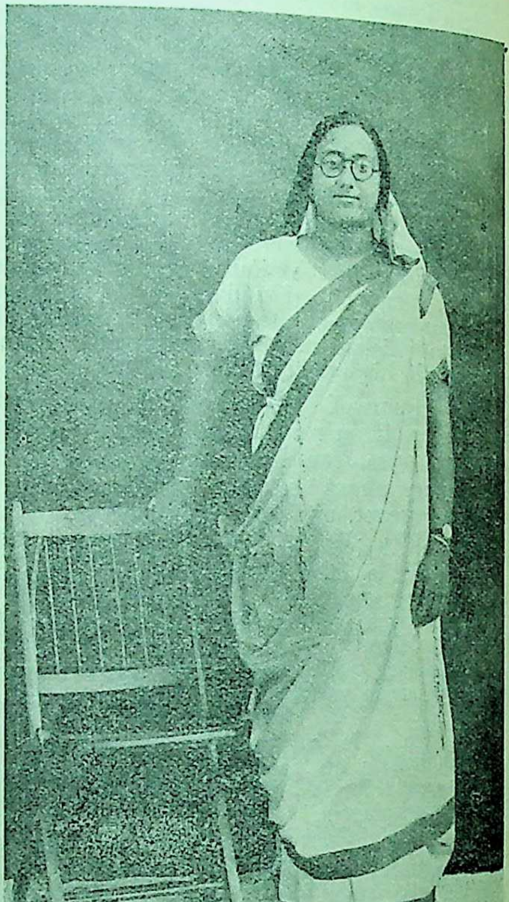
# INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Surabhi Sinha has passed the B. L. examination of Rangoon University. She had passed the B. A. examination with Honours in English in 1930, from Bethune College, Calcutta.

Miss Surabhi Sinha

Miss Karunakana Gupta has stood first in the first class in the B. A. examination with Honours in History of Dacca University.

Miss Mayalata Shome is now in charge of the Montessori Department of Brahmo Girl's School, Calcutta. She got her training under Madame Monstessori herself and worked for some time with credit as a teacher in John Peayn School at Actonwell in England.



Miss Karunakana Gupta

### Nari-Siksha-Pratisthan

The "Nari-Siksha-Pratisthan" is an institution for the education of girls and women founded by some educated women in the spirit of service. Mrs. Suvarnalata Pura- kaystha, M. A., is the Principal and Secretary of the school and is assisted in her work by a group of enthusiastic workers.

### Founding of a Girls' School in Berhampore, Bengal

A girl's school has been established at Berhampore, in Bengal through the enterprise and

The Principal and the Workers of the "Nari-Siksha-Pratisthan"

Mrs. Sushama Sinha

Miss Romola De

energy of Mrs. Nirupama Devi, the well-known novelist and **Mrs. Sushama Sinha**. Mrs. Sinha has acted as the Secretary of the institution and also as an honorary teacher.

**Miss Romola De** has stood second in the Matriculation examination of Patna University this year.

Miss Mayalata Shome and
Madame Montessori

### Indian Woman Professor for America

*A Hindustan Times* correspondent writes from Lucknow: Dr. Miss Thillayambalam, M. Sc., Ph. D., in charge of the Zoology Department, Isabella Thoburn College, and Reader, Lucknow University, is proceeding to Massachusetts, America, as an exchange Professor for one year in the Wellesley College, one of the largest women's colleges in America. Dr. Austin, Professor of Zoology Wellesley College, is coming here in the place of Dr. Thillayambalam during her absence. Dr. Austin and Dr. Thillayambalam took their Ph. D. degree in the Columbia University. Dr. Thillayambalam sailed from Calcutta by s. s. *Santhia* on the 28th April.

## CORRECTIONS

The passage on the patriotic poetry of Iqbal quoted in the "Indian Periodicals" section of *The Modern Review* for May 1932 (p. 563) was taken from *The Young Builder* of Karachi.

In the same number,—for *brought about an inert majority* on p. 569, col. 2, l. 63 read *brought by an inert majority*; for *remain re-incarnate* on p. 572, col. 2, l. 47 read *remain and re-incarnate.*

# NOTES

## *Causes of Non-intervention in Sino-Japanese War*

The American weekly *Unity* of Chicago writes :

> "A lot of light is shed on the reluctance of the western powers to interfere with the Sino-Japanese conflict by the reports of the business boom this conflict has brought to Europe. For the first time in years, business is looking up, thanks to huge orders for military supplies from both China and Japan. Britain, aided by the low cost of the pound sterling, is feeling the quickest and largest measure of prosperity. Her airplane factories, for example, are working overtime for the Mikado. In France, the Japanese are buying machine-guns, and light and heavy artillery units. Germany is manufacturing munitions and explosives in huge quantities. But this is not all ! For both the Japanese and the Chinese, according to well-authenticated reports, are placing large orders for textiles and woollen cloth in Czechoslovakia and in Poland. The artillery division of the Skoda works in Czechoslovakia has orders from the East for artillery parts. It is well known, of course, that the Freuch Schneider Creusot Company has a fifty per cent interest in the Skoda works. All of which means that, for the moment at least, Europe is being kept alive commercially and financially by the Asiatic embroilment !"

It would, therefore, be the height of ingratitude for Europe to kill that, namely, "the Asiatic embroilment," which is the sustainer of her life !

The American paper proceeds :

> "Indeed, if the Sino-Japanese war could only be turned into a really first-class conflict and thus kept raging some three or four years or more, like the World War, Europe would find therein the solution of all her economic difficulties, at least for the time being. War, in other words, is initially profitable—to those, at least, outside the area of conflict. It creates business by opening an enormous market for arms, munitions and machinery, and by destroying incalculable totals of wealth which must be promptly replaced if the world is to survive. What wonder that the European powers didn't want to stop the Asiatic conflict too soon !"

The American paper concludes by drawing attention to Norman Angell's demonstration, on paper, that war is ruinous to all—the victors, the vanquished and even neutrals. But who cares for angels, when the devil can create business ? The devil then becomes a jolly good fellow.

The extracts from *Unity* given above may lead one to suppose that it is only Europe which is making money out of the Asian war. That is not so. America also is making money out of it. *The Month,* a British monthly published by Longmans, Green, and Co. Ltd., refers in its May issue to "the declaration in the (U. S. A.) House of Representatives that 180 million dollars' worth of munitions had been supplied by the States to Japan during the recent conflict with China." *The Month* adds :

> "The German Socialist paper, *Vorworts,* stated on March 4th that Japan had this year placed orders for war materials with firms in Great Britain, Germany, France, Poland, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, and that deliveries were made mainly through Hamburg. Details and dates are given of the various consignments : a French firm despatches machine-guns to the value of 200 million francs : a German firm supplies 3,600,000 pounds of acids for explosives. There is a Japanese military commission in Czechoslovakia at the moment, and 1800 bombs and 2300 gas-bombs have been already sent to Japan from the Skoda works, *via* Trieste. The Creuzot establishment and the de Dion motor works in France are supplying tanks and air-craft bombs, and a question in the British House of Commons brought the information that this country furnished Japan with £ 33,000 worth of war materials in December, and £ 12,000 in January. Moreover, a firm in Belfast has lately sent munitions to Korea, valued at five million pounds. This list, which is not exhaustive, gives a glimpse of powerful forces working for the continuance of war, which the League (of Nations) has not yet been able to control, although, in 1925,

> it provided a strict system of licensing which has not been ratified. Their agents are not absent from Geneva: they are well-represented in the Press of every nation; they are, or have been, in the Counsels of Governments. What wonder that Disarmament progresses so slowly, that Governments are so half-hearted in the matter and that public opinion in favour of peace is so confused and inarticulate."

## *Suggested Prohibition of Supplies of War*

The Kellogg Pact, which originated in America, is an international agreement to put a stop to war as an instrument of national policy. It has remained materially inoperative because the nations have not yet been able by mutual agreement to reduce their capacity to fight. Under these circumstances some Americans wanted to reduce facilities for war so far as their country could. So,

> "On April 6th, Mr. Capper introduced a resolution into the Senate, declaring it to be the policy of the United States not to rocognize the legality of a situation created by a violation of the Pact or any treaty so brought about, and, more important still, not to furnish the violator of the Pact with supplies of war or financial assistance. This is a step which those who work for peace have always hoped the United States would take. Being outside the League, it cannot be called upon to apply League sanctions, and thus the situation might arise of an offender against the Covenant being commercially supported by the richest country in the world. But if the United States declared that it would not consider as neutral any violator of the Pact, an enormous gap would be closed in the defence of the world's security."—*The Month.*

We do not know whether the U. S. A. Senate accepted Senator Capper's resolution. But it is clear that America, too, has been guilty of war-profiteering.

. . .

## *Disarmament or Reduction of Armaments?*

Though the ostensible object of the Disarmament Conference is what its name implies, namely, bringing down the war equipments of all nations to zero, what most of the participating nations have been attempting is such a *pro rata* reduction of the armaments of all countries as would keep their relative fighting strength practically the same as now. Even if this could be impartially and honestly done, it would still leave the present-day strongest powers strong enough to cow down the weaker countries, it would still enable the present-day imperialist nations to keep their practically unarmed dependencies in subjection by force of arms, and it would still leave these empire-owners sufficient armaments to bring additional territories, inhabited by unorganized peoples, within their empires. Therefore, the cause of world-wide and permament peace and of freedom for all peoples would not be promoted by mere reduction of armaments. The logical position taken up at the Conference was that of the Russian delegate M. Litvinoff. He was for complete disarmament. Of course, even if all nations were completely disarmed, still the military-minded ones might find means of fighting. But *devastating* wars would cease. For the complete outlawry and stoppage of war among nations the ethical and spiritual realization of that hackneyed phrase, "a change of heart," would be required. Nations must cease to desire "to express national vanity by political domination over other nations." Politicians must not long to secure markets by any and every means, traders must not make the making of profits the supreme object of life, capitalists must not think of the piling of millions upon millions as the be-all and the end-all of existence.

Disarmament does not, of course, mean that Governments are not to keep a sufficient police force and arms for the internal security of the countries they govern.

## *Terrorism—International, Intranational and Individual*

Generally, at least in India, terrorism is understood to mean the belief cherished by private individuals or groups which leads them to seek to overthrow the Government or to make the Government do what they want or refrain from doing what they do not want, by acts of violence against Government officers. But logically it implies the desire of some nations to make other nations agree to what the former want by striking terror into the latter by war of any description. Terrorism is also the guiding principle when the Government of any country wants to rule it solely or chiefly by force. If there were oppression, tyranny, or torture by the executive or the police in any country, that would also be terrorism.

Hence, though it is certainly right to tackle private or non-official terrorism, irrespective of whether the other kinds of terrorism are dealt with or not, no kind of terrorism can be completely extirpated without a correct diagnosis and scientific treatment of all kinds of terrorism.

### *Terrorism in and outside Bengal*

If private or non-official terrorism were confined to Bengal, it would still be a very serious problem. But it then would be comparatively simpler to deal with than it is, because it is to be found in some other parts of India also than Bengal. Nay, what makes it a still greater menace is that it is to be found outside India also—in Europe, America, Asia and at least one country in Africa. As readers of newspapers know the countries of the world where terroristic outrages have recently taken place, it is not necessary to name them.

It is necessary to bear these facts in mind if a correct remedy for terrorism is to be applied anywhere. Englishmen and Indians outside Bengal appear to think that it is practically only a Bengal problem. Hence Sir Stanley Jackson, late Governor of Bengal, has recently said to an interviewer in England:

> "Terrorism in Bengal is still rather serious, but, during the past two months, there has been a very marked change in public opinion, on which you must depend, if you want to deal satisfactorily with terrorism. You must depend also on Indian assistance. If you can get Indians to say that they will not have terrorism, they will help you to secure possibly those responsible for terrorism. It is most difficult to get any information regarding terrorists, though, I suppose, we have the finest C. I. D. service in India. Some terrorists are actuated by strong patriotic feeling and others by strong race hatred, which is most carefully sown amongst the people of Bengal by clever propagandists and also by the vernacular press."

Whose opinion does Sir Stanley Jackson call public opinion? If it is the opinion of the European sojourners of India, they have always been against terrorism and terrorists. What marked change had there been in their opinion two months before he spoke? If it be the opinion of the Indian public, which also, as expressed by the Indian section of the Press and by Indian public bodies and at public meetings, has been throughout against terrorism, why does Sir Stanley say, "You must depend *also* on Indian assistance"? He says, you must depend on the opinion of the public and you must depend *also* on the assistance of the Indians. Therefore, logically and grammatically, the public and the Indians appear to be different parties. If so, he appears to say: You must depend on the opinion of the European public—their part of the business is to fulminate against the terrorists; and you must depend on the assistance of the Indians—their part of the business being to catch and secure the terrorists. How this division of labour would be made to work, one does not see.

Let that pass, however.

Sir Stanley seems to think, it is simply a question of catching the full-fledged and the budding terrorists and putting an end to them or immuring them within prison walls. But they are, as events have shown repeatedly, not a fixed quantity. Perhaps there are occasionally new accessions to their ranks. How is that to be prevented except by radically changing the political, economic, educational and other conditions which serve as nurseries for terrorists? Of course, if it were possible to shut up all the fully grown and adolescent manhood and womanhood of the country in well-guarded detention camps, even that would be a temporary solution of the problem, but only a temporary one. For the child of to-day would be the youth of to-morrow and, unless the conditions giving rise to terrorism were changed, what guarantee would there be that the child would not grow up into a young terrorist? Therefore, it is not a problem which the finest C. I. D. can tackle unaided. For that task statesmanship of the highest kind, entirely different from the imperialist brand, is needed.

We have never yet met a terrorist face to face, never yet had a frank talk with him. So, we cannot say how far the ex-Governor of Bengal is right in asserting that many of them are actuated by strong race hatred. But facts do not seem to fit in with this diagnosis. If the diagnosis were correct, the terrorists would go for every Britisher in the country. But they do not. Hence, it cannot be said of Bengal as Burke said of Wales of a long-past age: "An Englishman travelling in that country could not go six yards from the high road without being murdered." In fact, the mentality of revolutionary extremists is the same in all countries, wherever they are found. Of the Irish variety, General Crozier writes in *"A Word to Gandhi : The Lesson of Ireland"* :

> "Revolutionary extremists do not murder indiscriminately or without a cause—that was proved in Ireland. Indiscriminate murder is in all revolutionary circles considered futile....It is not without significance that both in Ireland in 1920-21 and in India British soldiers were seldom murdered in cold blood. The reason ? They do their work above board." P. 88.

As for the ex-Governor's libel on the vernacular press, that it sows race hatred, one can have nothing but pity for such opinions. Few Britishers in Bengal know Bengali and fewer still read Bengali papers. What first-hand knowledge of the Bengali vernacular press could Sir Stanley Jackson have during his five years of Olympian existence ?

We have spoken above of shutting up the entire youthful population of Bengal as a possible temporary solution of the terrorist problem. That would not appear to be a wholly whimsical idea if it were borne in mind that to non-Bengalis the whole Bengali people appear to be suspect. A Madras Indian paper writes :

> "A prominent member of the Bengal Legislative Council speaking in the chamber on the assassination of Mr. Douglas (*sic*) last year, frankly avowed that, though there might be the most severe condemnation in public by the leaders, there is quite a different kind of feeling in the hearts of most of them. It is highly imperative that this feeling should go, and that as early as possible. A strong antagonistic public opinion would result in the weeding out of terrorism wherever it has taken root. In Bengal particularly the long series of outrages lead one to the irresistible conclusion that, on the whole, that Province is not so wholly alive to the evil effects of terrorism as it should be."

Perhaps Madras is more alive to the sufferings of hundreds of Bengali detenus and their families than Bengal.

Another Indian paper, one hailing from Lahore, prescribes that non-Bengali leaders from outside Bengal should visit Bengal and lecture to the people here and bring them round to hate terrorism. In order that this suggested love's labour may not be lost, two preliminary conditions must be fulfilled: (1) that the non-Bengali leaders' fight here should not be a fight against shadows—particularly against shadows raised by their imaginations ; (2) they should have a thorough knowledge of the situation and conditions in Bengal.

The ex-Governor of Bengal invokes public opinion. Some Indian papers also do the same. But genuine public opinion can grow only on congenial soil. It cannot feed on nothing. When public opinion condemns terrorism, the authorities are, rightly, satisfied with it ; but when it condemns repressive measures and acts and asks for freedom, the authorities not only do not respond to it but, on the contrary, their officers would fain suppress it.

Our opinion being Bengali opinion may be worthless. But here is the opinion of *New India*, edited by Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. Shiva Rao, who never non-co-operated, never were terrorists or their sympathizers, and were never partial to Bengalis :

> The natural effect of such (terroristic) deeds is to produce bitter feeling and resentment against India in the minds of the friends, relatives and acquaintances of the victims and of the peoples of their country, and thus increase the tension already existing in the relations between Britain and India. Violence on the part of representatives of either, provokes violence on the part of the other. Thus it remains as true now as when the words were uttered, that "hatred ceaseth not by hatred, hatred ceaseth by love." The remedy for the entire distemper, of which these outrages are symptoms, is Swaraj. Until that comes, repression on the one side and violence on the other will go on intensifying each other, we are afraid.

Is the Government prepared to respect this kind of sane public opinion ? It ought to be. But if not, the less any Britisher, whether of the official or of the non-official variety, talks of depending on Indian public opinion the better.

### *Rev. J. T. Sunderland on "The Golden Book of Tagore"*

In the course of a lettter addressed to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Reverend Dr. J. T. Sunderland writes :

"I have received *The Tagore Golden Book.*

I feel like saying as the Queen of Sheba is reported to have said to King Solomon, when she saw his magnificence: 'The half had not been told me.' It is certainly a remarkable and a precious book, in many ways. I am showing it to many friends, who greatly admire it. Not only the Poet but all the rest of us are under deep and lasting obligation to you for your splendid dream, your splendid vision, in thinking of and planning such a book, and then for your wisdom, judgment, and very very great labour in gathering the surprisingly rich material from all over the world, and finally, patiently, carefully, laboriously, with infinite skill and good taste, building it all into the structure of the impressive, attractive, dignified and beautiful volume. Please accept my congratulation on your great achievement, and my sincere thanks to yourself, Professor Nag and your other efficient helpers."

The sponsors and the Committee of the *Golden Book of Tagore* will, we doubt not, feel gratified to read these words of appreciation of the venerable friend of humanity and of India. But for the kindness of the sponsors and the active co-operation of the members of the Committee and the proprietor of the Art Press, the book, such as it is, could not have been brought out. The editor is highly beholden to them.

### *Muslim Sensitiveness to Criticism*

That Muslim Indians should be sensitive to the criticism of Hindu Indians is not a matter for surprise or complaint, as things stand. But it appears that they are either ignorant of the criticism of themselves by some of those British men who claim to be their friends and patrons or are not sensitive to such criticism. We will give an example. There is a society called the Royal Empire Society. It has an India Committee of which the Chairman is Sir John Kerr, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., formerly Governor of Assam. Of the other members of the Committee eleven have been high Government officers in India, one a merchant in Calcutta, another a merchant in Bombay, and A. E. H. Molson, Esqr., Secretary. This Committee submitted a "Report to the Council of the Society on the probable working of the Simon Commission's Proposals." A section of this report is devoted to the Provincial Legislature. Here the Committee have expressed the opinion:

> "Until clear-cut issues emerge for the decision of the electorate and of the political groups which appeal for the support of the electorate, any considerable increase in the size of the councils will not materially improve contact between members and their constituents in the things that matter."

It is not necessary to discuss this opinion, which is not sound. For other "reasons" also the Committee do not want the Councils to be enlarged. One of these is worded as follows:

> "Moreover, it must be remembered that minority communities already find it difficult to provide men to fill the seats allotted to them, and their difficulties in this respect will be greatly aggravated if the size of the Councils is considerably increased, with the inevitable result of more frequent and lengthier sittings." P. 16.

As Muslim Indians form the biggest minority community, they might like to consider the opinions expressed above.

The Government publication, entitled "Views of Local Governments on the Recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission 1930," contains a "Note by the Muhammadan members of Government, dated 15th July 1930, on Moslem representation in the Bengal Legislative Council in proportion to ratio of population." The attention of Muslim Bengalis is drawn to the following passage in this Note:

> "In an enlarged council, say, of 200 to 280, *i. e.*, double the present number, Hindu electorates including the special electorates are likely to be captured by Extremists. The only combination opposed to them will be a combination of Moslems and Europeans and a few perhaps also from the depressed classes. Hitherto, the refined and cultured Moslems of the old school, or those who have a stake in the country, have been largely conspicuous by their absence from the council, and a large number of those Moslems that get elected, come from classes whose adherence to this or that party is likely to remain venal." P. 116.

### *Who Discovered Mohenjo-daro?*

Mohenjo-daro is not situated in the wilds of "Darkest Africa." It is situated in the Larkana district of Sind. And its high mound has been known to archaeologists for decades. Hence, the *place* did not require to be discovered. The question, therefore, who discovered Mohenjo-daro, means who discovered its antiquity and the antiquity of the Indus civilization. Sir John Marshall's answer to this question has been already quoted in our April number, page 368, and may have to be quoted again. For, as the discoverer of the antiquity of Mohenjo-daro happened to be an Indian, a member of a subject race, the fact that it was *his* achievement above all may be ignored or obscured.

We have seen in the article on "Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization" in our April number how Sir Arthur Keith has, in his articles in the *Referee* and the *Illustrated London News,* failed to give Mr. R. D. Banerji the credit of the discovery due to him and has in addition been guilty of some mistakes. In an article contributed by Sir Arthur to *The New York Times,* November 22, 1931, he is substantially right when he states :

> "In the winter of 1921-22 an officer of the Indian Archaeological Survey, R. D. Banerji, determined to explore a Buddhist monastery in order to find out the date of its occupation.
>
> "When Mr. Banerji began to dig under the foundations, he met with the surprise of his life. Under the monastery he met with solidly built brick structures. As his labourers searched they threw up certain very ancient objects, among them seals which Mr. Banerji recognized as being similar to those which occur in the oldest cities of Mesopotamia."

But Sir Arthur is wrong if, in stating that "the discoveries made in the north-western parts of India, under the direction of Sir John Marshall, have revolutionized our conception of the early history of India," he suggests that Mr. R. D. Banerji's discovery of the antiquity of Mohenjo-daro was made under the direction of Sir John Marshall. Mr. Banerji's excavations at that site were not made at the instance of Sir John Marshall. The initiative was Mr. Banerji's, and the credit of discovering the antiquity of Mohenjo-daro, therefore, belongs entirely to him. Of course, others who made excavations there after him under Sir John Marshall's direction, are entitled to full credit for what they did and Sir John also is entitled to full credit as their Director.

Mr. H. Frankfort, Field Director in Iraq of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University, writing from Baghdad, discussed in the London *Times* some time ago some discoveries which reveal intercourse four to six thousand years ago between Babylonia and the Indus civilization of India. Said he:

> "The startling discoveries of Sir John Marshall and his collaborators which established the existence of an early civilization in the Indus valley have at the same time raised a problem of co-ordination: how, namely, can the new facts be incorporated in the story of human development for which in the fourth and third millennium B. C. Babylonia and Egypt have hitherto provided the setting ?"

Sir John Marshall and his collaborators undoubtedly deserve praise, but here also one misses the name of the man, Mr. R. D. Banerji, who took the initiative and was the first to find out and recognize the antiquity of Mohenjo-daro.

Mrs. Dorothy Mackay writes in the American Magazine *Asia* :

> "The late Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Archaeological Survey of India on examining it (the ruined Buddhist Stupa at Mohenjo-daro) found that it stood upon a mound composed entirely of burnt brick and mud-filling......He came upon a number of the square stamp seals and copper amulette tablets—quite clearly not Buddhist—that have since come to be recognized as the most characteristic of the smaller objects produced by the Indus valley culture of about three millennia B. C.
>
> "On seeing these and other objects, Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey, immediately realized that here were the remains of a civilization whose existence had hitherto been little more than dimly suspected..."

But it is to be noted that before Sir John Marshall realized the significance of the seals, etc., their discoverer Mr. Banerji had done so already. Sir John's own words in his monumental work *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* are :

> "......it was while engaged on this task that he (Mr. Banerji) came by chance on several seals which *he recognized at once* as belonging to the same class as the remarkable seals inscribed with legends in an undecipherable script which had long been known to us from the ruins of Harappa in the Panjab......*Mr. Banerji himself was quick to appreciate the value of his discovery* and lost no time in following it up......" Vol. i, pp. 10-11. (Italics ours.)

Sir John adds that Mr. Banerji "had not personally seen" the discoveries at Harappa. On another page of his work Sir John Marshall says :

> "Three other scholars whose names I cannot pass over in silence, are the late *Mr. R. D. Banerji, to whom belongs the credit of having discovered, if not Mohenjo-daro itself, at any rate its high antiquity,* and his immediate successors in the task of excavation, Messrs. M. S. Vats and K. N. Dikshit." Vol. i, p. x. (Italics ours.)

### *Central Responsibility and Provincial Autonomy*

Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan of Allahabad having written in the course of a letter to the London *Times* that the Indian Liberals or Moderates, as they are popularly called, would agree to accept, as the first instalment of the Reforms, provincial autonomy and would wait for central responsibility for the long period required for working out the details thereof, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has denied that the Indian Liberals were agreeable to the introduction of provincial autonomy alone without responsibility at the Centre. He has also said that the length of time required for settling the details relating to central responsibility and federation has been greatly exaggerated.

It would, in our opinion, be unwise for various reasons to accept provincial autonomy alone for the present. A great national effort has been made for winning freedom, which includes both central responsibility and provincial autonomy. To get only provincial autonomy would be to pay a high price for such a small thing. The nation cannot afford to make great sacrifices for every little bit of reform. In reply it may no doubt be said that we have got the promise of responsibility at the centre. But the *promises* of imperialist politicians, to whatever party they may belong, are quite worthless. Such promises do not fulfil themselves automatically. You have got to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon the promisers to make them keep their word. And such pressure requires a combined *national* effort. But once the provinces get autonomy (of whose character and contents nothing quite definite is known at present), they would be kept too busy with the details of their own parochial affairs for single-minded devotion to the cause of National freedom. Each province would go and would be made to go its own way. Morever, we can already perceive how provincial jealousies would be fomented in order to make it very difficult for all Indians to unite for a National struggle for freedom. In the suggested allotment of seats in the central legislature to the different provinces injustice has been done to the United Provinces, Madras, Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal. Again, in the proposed assignment of revenues to the different provinces, great injustice is likely to be done to the maritime provinces of Bombay, Madras and Bengal, as also to Bihar and Orissa. Imperialist politicians are sufficiently clever to be able to add to these causes of interprovincial bickerings. And as the provincial representatives at the central Legislature would continue to have as little power as now to adjust their own differing points of view and needs by mutual consultation and agreement, the provinces would continue to be liable to be helplessly set by the ears by the official manoeuvrers at the centre.

If the representatives of the people do not possess the final power at the centre, it simply means that we should be far from being masters in our own household. Defence and military expenditure, relations with foreign countries (including Great Britain and the British Colonies) in commercial and other matters, currency, exchange, tariffs, the most expanding sources of revenue and taxation relating to them—all these and many other subjects being under the control of the Central Government and the representatives of the people having no real initiative and controlling power there, what would mere provincial autonomy be worth? The Provinces are the People. And the People cannot continue to live on crumbs of power and revenue doled out to them by an irresponsible and unresponsive Central Government.

All dodges had been tried and exhausted for putting off Swaraj. The latest has been the bringing in of the princes as partners in a proposed federation. There is no doubt that a divided India cannot be and remain fully free, and, therefore, an autonomous India, comprising both the "British" Provinces and the Indian States, would be the ideal thing. But it would be just the opposite of the ideal thing, if the States were allowed to remain autocratic internally and under the thumb of Great Britain externally and if they were allowed to delay the attainment of Swaraj by "British" India and practically to have a stranglehold on the latter after it had attained so-called Swaraj.

The struggle for freedom in India has been practically a struggle carried on only by the people of British India. The Princes had nothing to do with that struggle. The people of the States also no doubt want to be free. But they have had no opportunity to take part in the national struggle for freedom. So, as the Princes have not helped in the struggle for freedom, there is no reason why they should be allowed to hinder the attainment of freedom by the people of "British" India. We think, therefore, that the Federation should start with the "British" Provinces, making it optional for any or all the Princes and their States to join it under definitely stated conditions. Such a scheme does not differ fundamentally from the official one discussed in and outside the Round Table Conference. For in that scheme also it is optional for any State to join or not to join the Federation. In the scheme suggested here both the Central Federal Government and the Governments of the Federating Units should be fully responsible in all matters to the elected representatives of the people. If any Indian State wants to join the Federation, its people should have civic and political rights similar to those enjoyed by the people of what are at present British-ruled provinces.

### *The Buddhist Festival*

The construction and opening of the new *vihara* at Sarnath have roused new interest in the life of Buddha and Buddhism. This interest can be kept up if the festival on the day of the full moon in the month of Vaishakha held to commemorate and celebrate the birth and the attainment of *Nirvana* by the Great Teacher be every year so arranged as to give the public both joy and enlightenment. Above all, Buddhism can make its mark again if its devoted followers are filled with the compassionateness, the friendliness to all created beings and the self-sacrificing beneficence which characterized the Buddha and his disciples and their followers in successive generations in ancient times.

In spite of the right explanation being available, most people in the West, and we are afraid in India also, persist in the error that *Nirvana* means utter annihilation. Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, LL. D., PH.D., writes in his article on Buddhism in volume iv of the 11th Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in 1910 :

> "Perhaps the most frequent [name] in the Buddhist text is Arahatship, 'the state of him who is worthy,' and the one exclusively used in Europe is Nirvana, 'the dying out'; that is, the dying out in the heart of the fell fire of the three cardinal sins—sensuality, ill-will and stupidity.
>
> "The choice of this term by European writers, a choice made long before any of the Buddhist canonical texts had been published or translated, has had a most unfortunate result. Those writers did not share, could not be expected to share, the exuberant optimism of the early Buddhists. Themselves giving up this world as hopeless, and looking for salvation in the next, they naturally thought the Buddhists must do the same, and in the absence of any authentic scriptures, to correct the mistake, they interpreted Nirvana, in terms of their own belief, as a state to be reached after death. As such they supposed 'the dying out' must mean the dying out of a soul; and endless were the discussions as to whether this meant eternal trance, or absolute annihilation, of the 'soul'. It is now thirty years since the right interpretation, founded on the canonical texts, has been given, but outside the ranks of Pali scholars the old blunder is still often repeated. It should be added that the belief in salvation in this world, in this life, has appealed so strongly to Indian sympathies that from the time of the rise of Buddhism down to the present day it has been adopted as a part of general Indian belief, and *Jivanmukti*, salvation during this life, has become a commonplace in the religious language of India."

Speaking of Arahatship or Nirvana, Dr. Rhys Davids says that many of the most beautiful passages in Pali poetry and prose are full of the praises lavished on this condition of mind, the state of the man made perfect according to the Buddhist faith.

> "Many are the pet names, the poetic epithets bestowed upon it—the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the island amidst the floods, the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, safety, the supreme, the transcendent, the uncreated, the tranquil, the home of peace, the calm, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the unshaken, the ambrosia, the immaterial, the imperishable, the abiding, the farther shore, the unending, the bliss of effort, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the detachment, the holy city, and many others."

### *Why Buddhism Declined in India*

On the cause of the decline of Buddhism in India Dr. Rhys Davids writes as follows :

> "It had been supposed on the authority of late priestly texts, where boasts of persecution are put forth, that the cause of the decline of Buddhism in India had been Brahmin persecution. The now accessible older authorities, with one doubtful exception, make no mention of persecution. On

the other hand, the comparison we are now able to make between the canonical books of the older Buddhism and the later texts of the following centuries, shows a continual decline from the old standpoint, a continual approximation of the Buddhist views to those of the other philosophies and religions of India. We can see now that the very event which seemed, in the eyes of the world, to be the most striking proof of the success of the new movement, the conversion and strenuous support, in the 3rd century B. C., of Asoka, the most powerful ruler India had had, only hastened the decline. The adhesion of large numbers of nominal converts, more especially from the newly incorporated and less advanced provinces, produced weakness rather than strength in the movement for reform. The day of compromise had come. Every relaxation of the old thoroughgoing position was welcomed and supported by converts only half converted. And so the margin of difference between the Buddhists and their opponents gradually faded entirely away."

The subsequent and concluding steps of the decline of Buddhism in India are thus described :

"The soul theory, step by step, gained again the upper hand. The popular gods and the popular superstitions are once more favoured by Buddhists themselves. The philosophical basis of the old ethics is over-shadowed by new speculations. And even the old ideal of life, the salvation of the Arahat to be won in this world and in this world only, by self-culture and self-mastery, is forgotten, or mentioned only to be condemned. The end was inevitable. The need of a separate organization became less and less apparent. The whole pantheon of the Vedic gods, with the ceremonies and the sacrifices associated with them, passed indeed away. But the ancient Buddhism, the party of reform, was overwhelmed also in its fall; and modern Hinduism arose on the ruins of both."

## *Anti-terrorist Ordinance Promulgated Again*

A Simla message dated May 28 states :

Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance 1932 has been promulgated to-day to suppress the terrorist movement.

The Ordinance contains seven sections as against 41 in the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance issued in November 1931, which expires to-morrow. This is largely due to the fact that the various powers included in the latter Ordinance were later enacted in the General Emergency Powers Ordinance, which is now in force.

The Ordinance issued to-day, however, does away with the special tribunal of three High Court Judges provided in the old Ordinance and gives an alternative procedure. The Ordinance renews the Local Government's power to make rules and to delegate powers to Military Officers, but these two sections are applicable only to Chittagong District and cannot be extended to any other district without notification by the Government of India.

The provision regarding the Special Tribunal of three High Court Judges has been dropped, but capital sentence for attempt at murder has been maintained in terrorist offences, where they are tried by Commissioners under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Further while under the old Ordinance there was no right of appeal against the sentence passed by the Special Tribunal of three High Court Judges, now the trial by three Commissioners who are not High Court Judges but are of the status of Sessions Judges would be subject to the right of appeal to the High Court.

Section six provides for in camera proceedings, both for trial by Commissioners under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and by Special Judges and Special Magistrates set up under the General Emergency Powers Ordinance, when they try terrorist offences so certified by the Local Government.

Section seven gives the Commissioners under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act powers to deal with refractory accused.

The ordinary modern processes of law prevalent in civilized countries, including Britain & India, are intended to ensure justice. Departures from these processes in order to make trials quicker and briefer involve risks of failure of justice. Under certain circumstances, it may be necessary to finish trials as quickly as practicable. In such cases, in order to prevent failure of justice, the most experienced and impartial judges, those who are the least likely to be influenced by considerations of political exigency and the views and needs of the executive, should be entrusted with the trial of the accused. For these reasons the special tribunals consisting of three High Court judges, constituted according to the provisions of the old Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance of 1931, were better than the courts to be now constituted of three Commissioners of the rank of sessions judges under the new ordinance. They will not evidently inspire as much confidence as High Court judges. A fresh provision, of appeal to the High Court, has been no doubt made. But for the ends of justice, a strong court of first trial is perhaps preferable to an opportunity for an appeal to a higher court.

Investing military officers with the powers of a District Magistrate is certainly not equivalent to Martial Law, but, combined with proceedings in camera, trials in the absence of the accused and capital punishment for attempt at murder, it makes an approach to Martial Law, of which John Morley wrote in his *Recollections*, vol. ii, page 328 :

"Martial Law, which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India, any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland."

The section, (5), authorizing the Commissioners to pass sentence of death for attempt at murder makes the ordinance equivalent to that N.-W. Frontier Regulation according to which a man named Habib Nur was arrested, tried and executed in the course of twenty-four hours last year in the N.-W. F. Province. One wonders whether any terrorist, belonging to a people pronounced by Englishmen from Macaulay downwards as the most cowardly in India, who may be hanged hereafter according to this section, will derive any consolation from the fact of having been dealt with like a brave and fanatical Pathan. Trial in open court is meant not only to ensure justice, but also to convince the public that justice has been done—which latter object also is a very desirable one. Trials in camera involve the risk of the possibility of both these objects being defeated.

In the preamble the object of the new ordinance is declared to be the suppression of the terrorist movement. So, its wisdom and efficacy will have to be, in great part, judged by the result.

### *Bipin Chandra Pal*

In Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal India has lost a gifted public man of great distinction and versatility. Early in life, coming under the influence of Keshub Chunder Sen and Sivanath Sastri, he joined the Brahmo Samaj. For this his father disinherited him, though Bipin Chandra was his only son. He was thus deprived of landed property of which the annual income was Rs. 60,000. But, nevertheless, he did not budge an inch from the truth which he had realized. Later in life, he gave up the handsomely paid editorship of the Allahabad *Independent*, owned by Pandit Motilal Nehru, when he found that he could not support Non-Co-operation, which the Pandit had accepted, though Mr. Nehru did not, either directly or indirectly, interfere with his editorial discretion.

In youth Mr. Pal was a school master. Afterwards he became a journalist, a profession to which he adhered to the end of his days. He could write with equal ease, vigour and argumentative power both in Bengali and English. As an orator also he had equal command over the resources of the Bengali language and English. He was a social and religious reformer and occasionally officiated as a minister of religion to Brahmo congregations. The range of his studies and information on various political, philosophical, sociological and literary subjects was very wide, and he had remarkable powers of philosophical generalization and lucid exposition. He was the author of many discourses and some books in Bengali and English. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly for some time, and made his mark there by his oratory and power of debate. Taking all these facts into consideration, it may be said that among Indian public men his position was unique. There may have been men among them who were superior to him in this or that respect, but the sum total of his powers and achievements surpassed that of any other Indian journalist.

He was the first to declare India's political goal to be absolute autonomy outside the British Empire. His powerful voice, great eloquence and facile pen made him at one time, in the full maturity of his powers, the chief protagonist of Indian Nationalism. It was in those days that he used to deliver on the Madras beach day after day his famous inspiring political addresses, which were listened to with rapt attention by thousands upon thousands of the educated men of the southern presidency. The appreciation of his services in Bengal and many parts of north India was equally great.

What he has done to rouse national consciousness and give it a definite form, is precious, and its memory will not die. Later in life his political views ran counter in many respects to those of the dominant section of Indian politicians, and, hence, but for regular contributions to some papers and occasional speeches at public meetings, he practically led the life of a recluse. But in spite of failing health and the infirmities of age—he was about 75 at the time of his death—his intellectual powers remained unimpaired.

More than three decades ago Mr. Pal went to Manchester College, Oxford, as a student of theology. The professors there lost no time to discover his scholarship and ability and found that in many respects he was fit to be a teacher instead of being a student. In addition to a general knowledge of the teachings of all the great religions, he had made a special study of Vaishnava literature. At the time of his death he had a book on Bengal Vaishnavism ready for the Press.

Bipin Chandra Pal

For some time he contributed from England to *The Modern Review* under the pen-name of E. Willis.

During his second sojourn in England he began to publish a monthly magazine, entitled *Swaraj*. The Government of India considered an article in it on the aetiology of the bomb in Benagl to be seditious and so, on his landing in Bombay, he was prosecuted and thrown into jail. He was imprisoned on another occasion also, when he refused to give evidence in a case brought by Government against Aurobindo Ghose. Mr. Pal visited America also, where his intellectual and oratorical powers were duly appreciated.

As Mr. Pal lived through stirring times and was, moreover, himself a prominent actor in many a sphere of national life, his life is worth telling in detail. A considerable portion of his autobiography in Bengali appeared serially in *Prabasi*. In English also much of his autobiography is ready. Whether he was able to complete it in either tongue, we have no definite information. In any case, with the help of materials left by him and from the files of many newspapers in Bengal and other provinces, it would not be impossible to prepare a biography of this distinguished son of India. The publication of his life and works would be a fitting memorial to Bipin Chandra Pal.

Like Rammohun Roy, of whom he was a follower, his conception of freedom was profound and all-sided—not merely political. He worked and wanted others to work for spiritual, social, political and economic freedom.

### *Bloody Strife in Bombay*

It is very painful and disheartening to learn that, after a lull, there has been a recrudescence of the cowardly and treacherous murders which have recently disgraced the public life of Bombay as they did in past those of Calcutta, Cawnpore, Dacca and a few other places.

*The Bombay Chronicle* has been called upon to furnish security to the tune of Rs. 6,000 for asking why those responsible for law and order were not ready for such a situation and for expressing the opinion that official unpreparedness and indifference were responsible for the continuance and growth of communal strife. Whether that was really so or not, we are unable to say. But surely, for a correct diagnosis of the prolonged bloody conflict and for discovering a remedy and a preventive of such occurrences in future, it is necessary to allow some freedom of discussion and suggestion.

According to all accounts, the riots originated in a trifling quarrel between a Muslim boy, who wanted to collect subscriptions for the Muharram from a Hindu shop-keeper, and the shop-keeper's servants. But this cannot account for the murder of more than 150 persons and the wounding of more than a thousand in the course of several days. Nor does it suffice to say that the picketing of shops—of Muslims along with those of Hindus—had prepared the ground for the carnage; for such picketing has prevailed in all towns without leading to bloody deeds. (We write this with trepidation, as the

Godling of Accident may bring about such episodes in other towns also.) A thoroughly independent and impartial enquiry is necessary to find out the causes of the conflict—*not for apportioning blame*, but for preventing such things in future. Such an enquiry seems, however, impossible at present, when India is ruled by Sir Samuel Hoare, from whom lesser authorities take their cue and whose ignorance of the Indian situation, arrogant cocksureness and bias against Indian Nationalists are the despair of all sober and right-thinking persons.

### *Government Recommends Spiritualism for Detenus?*

A list of the newspapers and periodicals published in India which the Bengali detenus in Deoli Camp Jail in Ajmer-Merwara may read has been published as Schedule I of the rules framed for them. In this list we find the name of the Bengali magazine *Manasi-o-Marmavani*. This magazine has been long defunct, and its editors, Maharaja Jagadindra Nath Roy of Natore and Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, are also both dead. So perhaps Government desires that the detenus should get into touch with them and their magazine through some spiritualistic medium. But the mind and the body of the medium will, of course, be thoroughly searched before he or she is admitted into Deoli Jail.

### *List of Journals for Detenus*

In connection with the aforesaid list of journals, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which of course is not in it, writes: "Of periodicals the *Modern Review* is obviously considered too bad for the morals of the detenus." Perhaps. But there may be another reason. When Sir Michael Sadler—whom we have not the privilege of knowing personally—was in India as President of the Calcutta University Commission, he wrote to the Editor of *The Modern Review* unasked, that "it is one of the live periodicals of the world," and requested that specimen copies of it might be sent to his friends in England (of whom he gave a list) at his cost. Now, as those who are entrusted with preparing lists of journals for school common-rooms and detention camps and jails (their juxtaposition is unintentional), are partial to defunct and dead-in-life journals, evidently they can have no use for a "live periodical."

*The Amrita Bazar Patrika* says also that "Nationalist newspapers are taboo." This is true—with only one exception. *The Leader* of Allahabad is in the list. But our information may not be quite up-to-date!

An addition to the rules relating to newspapers and magazines may be suggested, namely, that if any issues of any of the journals in the approved list contain any extract from *The Modern Review* or any other banned "live periodical," as some of them sometimes do, such extracts should be deleted before these issues are delivered to the prisoners.

### *Deoli Camp Jail Rules*

Considering that many of the detenus are persons who have been deprived of their liberty immediately after their acquittal or discharge by a law-court and without any fresh charge or trial, that the others are persons who have never been tried for or charged with any offence, and that all of them belong to the higher strata of society, some being men of distinction, some of the "Bengal Detenus Custody Rules," as they are called, are humiliating. But we refrain from commenting on them in detail.

Rule 9 lays down:

> The Superintendent shall forward with such observations as he may think fit any representation which a prisoner may from time to time be desirous of submitting to the Chief Commissioner: Provided that if there be anything in the representation which in the opinion of the Superintendent is objectionable or insulting, he may withhold and destroy the representation, but if he does so, he shall inform the prisoner that the application has been withheld.

"Objectionable" is a very vague and comprehensive term, and the Superintendent cannot be expected to be superhuman in the matter of being free from prejudice, over-sensitiveness, conceit, anger, misunderstanding, and other human failings. As he has been given the power of making observations on the representations while forwarding them, what harm would there have been if the detenus were not placed completely at his mercy even as regards representations, as they have been in other matters? He can punish them in various ways. And in addition he is made the irresponsible and sole judge of what representations of the detenus are to be forwarded and what not. We think the rule should have been that all representations are to be forwarded with the observations of the Superintendent.

The rules which are the most dangerous to the detenus' persons and lives—and the officers' and prison-guards' souls—are the following:

> 10. (1) Any officer of the prison and any prison-guard may use a sword, bayonet, fire-arm or any other weapon against any prisoner escaping or attempting to escape;
>
> Provided that resort shall not be had to the use of any such weapon unless such officer or guard has reasonable ground to believe that he cannot otherwise prevent the escape.
>
> (2) Any officer of the prison and any prison-guard may use a sword, bayonet, fire-arm or any other weapon against any prisoner engaged in any combined outbreak or in any attempt to force or break open any gate, wire fencing or enclosing wall of the prison and may continue to use such weapon so long as such combined outbreak or attempt is actually being prosecuted.
>
> (3) Any officer of the prison and any prison-guard may use a sword, bayonet, fire-arm or any other weapon against any prisoner using violence to any officer of the prison or any other person:
>
> Provided that there is reasonable ground for the officer or guard to believe that there is danger to the life or limb of the person of the officer or other person who is being attacked or that any other grievous hurt is likely to be caused to such person.
>
> (4) Before using fire-arms against a prisoner under the authority contained in sub-rule (1), the officer or guard shall give warning to the prisoner that he is about to fire.
>
> (5) No officer or guard shall use arms of any sort against a prisoner in the event of an outbreak or attempt to escape without the orders of a superior officer when such superior officer is actually present and can be consulted.
>
> 11. Subject to the provisions of rule 10, the Superintendent may use or require to be used such force as may in his opinion be necessary to compel obedience on the part of any prisoner to any lawful order issued by him.

If on any occasion swords, etc., are used by the officers or guards and if any question arises as to whether those weapons had been used for preventing escape, baffling a combined outbreak, or in defence against violence, or for any other lawful reason mentioned in the rules, it is the officers and guards whose evidence is most likely to be accepted as true and that of the detenus as false. The judge of the "reasonable ground" will practically be the officer or the guard. How is it to be proved whether warning before firing had been given or not? According to Rule 10 (5) when a superior officer is actually present, arms are not to be used without his orders. That implies that when he is not present, ordinary prison-guards, of the rank and mental and moral calibre of *paharawalas,* may fire or use swords or bayonets according to their discretion.

## *Libelling a Foreign Sovereign*

*The Japan Weekly Chronicle* writes:

> In view of some recent incidents, a case reported in our daily issue. is very interesting. A Persian journalist in Germany published an article defaming the Shah of Persia. The Persian Legation made a vigorous protest and got an order of expulsion issued against the offender. This order was subsequently suspended because of the indignation that it aroused. Five German journalists repeated the libel in order to make a test case, and the Berlin court decided that no charge of libelling the head of a foreign State could lie in the German courts. A similar decision would probably be given in any country.

Not in India, we are afraid.

## *Hindus Endorse Muslim View*

> Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Messrs J. N. Basu, J Chaudhuri, S. C. Mitra, N. C. Sen-Gupta, B. C. Chatterjee, J. C. Gupta, P. Banerjee, N. C. Chunder, Ramananda Chatterjee, Kiran Sankar Roy, Radha Kumud Mukerji, Syama Prosad Mookerji, C. C. Biswas, N. K. Basu, B. K. Basu, Satish Ch. Sen, S. C. Ghosh-Maulik, N. R. Sarker and D. K. Lahiri Chowdhury have issued the following statement to the press:—
>
> "We fully endorse the following resolutions, passed by the Bengal Presidency Muslim League at their Annual General Meeting held in April last, as constituting the most satisfactory solution of the communal problem for Bengal:—
>
> (1) That the future electorate for the Bengal Legislative Council should be based on adult Franchise and Joint Electorate and there should be no reservation of seats for the Mussalmans in that Council.
>
> (II) That the League is of opinion that any reservation of seats for the majority community in Bengal is prejudicial to their own interests."

Those who have signed the statement represent—of course in an unofficial though none the less real way—different shades of political opinion in Bengal,—Congress, Liberal, Hindu Sabha, Landholders, etc. The Muslim view which the Hindus have fully endorsed is that of the most advanced section of the Muslim Bengali community. If the British Cabinet is not to lend support to the inference that it does not want any communal settlement, it ought to make this freely arrived at agreement the basis of its solution of the communal problem. Even *The Statesman* has noticed it in favourable terms. To expect or lay down the condition that every narrow-minded bigot of the two communities must endorse a settlement before it can be accepted by the British Government is deliberately to run after an impossibility.

### *Kashmir Hindus' Grievances*

In relation to the Glancy Commission's report *The Leader* writes :

> The main demands of the Hindus are that the State should give them agricultural land and scholarships for technical education and maintain merit as the test in the recruitment for the services. The report has altogether disregarded these demands. For instance, while recommending in the case of the Mahomedans that they '*should* be given' special scholarships for technical training, it says in regard to the claims of the Kashmiri Pandits that they '*might* receive special encouragement *if* they manifest an increased tendency to take advantage of technical education'. (Our italics.) So also has no provision been made in order that the Hindus might acquire agricultural land. At present agriculture is almost entirely in the hands of the Muslims. Even more indefensible are the recommendations of the Commission with regard to recruitment for the services. What could be a more reasonable request on the part of the Hindus than that merit should be considered in making appointments to the services ? From the report of the Middleton inquiry it appears that the standard of efficiency of the services is none too high. One is therefore unable to appreciate the wisdom of the Glancy Commission's recommendation that 'minimum qualifications should not be pitched unnecessarily high.' We suppose the standard of efficiency in the public services in British India is higher than in Kashmir state. But so far there has been no recommendation from the Public Services Commission in India in regard to recruitment for the services that 'minimum qualifications should not be pitched unnecessarily high.' Why then this recommendation in the case of a State where the standard of efficiency requires to be considerably raised ?

### *"Oh, for the Days that are No More !"*

We have read in several newspapers that the Government of Bengal have been distributing a Bengali booklet, entitled "हाय रे सेकाल", specially written, we are told, to contrast the present peaceful and prosperous (!) condition of Bengal with the dacoit-infested and miserable plight of the people a hundred years ago. We have not seen this propaganda pamphlet ourselves, nor do we know the exact significance of its title. But we have translated it as, "Oh, for the days that are no more !" If we are right, perhaps it gives sarcastic expression to the (alleged) longing of Bengalis for the days that are no more, which are alleged to have existed a hundred years ago. Our comments will be briefly two : (1) If our people long for the return of a past age, they do so for the return of a real or imagined age when there was peace and prosperity under Indian rulers, they do not wish for the return of the earlier period of the British rule in India ; (2) If the condition of the people was wretched and if dacoities were rife a hundred years ago, the mass of the people are miserable even now and dacoities murder and arson abound in all districts, and so there is no real contrast.

Moreover, we do not understand what political object can be gained by proving that a hundred years ago dacoits preyed on the people and there was misery all over the land. For, a hundred years ago, Bengal at any rate had been under British rule for more than half a century, and therefore the Government of those days was at least partly responsible for the state of the country.

The times are not propitious for a full discussion of the subject. So we will content ourselves with some extracts from what Englishmen themselves have said regarding parts of India, Bengal in particular, about a century ago. We refer specially to the times of the first Lord Minto, 1807-1813 A.D.

Lord Dufferin said in the course of his famous St. Andrews Dinner speech in Colcutta, 1888 :

> "Indeed, it was only the other day that I was reading a life of Lord Minto, who mentions incidentally that in his time whole districts within twenty miles of Calcutta were at the mercy of dacoits, and this after the English had been more than fifty years in the occupation of Bengal."

Regarding the dacoits and their offences, James Mill writes in his history of India, vol. v, page 387 :

> "This class of offences did not diminish under the English Government and its legislative provisions. It increased, to a degree highly disgraceful to the legislation of a civilized people. It increased under the English Government,

not only to a degree of which there seems to have been no example under the native Governments of India, but to a degree surpassing what was ever witnessed in any country in which law and government could with any degree of propriety be said to exist."

Sir Henry Strachey, one of the British judges in India in the beginning of the nineteenth century, wrote :

> "The crime of dacoity has, I believe, increased greatly, since the British administration of justice."

In 1808, the judge of circuit in the Rajshahi division wrote :

> "That dacoity is very prevalent in Rajshahye has been often stated. But if its vast extent were known ; if the scenes of horror, the murders, the burnings, the excessive cruelties, which are continually perpetrated here, were properly represented to Government, I am confident that some measures would be adopted, to remedy the evil. Yet the situation of the people is not sufficiently attended to. It cannot be denied, that in point of fact, there is no protection for persons or property."

Mr. Dowdeswell, the Secretary to Government, reported in 1809, that

> "To the people of India there is no protection, either of persons or of property".

Regarding the operations of the dacoits, Mill correctly observed :

> "Such is the military strength of the British Government in Bengal, that it could exterminate all the inhabitants with the utmost ease ; such at the same time is its *civil* weakness, that it is unable to save the community from running into that extreme disorder where the villain is more powerful to intimidate than the Government to protect."—Mill's *History of India*, vol. v, p. 410.

The quotations in this note are taken from Major B. D. Basu's article on the First Lord Minto's Indian Administration in *The Modern Review* for 1921.

## *The Present Condition of Bengal*

Sir Samuel Hoare may be satisfied if the revenue collections are better this year than they were last year during the corresponding period—we have no means of examining the data on which his conclusions are based ; he may similarly be satisfied if the number of arrests for civil disobedience gradually decrease—even if they be due to the want of accomodation in jails ; but what is the real state of the country ? Let us leave aside politics. Let us also leave aside the havoc done by floods and tornadoes, and by riots—due to whatever causes. We find that there is dire distress due to unemployment ; that in Bengal, hundreds of landed estates in almost every district have been put up to auction for non-payment of revenue and that many of them have found no purchasers, some being bought up by the Government at ridiculously low prices ; and that every day the dailies contain news of robberies, sometimes to the accompaniment of murder and blood-curdling cruelties and arson. Add to this the tragic and shameful cases of abduction and ravishment of girls and women by gangs of hooligans in many a district like Jessore.

When pronouncing an opinion on the state of the country for whose welfare Sir Samuel Hoare is, responsible, ought he not to take into consideration facts like the above ? And if they are taken into consideration, can the picture of India or of Bengal today be considered one to be proud of ?

## *An American's Impressions of India*

There are globe-trotters who do the sub-continent of India in three weeks or three months and pose as authorities on India for the rest of their lives. Mr. Raphael Philipson of New York, who gives his impressions of India in the May number of *India and the World*, is not a globe-trotter of this description. He honestly admits beforehand that many of his impressions may be erroneous. He offers them to the Indian readers "merely as impressions of a stranger who came to India interested and left loving her." Says he :

> Wherever I have gone, I have found the people kind, friendly, helpful. But in no country was so much cordiality generously lavished upon me as in India, so many doors thrown open in welcome, so much eagerness shown, not only to help me understand India, but also to learn about America.

About the virtues and weakness of Indians he observes :

> The outstanding virtues of the Indians I met are gentleness, kindliness, idealism, selflessness. By contrast, my people seem hard, brittle, materialistic, selfish. Perhaps the Indian has the weakness of his virtues ; for his open-handed, generous hospitality and his gentleness of disposition invited, in the past, foreign invasion and exploitation. While we Americans may have the strength of our failings ; for, by our suspicious "show me" exterior we make the stranger prove his right to our kindness ; by our brittleness we resist the invasion

of our rights. An aura of such gentleness and sweetness surrounded the personality of the Indian women whom I met that I felt Indian married life, despite Katherine Mayo, must be a beautiful institution.

As regards the reports of anti-English feeling in India, he writes :

> Kind friends at home write advising me not to go India in this time of anti-English feeling. I myself imagined that I might have to skulk along the streets followed by muttered curses against the foreign exploiters. Surley, if a European or an American country had been conquered and exploited by India for a century, and great numbers of its citizens had been aroused and had determined that India must relinquish its paralyzing hold ; if India were beating the opposing natives brutally and were throwing them by the many thousands into jails and prisons,—surely a visiting Indian would not be safe from the resentment of a retaliating mob. Imagine my surprise when I could walk at any hour of the day or night through Indian streets, meeting only friendly responses to my questioning, and feeling more secure than in New York. This passive battle of kindness, of turning the other cheek seemed all the more striking, when, upon reaching Colombo at the end of my Indian visit, I found a letter from home hoping that I had omitted India from my itinerary at this 'dangerous time.'

Nowhere except in China had he seen such indifference to and ignorance of the simple rules of sanitation as in India. He gives details which we omit.

> "In the United States we prize highly the beautiful handwoven cloths and hand-made furnishings of India with which we are proud to enhance the charm of our homes. To my surprise I saw very few of them in Indian homes. In their place I usually found machine-made products in very poor taste—dingylooking, poor imitations of occidental homes. Excepting the lovely thatch-roofed houses in the country, Indian houses are ugly, gloomy eyesores in imitation of the worst period of late-Victorian architecture,—and in a country which has so many beautiful palaces, temples, and mosques. Calcutta, Ahmedabad, and Bombay look like grimy, gloomy English manufacturing towns of thirty years ago, in certain sections. Houses of heavy, severe, gray stone in a country which calls for bright colours."
>
> "Best of all, I liked the simple Indian homes of the farmers in the country districts. With their thatched roofs and white-washed walls they had an air of belonging to India and not of having been shipped by mistake with cotton goods from Manchester."

He has some very hard but very true things to say of the chronic unemployed condition of millions of Indians and the indifference of the better class people towards the lot of their unfortunate brethren. Of the educational institutions which impressed him, we print below his observations on Santiniketan and Sriniketan :

> "I visited educational institutions whose work is unique and of great potential influence upon the future trend of education. I think few institutions can capture the peculiar idyllic charm of Tagore's school at *Santiniketan*. Great scholars, pupils at seven and eight years of age, teachers of twenty-five and fifty, all mingle casteless, agelessly, democratically in this unique school whose fairy god-mother is Nature. The school which interested me most is Tagore's more recent venture at *Sriniketan*, where the aim is, not to prepare boys for universities and empty degrees, but to make them good agriculturists and leaders in their villages, where leadership is wanting. For education is the preparation for a life of labour and leisure in our ever-changing society, while so many high schools and colleges are repeating the education given to European monks and scholars hundreds of years ago."

In his opinion, Englishmen

> "are fighting India's battle, though they do not know it. They are giving the issues free advertising and are arousing adherents to the movement. I think their blundering policies will be halted within three or four months by English public opinion,—and Manchester private opinion. They are underestimating the spiritual fortitude of the people they are attempting to coerce. I think that India can make England capitulate, not by violence (that would only stiffen the resistance of a nation accustomed to violence and force), but by non-violence and non-co-operation."

## *Deprovincialization of Government High Schools*

The question of what is called deprovincialization of Government High Schools in Bengal has been recently receiving some attention. In plain language, it means that the Government English High Schools are to be made over to private committees of management and that this is to be done for the improvement of secondary education in Bengal. The improvement of secondary education in Bengal depends on many factors. It means certain fundamental reforms in the curricula and system of examination, involving Calcutta University reform in several respects. It means better education in the schools according to methods and in conditions more in accord with child psychology, pedagogy, etc. It means security of tenure of posts, and better pay and prospects for the teachers, better and more honest and impartial treatment of them by school committees than is accorded to them in many places. It means the management of the schools by committees whose members take some pains to understand what education means and regularly devote some time to its promotion.

Simply reducing the Government schools to the position of the private and aided schools will not do. Even distributing the money now spent on the Government schools among the non-Government ones will not meet the needs of the situation. Equalization of the conditions in Government and non-Government schools should be brought about by levelling up, not by levelling down. We are against providing the Government with an excuse for shaking off the responsibility for giving the people secondary education. The persons who now constitute the Government may promise that they will spend the money released by deprovincialization on secondary education in general, but there is no certainty that it would be possible to make their successors keep that promise unless and until the Government is made fully responsible to the legislature. That responsibility should come first. Deprovincialization may follow. In the mean time let the Government schools continue to serve as models to the rest in certain respects.

## *Premier's Empire Day Broadcast*

London, May 24

"There is no doubt that during the past year most formidable obstacles have been put in the way of an Indian settlement by Congress methods," declared the Prime Minister in the course of a stirring "Empire Day" broadcast.

He added: "The country which yields because it is afraid to face its tasks does one of the greatest disservices that can be done to the world and lets loose not forces of enlightenment and liberty, but of violence, disruption and enmity."

The Premier indicted "doctrines of thoughtless liberty in politics" and "flabby misinterpretations of democracy."—*Reuter*.

The two parties to the present struggle are the British Cabinet with the Prime Minister as their leader, and the Indian National Congress. Hence for a judicial pronouncement as to which party has been putting obstacles in the way of an Indian settlement, a third party, which must be thoroughly impartial, is required. The Prime Minister is scarcely that party.

We have not yet met the Indian who does not think that the British imperialists have been putting formidable obstacles in the way of India's obtaining freedom, without which there can be no lasting settlement.

Will it be news to the Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and other British imperialists, that very many adherents of the Indian National Congress think that "the country (meaning India) which yields because it is afraid to face its tasks does one of the greatest disservices that can be done to the world and lets loose not forces of enlightenment and liberty, but of violence, disruption and enmity"?

When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald indicted "doctrines of thoughtless liberty in politics" and "flabby misinterpretations of democracy," did he refer to some of the views held by himself in his earlier unregenerate socialist days?

Mr. MacDonald also claimed in his Empire Day broadcast talk that the diverse races and nationalities "who owe with us common allegiance are happy with us because that allegiance is not a yoke and there is no subordination." "Happy," "yoke," and "subordination" are to be understood here in a Pickwickian, or rather MacDonaldian, sense.

## *An Indian Slöyd Specialist*

The system of manual training which goes by the name of Sloyd has been adopted or largely developed from the Swedish system of that name. Sweden is the original home of Sloyd. Its purpose is to develop the pupils mentally and physically, as well as to afford skill in some trade.

Mr. Lakshmiswar Sinha, who contributes to this issue an illustrated article on "Sloyd in the Sphere of Education," was some years ago the teacher in charge of manual training in Tagore's school in Santiniketan. From there he went to Sweden to know all about Sloyd in that country. There he spent three years in acquiring special practical knowledge of the subject, and has recently returned to India. He will go back to Santiniketan when the school re-opens after the summer vacation. It would be a gain to the country if, in addition to Santiniketan boys and girls, others also had the advantage of his knowledge and skill. This, we believe, can

Mr. Lakshmiswar Sinha

be arranged. Some of the progressive Indian States show more readiness to adopt scientific modern methods in education than the educational authorities in the "British" provinces. They may introduce Sloyd in their schools, of course with adaptations to local conditions.

## *Some Corrections*

We have received some corrections to the statements contained in our note on "A Japanese Scholarship" from Mr. Siva Narayan Sen and the Maha Bodhi Society. We take the following from the letter of Mr. D. Walisinha, Secretary to the Maha Bodhi Society :

> "At present there is no Buddhist University at Sarnath. There is only an Institute in which Samaneras are being trained for Buddhist missionary work. It is, of course, the great desire of the Maha Bodhi Society to convert it into a Buddhist University later on. Mr. Sen is not 'a Pali Scholar who helps western students to understand Pali Texts at Sarnath.' He is engaged to teach Bengali and English to the Samaneras."

Mr. Sen also has written to us disclaiming any pretensions to scholarship in Pali, though he knows that language.

## *Santiniketan School*

Our readers' attention is drawn to an advertisement in this issue relating to the school at Santiniketan. The facilities and advantages offered by that institution are well known. In addition to boys and girls whose mother-tongue is Bengali, many whose vernacular is Gujarati or Hindi resort to it for an all-round education. Visva-Bharati, of which the school is a component part, continues to have the services of the veterans who have been long connectad with it. At the same time, this year Professor Dr. Dhirendra Mohan Sen will devote his time and energy, and knowledge and experience of the child mind specially to the service of the school. The informed idealism and enthusiasm of such a young worker is an asset added to the wisdom of the veterans. Another acquisition to the institution is Miss Asha Adhikari, M. A., formerly Principal of the Women's College, Benares Hindu University, who has resigned her post there. In these hard times many promising boys and girls are unable to avail themselves of the facilities provided at Santiniketan owing to the straitened circumstances of their guardians. To help some of these deserving children, the school will this year offer twenty stipends of the value Rs. 7 to Rs. 3 per mensem.

## *Rabindranath's Home-Coming*

As we write these last pages, the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has, we presume, already reached Karachi. He will be in the midst of his family and friends in a day or two. The value of the contact between India on the one hand and Persia and Iraq on the other, established by his visit, cannot be immediately measured. But it is no exaggeration to say that the fruits will be enduring.

The doings and sayings of politicians, the triumphs of talkie stars, the achievements of race horses, and even the maladies of the pet dogs of society ladies, are cabled or wirelessed or telegraphed by some news agency or other. The Poet's visit to western

Asia on invitation by its sovereign rulers and his cordial and reverential reception by them and their peoples were too trifling to be attended to by them. It is owing to the journalistic instinct and enterprise of *Liberty* that the Indian public has received some news relating to the Poet's travels.

The Poet's daughter-in-law, Srimati Pratima Devi, accompanies him on his return journey. Mr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty, his secretary, and Mr. K. N. Chatterji of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review*, will return after visiting Nineveh, Ur, Babylon, and other places of historic interest.

## *Federal and Provincial Financial Forecasts*

*Report of the Federal Finance Committee 1932* contains two financial forecasts—federal and provincial. According to the federal forecast there would be a surplus of 4 crores and 50 lakhs of rupees. If the barest justice were done to Bengal by allowing her to keep her exclusive jute revenue, this surplus would be reduced to zero. That would not mean that in that case the Federal Government would be in a bad way. Retrenchment is practicable not only in army expenditure but in all the civil departments as well. If it were effected, as it must be when there is Swaraj in India, the Federal Government would be able to make both ends meet without fleecing the richest provinces and robbing Bengal of the jute duties.

In the provincial forecasts surpluses of 25 and 30 lakhs are shown against the United Provinces and the Panjab respectively; and deficits of 20, 65, 200, 70, 17, and 65 lakhs against Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, and Assam respectively. The Federal Finance Committee observe:

> "The contrast between our estimates for a federal surplus and for an aggregate provincial deficit of a considerable amount is partly accounted for by the fact that provincial sources of revenues are, for the most part, comparatively inelastic and cannot be expected to respond as quickly as central revenues to a recovery in economic conditions."

This is a sufficient exposure of the iniquitous character of the rules followed in dividing sources of revenue into central or federal and provincial.

Let us for the moment lay aside this division and consider which provinces yield the largest aggregates of revenue of all kinds. *A priori* one would conjecture that, other circumstances being about the same, the maritime regions would be the richest sources of revenue. And in India that is a fact. Madras, Bombay and Bengal are the provinces where most revenue is collected. But it is these three provinces which account for the largest portion of the total provincial deficits. The only possible reason for such a state of things is that the provinces which are most revenue-yielding have been fleeced to the utmost possible extent and thus artificially made bankrupt. It is certainly right for the Federal or Central Government to expect more income from the richer provinces than from the poorer. But there is no sense or equity in taking from the former so much as to leave them without sufficient resources to carry on. We may not be able to understand high finance. But is there any unwisdom or iniquity in some financial arrangement which would take more from the richer provinces than from the poorer ones and also leave sufficient revenue in each province for its needs, seeing at the same time that those provinces which are the most revenue-yielding may have some of the benefit of their favourable geographical position and natural resources.

It seems to be argued that the fact that Bombay is a maritime province and has good harbours and the fact that jute is a Bengal product, are "accidents," and they should not have the advantage of these "accidents." But is it not also an "accident" that Great Britain is an island having many harbours? Where is the super-state which will dare even to propose to deprive Great Britain of the industrial and commercial advantages of this "accident"? What would be impudent injustice in the case of independent Britain cannot be gracious justice in the case of dependent Bombay and Bengal.

Those who have some knowledge of the financial history of British rule in India know that many wars of conquest were financed from Bengal revenues and that for long years together Bengal revenues went to make good the deficits of many provinces. But now by an irony of history we read in the Federal Finance Committee's Report that the Bengal Government cannot be run solvently "except by special treatment at the expense of other Provinces" ! The suggestion of doles to Bengal from the revenues of the other Provinces had to be made, not because Bengal's revenue-yielding capacity has diminished ; on the contrary, it has increased. Bengal's bankruptcy in the forecast, as those of Bombay and Madras, is due to artificial causes. Before the insult of doles is offered to her, would it not be bare justice to find out how much in the past Bengal has given to the Indian Empire as a whole and to the different provinces and repay her those sums ?

### *Imperial Bank and Government Securities*

One of the important features of modern finance and banking is that the Bankers' Banks of all economic structures, whether in Europe, America or the East, never hesitate to advance legal tender against Government Securities. That is one of the reasons why people invest in these securities at a low rate of interest. Once Government Securities lose this ever-ready power to effect borrowing against them, their appeal to the public is irrevocably damaged. We have been informed that the Imperial Bank of India, which is our Bankers' Bank, is not advancing money to other Banks against Government Securities. The reason advanced by the Imperial Bank is, we are told, that such advances are helping speculation. And though they are willing to advance money to private parties, for the above reason, they do not think it advisable to advance to Banks. It would be quite simple to realize the absurdity of this argument. For, private parties are no more immune to speculation than are the Banks. Rather, Banks, as such, are far less likely to speculate with funds derived through borrowings than private persons. It may be that the Imperial Bank wishes to curb the expansion of currency, which will be the natural result of free advances to Banks against Government Securities, in order to keep the value of the Rupee high, which is essential for the stability of the Rupee-Sterling exchange. In our opinion, that is the real reason why the Imperial Bank has been refusing the other Banks advances against Government Securities. Artificial means of keeping the currency contracted, whatever their effect may be on the exchange, are always detrimental to the country's economic life. We are now passing through an economic crisis. Money is very tight, at least for those who have not the good fortune to deal directly for advances with the Imperial Bank of India. When things are in such a state, we believe it is an extremely injurious policy to stop advances to Banks who want to borrow against Government securities. It almost verges on the unbelievable to do such a thing. We hope the authorities will at once remove this incubus off the chest of legitimate finance. A fluctuating exchange may injure Anglo-Indian trade ; but this method of keeping the exchange "right" will damage our entire system of production and distribution beyond repair, if carried too far. Moreover, in the long run, the State will find this a fruitful source of financial trouble. If the "National" Debt bonds become useless as collateral, will they remain a tempting thing to investors only on account of the way their proceeds are spent by the officials ?

### *Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., Ltd.*

We have recieved a copy of the above well-known Company's Annual Report and Balance Sheet. We find that the Oriental have now roughly 200,000 policy-holders with assurances amounting to over 40 crores. The Oriental is by far the largest life assurance institution in India and it can boast of having at least one man in every three persons insured in India as its client. The ratio of expenses to income of the Company compare advantageously with that of most other companies in India. This company like many other companies invests largely or almost exclusively in Government Securities. Investment of life assurance funds requires great caution ; yet many foreign companies invest largely in other things to the advantage of their national trade and industry. Whether in India, life assurance funds may be used for the development of Indian trades and industries is a problem of relative caution. Of course Indian Government Securities are hardly very stable in market value. 30 to 40 per cent fluctuation in value is not unknown in the Government Security market. Hence, the investment of the Nation's savings in things other than Government Securities should be carefully considered by our financial experts. The Oriental being in the van of Indian life assurance companies may very well take up this question in order to give a lead to others.

### *Metropolitan Insurance Co. Ltd.*

The Metropolitan Insurance Co. Ltd. of Calcutta was founded in 1930; but in its first year it has proved its mettle by securing a very large amount of really select business. Among the Directors of this efficient and progressive concern we note the names of Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir Hari Sankar Paul, Mr. J. N. Basu and others, who are well known in the world of finance and commerce. The Metropolitan has all the modern features of life assurance and, judging by its activities and method of business, will in no far future be counted among the greatest companies of India.

### *Miss Katherine Mayo's Double*

According to a Free Press Beam Service message :

> The same manager who was responsible for arranging Mr. Churchill's recent visit to America has also arranged a lecture tour for Miss Patricia Kendall, described as an impartial American citizen and a friend of Miss Katherine Mayo. Miss Kendall has just returned from her fourth visit to the East and the India Office was so pleased with her unsolicited testimonials that they are seeking the widest publicity for her views. What impressed her more than anything else was British leniency in India. She had travelled to all the important centres in India and her uniform experience was that Law was being administered in India less severely than would be possible either in England or America.

What is said here of Miss Patricia Kendall is not news to *us*. Those who read *The Modern Review* must have already read enough about her in its last February number, pp. 221-2, to be satisfied that she is a double of Miss Mayo. As regards the India Office being "pleased with her *unsolicited* testimonials" and her visit to India, it is not difficult to guess who gave these testimonials and why, and who made the arrangements for her seeing India. We know definitely that big bureaucrats helped Miss Mayo in India to see men and things, and we shall not be surprised to learn that Miss Kendall received similar help.

We shall not repeat what we wrote in our February number. It would be good copy if even now some of our contemporaries reproduced the Note on "Freedom, Wealth and Good Name" from that number. We shall repeat here only a few extracts from an American reviewer's review of Miss Kendall's book *Come with me to India : A Quest for Truth Among Peoples and Problems.*

> "Then there is the question of child murder, which, according to Miss Kendall, is practised almost universally in India. She puts all her proof on this head into the mouths of Hindus. But since the population of India has increased in ten years from three hundred and twenty millions to three hundred and fifty, one is permitted to belive that some of the girl babies are allowed to live."

The reviewer gives some examples of her accuracy. The following will suffice :

> Anybody who reads "Come with me to India !" will ask himself where Patricia Kendall learned geography. When she was in Madras she saw the sun set in the Bay of Bengal, a part of the sea that lies directly to the east of Madras. She saw this odd sight twice."

The reviewer is not all condemnation. He is capable of appreciation, too. Says he :

> "The only parts of her book that are free from her icy race prejudice and nordic superiority are the cover, the paper jacket and the index, all of which are fine.
>
> "Our author says that the truth can free India. Of course it can. The truth can free anybody. The truth can free England. The truth can free Patricia Kendall."

### *Rabindranath Tagore's Appeal*

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has sent out the following appeal through the London *Times,* which has responded characteristically by *not* giving it a prominent insertion—to put it mildly :

> From the depths of the present atmosphere of suffering, the cry has come for the inauguration of a new age of faith and reconcilation, for a fellowship of understanding between races and

Nations alienated by cruel politics and diplomacy. We in India are ready for a fundamental change in our affairs which will bring harmony and understanding into our relationships with those who have inevitably been brought near to us. We are waiting for a gesture of goodwill from both sides, spontaneous and generous in its faith in humanity, which will create a future of moral federation, of constructive works of public good, of the inner harmony of peace between the peoples of India and England.

The visit of our friends from England has confirmed the immediate possibility of such an intimate fellowship and truth in our mutual relationship, and I feel called upon to appeal to all who have the welfare of humanity at heart to come forward at this critical hour and courageously take upon themselves the task of fulfilling the moral responsibility which is before us of building upon the bare foundation of faith, of acceptance of truth in a spirit of generous, mutual forgiveness.

The memory of the past, however painful it may have been for us all, should never obscure the vision of the perfect, of the future which it is for us jointly to create. Indeed, our experience of the futility of suspicion and hostility must inspire us with a profounder belief in the truth of the simple fellowship of hearts, in the mighty power of creative understanding between individuals as well as Nations inspired by a common urge of love.

In endorsing the appeal, the Archbishop of York, the Master of Balliol, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Sir Francis Younghusband declare: "We believe public opinion in our country is ready to welcome and respond to it." We should be very glad indeed if it were really so.

## *Conference of Muslim Ladies in Calcutta*

We are glad to learn from *Advance* that

Under the auspices of the newly formed Bengal Muslim Ladies' Association, a meeting of the Muslim ladies of Calcutta was held on the 21st May at the Calcutta residence of Maulvi Shamsuddin Ahmed, I. G. R., Bengal, P209, Park Circus. Mrs. R. S. Hussain, founder superintendent of the Sakhawat Memorial Girl's H. E. School, presided. About three hundred ladies were present. Prominent among them were Mrs. Fazilat Zoha, M.A., Muayyidzada Sakhina Farrukh Sultan, M. A., Miss Zainab Rahim, B.A., B.T., Miss Ahsee Majid, B.A., Mrs. Hakam (foundress of the M.A.O. Girls' School), Mrs. R. Ahmed, ladies of Kaiser Street Nawab family, ladies of A. Z. Khan family, Miss R. Ghose, B.A., B.T. (Principal, Romesh Mitter Girls' School), Miss Mamgain, Head Mistress Moslem Female Training School), Mrs. Manzoor Morshed, Mrs. D. Ahmed (wife of Captain Dalimuddin), Nurunnisa Vidyabinodini, poet Sufia N. Hossain, Mrs. Aziz and daughters of Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz.

After the presidential address, a committee was formed with Mrs. Fazilat Zoha, M. A., Muayyidzada Sakhina, M. A., Miss Zainab Rahim, B.A., B.T., Miss Ahsee Majid, B. A., Mrs. A. Ahmed, Mrs. Adiluzzaman Khan, Poet Sufia Hussain, Miss Jahanara Chowdhury, Mrs. Shamsun Nahar Mahmud (secretary), and others, to carry on the work of the association.

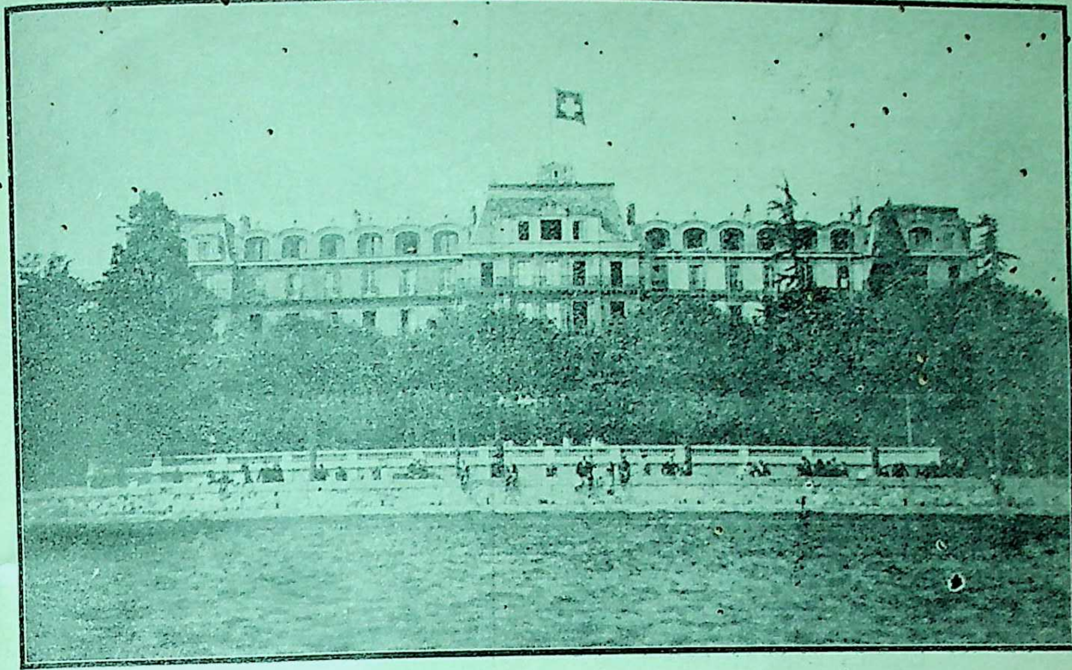
Six resolutions were passed. In the first resolution, the Government was earnestly requested to afford necessary facilities to the community to educate their girls, to earmark sufficient number of scholarships for them and for the amelioration of the condition of the Sakhawat Memorial and other girls' schools.

In the second resolution the present system of female education was criticized and Government was requested to appoint a small committee consisting of female educational experts to draw up an ideal scheme for female education.

By the third resolution it was decided to carry on a vigorous propaganda among Muslim women to induce them to send their girls to schools and colleges.

## *M. Albert Thomas*

The Late M. Albert Thomas of France, Director of the International Labour Office at Geneva.



The Building of the League of Nations at Geneva.

It is admitted on all hands that by the death of M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, the world of labour has lost a staunch champion, an able advocate and a sincere friend. A special correspondent of *New India* writes with reference to his knowledge of Asia :

> "To gained first-hand knowledge of labour conditions in these countries, he made an extensive tour in the Far East in 1928 and visited China, Japan, French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies. It was a matter of great regret to him that pressure of work prevented the inclusion of India in this visit, and it was one of his most cherished desires to visit India at the earliest possible opportunity in response to pressing invitations extended to him by the leaders of the foremost Indian employers' and workers' organizations."
>
> "Though M. Thomas was unable to visit India, he took particular pains to keep himself *au courant* with developments in India and showed marked concern for the betterment of Indian labour conditions. Thus, it was under his regime that a branch of the I. L. O. was established in India in 1928 and an Indian put in charge of this outpost of the I. L. O. Again, M. Thomas was keenly interested in the Draft Convention on Forced Labour which was adopted at the 14th session of the I. L. Conference in 1930 and which has been hailed as a veritable charter of liberty by certain classes of labour in India."

### *Women Prisoners in Bombay Presidency*

The following are extracts from a statement made by Miss Mani Ben Patel (daughter of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel) who has just come out of jail after completing her term of three and a half months as a C class (civil disobedience) prisoner :

> The female political prisoners are kept with the ordinary criminals in the same barrack and there is hardly one foot distance between each bedding. The criminals may have come for any sort of crime—prostitution, thieving and so forth. They may have venereal diseases, their hair may contain lice, they may smell very badly because of not bathing or keeping their persons clean.
>
> 77 prisoners with four babies including 15 to 16 ordinary criminals are locked up in this one barrack measuring 138 ft. 7½ inch by 18 ft. 6 inch from 5-45 in the evening to 5-45 in the morning. But still the authorities have not as yet thought it necessary to make any arrangement for extra latrines. There is one latrine in the barrack which has a door which does not close properly and has no latch. There are three latrines outside in the yard for use in the day time. These are built in one line with no door and just a wall standing out in front. Several times the authorities have been requested to have the doors put on these latrines but nothing is done as yet. With the increase of our numbers four more temporary latrines have been erected in the yard, but they also have no doors.
>
> "C" Class prisoners are not provided with even one bathroom. They may be sick or having any trouble, but they have to bathe in the open under the sky without any privacy. The bathing place has a tap at one end of a long shallow tank with stones on both sides, and 6 to 12 or even more are supposed to bathe at one time, in this open space. The authorities have often been spoken to regarding this and the attention of the visitors has

been drawn to the necessity of at least one bath-room, but "no bath-rooms for 'C' class" has always been the reply.

Practically the only difference that can be remarked between the criminals and the political prisoners, if one may give such a simile, is that the treatment of the political prisoners is like that of a step-mother.

If a political prisoner and a criminal are both ill and lying in the hospital the Matron instead of giving each her one medical ration, will take away some sugar and milk from the political prisoner's and give it to the criminal over and above her own medical ration.

If for some reason or another or by mistake, the ordinary ration of a criminal does not come, the Matron goes to the gate, gets it brought from the kitchen and gives it herself to the criminal. But if some ration of a political prisoner does not come no such promptness is shown.

The "B" and "C" class prisoners are all kept in one yard, though not in one barrack. The Matron won't allow the "B" Class prisoners to share with the "C" Class though some of the "C" Class might be ill or needy, but she will be glad to have some of the "B" Class ration given to the criminals.

The political prisoners have to sweep the barrack and verandah twice a day, clean the vessels which come from the kitchen containing food, wash and clean the latrines, (after some two months a special criminal was brought from another jail for this work), bathing, washing places and tank, and fetch the water for the day and night in the barrack.

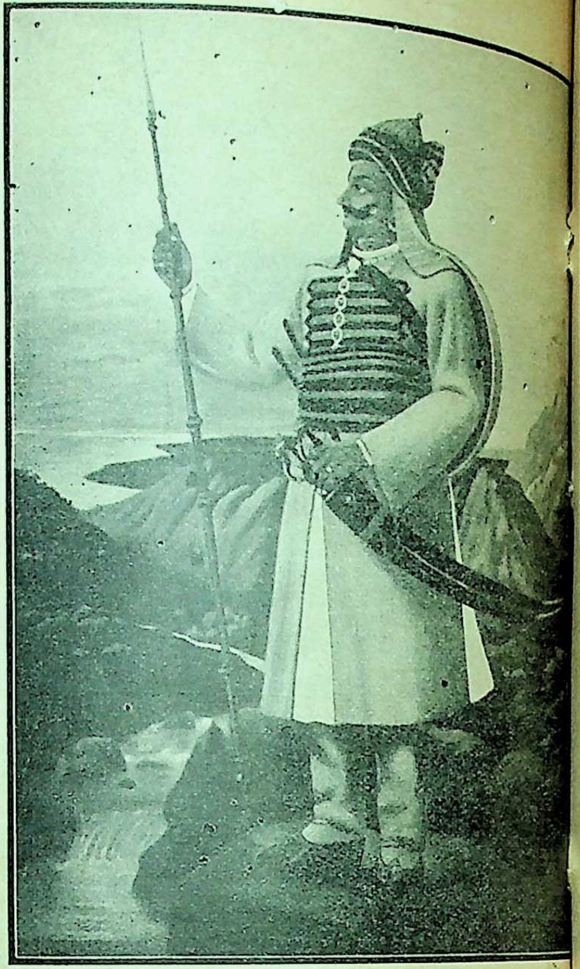
The political prisoners, besides the sweeping and cleaning mentioned above, have to sew, make buttons or do whatever labour is given to them, and if the task is not finished in the given time, the Matron becomes abusive.

The ordinary criminals have only to separate wool, which work they put away after the Superintendent has been on his rounds. For the rest they sweep the yard and do odd jobs for the Matron, such as washing her stockings and massaging her feet.

Females are transferred from one prison to another even at night, with only Policemen in charge. There is neither a Matron nor any Police Officer to travel with them.

## *Maharana Pratap Jayanti*

As usual, the Maharana Pratap Singh Anniversary will be celebrated this year at Udaipur on the 7th and 8th of this month, and a *Mela* or fair will be held at Haldi Ghat, the Thermopylae of Rajputana, on the 11th. We hope there will be similar celebrations all over India in reverential memory of this great hero and patriot.



Maharana Pratap Singh

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